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AKBAR AND HIS INNOVATIONS.

I.

THE body and mind of man grow up fast in the tropics, and as fast decline. So do human institutions. The halt in the fulness of their growth is short. Their adult vigour does not last long enough to sufficiently influence their surroundings. The vestiges they leave behind cast more darkness than light on their by-gone grandeur. A flash of lightning leaves the sky gloomier than before. Since we can remember or guess past events, so it has always happened in India. Monarchical powers, intellectual activities or social institutions rose here only to decline. Decay itself has alone a long existence here. The temple overlooking Mother Ganges has decayed soon enough, but long will the Pipal and the Banian tree hold fast in their talon-roots the mouldering ruins. Our pride of antiquity is the pride of our haunts clinging to these ruins in the midst of violent upheavals that shook the world around. We cannot boast of the good of the past that yet lives in us.

If we read the past by the light of the present, we find India a mass of stagnation, receiving and stagnating the vital forces of man that from time immemorial streamed into it on all sides. The bright sun above saw many a race rush into this sea of stagnation, struggle for a while, and then go to sleep, each on its own bed, like the alluvial deposits on the mouth of a river. The dwarfish races came from the eastern islands, the Negro canoe-men that drifted from East Africa, the Mongolian hordes that rushed down the Himalayan slopes, and the Arran she-



pherds that strayed from the snowy Sulaimans, all met this common fate. The fire of the Páthán was extinguished here, and the calm courage of the Mughal was choked here. The indomitable energy of the Britisher subsides here into a lethargic apathy. It seems that human vitality can only be maintained in India by a constant flow of new blood from the West. The rise of Islam cut off this supply from the Hindu Aryan, and he fell into a state of stagnation. Next came the Páthán. His new religion prevented his amalgamation with the people, to infuse fresh vigour into the Indo-Aryan. He therefore formed the uppermost stratum of the population until the hordes of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane weakened his heart beyond the Indus. Feeble and demoralised, he now stood ready to bow his head before the next band of adventurers from the West. They were the Chaghátái Tartars, led by Bábar across the mountains of Kabul. But the heart of the Mughal was far away in the interior of Central Asia, and his communication with the West was, from the beginning, of the most slender description. He had, therefore, all but disappeared like a flash on the Indian horizon, but for the genius of Akbar, which postponed his fate for two hundred years. When the momentum Akbar gave to the Mughal rule in India had spent its force, and when on the immediate West the hard precepts of the Kurán had stilled all progressive restlessness, then a handful of a highly-gifted race, that came tossing over the waves of three blue oceans, began to stir the stagnant mass of India as it had never been stirred before. No human power ever held this vast mass in such a giant grasp; none ever so shook it in its length and breadth and to its utmost depth. A constant flow of new blood from its heart in the West saves this race from the inevitable Indian stagnation. A constant indent of restlessness, engendered in the well-prepared and more favoured soil of England, now moves the hitherto inert mass of India. A disproportion in the distribution of the movement among its different sections, however, causes anxiety, lest the more active pass prudential bounds, and carry the tender springing life of the whole to dry up in arid uncongenial regions. The flashes of precocity in a child, part somnolent under the creeping influence of the Indian lullaby, can hardly be a safe beacon-fire to the world in its adult manhood. Submission to the stagnating forces of nature was our past, their subjugation to our will is our future. Better, that we win the affection of our master and humbly sit at his feet for education and training, than vex him by eloquent denunciations in press and on platform.

Indian influences had already done their work on the sturdy Páthán. But although his waning power was, to all outward appearance, extinguished by the Chaghátái Mughals under Bábar, the fiery zeal of the race still smouldered beneath the ruins. In its last flicker it shot forth a flame of unusual brilliancy. As soon as the strong hand of Bábar, that held firm the loose fragments of the Empire, was removed, the wise and valiant Sher Khán carried everything before him, and drove the weak and vascillating Humáyun across the deserts of Rajputana. The illustrious reign of Sher Khán threatened to disprove the old rule to bestow success to the latest arrival from the West over the one preceding it. But Sher Khán's death at once revealed the fact that the atmosphere of India had reduced the Páthán race to the usual state of Indian stagnation. So Humáyun regained his kingdom. But yet the Mughal supremacy in India had only got a precarious foothold, tottering to be swept off by the first breath of an well-organised rebellion. Such in all likelihood would have been its fate but for the child that first saw the light at Amarkot in the year 1542 A.D., when Humáyun was fleeing before his victorious foe. The governing principles of the world, which the insufficiency of our knowledge of the history of man as yet preclude the possibility of speculating upon, required at this time the birth of such a child, so far as the affairs of India were concerned. Strange phenomena ushered into the world this Child of Time, as by all accounts they did on previous occasions of this kind. The little infant spoke to his mother as soon as he was born. The gifted Khwajah Masúd, who by communion with God had acquired miraculous powers, suddenly awoke in the dead of night, apprised in his dream of the Birth, and at once went to the place to behold the blessed face. The child was **AKBAR**.

It was necessary that he should now be born to save the prestige of the freshest eruption from the West, and to save for future generations the traces of Aryan development in the plains of India in religion, philosophy and the art of language. For, another two hundred years of proselytising operations would most probably have left in India as much traces of Hindu civilisation as they are left to-day in Kabul. The reign of only one Páthán sovereign, zealous for his religion, was found to be a sufficient period to deprive the Hindu gods of all their solidly-constructed houses in Kashmir, save one which narrowly escaped demolition from the fortunate circumstance of its foundation being laid under the waters of a deep lake. Three-fourths of the Bráhman population of Kashmir forsook the religion of their fathers, and the

pretty maids of the Paradise of the World ceased from that time to cull wild flowers from green meadows and verdant forests to weave into garlands for their old old gods. Apart from tradition, history and physiognomy, the appellation "Pandit," which his scorn for everything Hindu has not yet prompted friend Aziz to drop from his name, is now the only sign to point him out a brother in race and once a brother in religion. On this side of India the religious zeal of the Páthán kings was equally effective. Its active exercise in the north of Bengal denuded the then Metropolitan Districts of all Hindu population. Further east, the despised castes whom Hinduism grudgingly took within her pale, but whose mere touch was pollution to the sacred Bráhman, hailed in joy the light of the new Faith, which promised to guide them out of darkness and to lead them to redemption on earth and salvation in heaven. The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, so vividly remembered by the followers of the new faith, and that of the Brotherhood of Man, or at least, to speak more correctly---the Brotherhood of the Faithful, attracted millions of the amphibious people, who for generations led a life of the utmost social degradation among the swamps and rivers of the Gangetic Delta. So in our Eastern districts we pass village after village without seeing the face of a single Hindu, or hearing a single blast of the conch-shell to awake at their meal-time the slumbering gods of heaven. So, in population, Bengal to-day stands first in the list of Muhammadan countries of the world. Páthán zeal has snatched away from Hinduism her Ghakkars who, swift of their naked feet, created at one time such a terror in the camp of her great enemy, Muhammad of Ghor. While millions within the fold of Hinduism bestow love and adoration to Lord Krishna, the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, in the west of India the Jadubansi Rajputs, who trace their descent from Krishna himself, have long turned their face towards Mecca for blessings in this world and salvation in the next. The Mewátis have done the same; but of all the sons of Hinduism that have forsaken her bosom to seek spiritual nourishment in Islam, none have shewn more ardent fervour in the profession of their new faith than the beef-loving Rángars of the Jumna valley. "Was your ancestor forcibly converted?" once the writer asked of a Muhammadan Gujar in Panjab. "Oh, no," he replied, "my ancestor was convinced of the truth of Islam and adopted it for his religion in the time of Sultan Firruz Shah." In that reign, he said, the hands of several divines were fully occupied to convert thousands of Gujars, Jats and Rajputs who

sought to secure the favour of God by worshipping Him according to the precepts of the Kur'án. No doubt force was often used, no doubt worldly advantages were held out to new converts, no doubt by a change of religion there was immediate escape from the *Jizya* tax and from many other worries that dogged the footsteps of the unbeliever under a *regime* of intoleration, still in addition to these inducements the simplicity of the new faith, contrasted with the bewildering complexity of the old, made it specially fit to be the religion of the people. Indeed, the fate of Hinduism, the fate of all that remained of Sanskrit civilisation, trembled in the balance when Akbar appeared on the scene to create a doubt among thoughtful men in the virtue of religious intoleration, and to bequeath to his two immediate successors such a share of that spirit as to make them indifferent advocates of religion in any form. That saved Hinduism. Otherwise its powerful antagonist was daily gathering strength in a progressive ratio, and the conversion of the rest of the Jats, Gajars and Rajputs, and ultimately of all India, was merely a question of a little further continuance of that policy of intoleration and aggression which hitherto characterised the Muhammadan rule in India. Up to this time, Hinduism escaped annihilation owing to its vast area and vast numbers, and not to any innate strength it possessed. Auranzeb's bigotry came too late, for the Mughal was then fast subsiding into the usual state of stagnation, and India was then preparing for the advent of a new conqueror from the West. We would have no Max-Muller to-day had there been no Akbar three hundred years ago. We had no mummies here to guard over the papyri treasures of our race.

The conflict between the Shíahs and Sunnis that raged for long on the borders of Persia had softened the minds of the people in that quarter. In what the first heroes of Islam saw wilful rebellion against God, the sages in a later time discerned only an unwillful ignorance of precepts revealed through angels and prophets. Should men be murdered by thousands, and should their women and children be sold in slavery merely for this ignorance? asked thoughtful men of themselves. Even the most orthodox followers of the Prophet now lent their ears to the voice of God, that once rang in the desert rebuking Abraham for denying hospitality to an old fire-worshipper in the dead of night. "I have borne with him for hundred years, for hundred years my sun hath shone upon him, and my earth hath given him food and raiment; couldst thou not bear with him for a single night, that thou didst turn him out of thy tent hungry and weary?" So said the voice of

God to Abraham. Men now trembled to usurp the office of God to punish other men for worshipping Him in ways different from their own. The cultivation of arts and sciences and the study of Greek philosophers further refined and expanded the minds of the Muhammadan *literati* of the day. Doubt and disbelief were the first streaks of light that culminated in Sufism. The time was ripe for men like Mahmud of Bāsakhwan (near Gilán) to boldly come forward and proclaim their disbelief in language the mere listening to which would make the ears of an orthodox faithful "vomit" in disgust. But in India no such re-action had yet taken place. Success everywhere proved the truth of Islam, and confirmed the belief of the iconoclasts in their divine mission, just as European success to-day all over the globe proves to many minds the truth of Christianity. Often at critical times, fortunate accidents that usually follow the footsteps of the one in luck for the time being, were taken as instances of direct divine intervention for the demolition of the idols and the conversion of the infidels. If charity covers sins, success stifles the conscience. Not the smallest tremour of pang so much as caused the faintest vibration in the heart of the good and pious Firuz Shah when by a nod of his head he took the life of a hundred thousand unbelievers. Far less was there an occasion to question the merit of roughly handling the idols which intercepted the homage due to God,—mere inert masses, which could with impunity be broken to pieces, hewed into steps of mosques, and daily trodden upon by pious believers, after the *Muazzin* had sounded his call and the *Miskin* had taken his place at the gate.

In the midst of this universal want of charity which made it a point of religious merit among his co-religionists to harden their hearts against the people of the soil, it was Akbar who first perceived that truth was not the exclusive property of his religion. He saw that goodness could be found both in and out of Islam. A man of extraordinary genius, with a mind wide enough to grasp and inaugurate large generalisations and patient enough to study the minutest details, a lover of system and order, an humble seeker of truth and knowledge, pious to the very core of his heart, anxious always to do what was right, firm against all evil-doers, and merciful to the weak, Akbar was one of the greatest sovereigns that ever graced a throne. Historians have over and over again recounted his military achievements and his administrative capabilities. While scarcely twelve years old, he commanded the little Mughal force, numbering not more than twenty-five thousand men, which he bravely led against the great Afghan

army, hundred thousand strong. That battle, fought in the year 1553, finally sealed the fate of the Páthán Empire in India. In the imperial mandate, issued immediately after the battle was fought, the credit of the victory was given to the young prince. Three years later, Humáyun died and Akbar ascended the throne. Although for four years more he allowed himself to remain under the tutelage of Bairám Khán, he always during this period took an active part in the consolidation of the empire. History has amply spoken of his successes as a monarch, but it was his private virtues that won for him the hearts of men. Jahángir, who never spared either himself nor any body else, after saying that his father was an "Ami," that is "one who can neither read nor write," further writes in his Memoirs that his "manners and habits were quite different from those of other persons, and his visage was full of godly dignity." Born during the most distressful period of his father's life, and schooled by wars and strifes caused by fraternal infidelity, Akbar, like many a man of his disposition, learnt how to hate wrong and how to sympathise with distress when prosperous days dawned upon him. His heart bled at the sight of suffering, and he felt for man as well as the brute creation, linked to him by ties of flesh and blood, the feeling of pain and the love for life. The man who in after life could often weep and say—"O, that my body were larger than all bodies together, so that the people of the world could feed on it without hurting other living bodies!"—could not in his earlier days remain a totally indifferent spectator of the sufferings of his Hindu fellow-creatures. Though now only seventeen years of age, the heart of Akbar could not but be moved when he heard what the old Hindu said, before he perished by the hand of his general for the sake of his religion. The old man was the father of Himu, who in the first year of Akbar's reign took possession of Delhi, assumed the title of *Vikramáditya*, and contended with the young Emperor for the sovereignty of India. The father was too old to take part in the rebellion of his son; yet he was dragged out of his bed, and told to renounce his religion on pain of death. "For eighty years I have worshipped God in the way of my own religion," said the old man, "how can I now forsake my faith? Shall I, through fear of death, embrace your religion without understanding it?" Maulana Pir Muhammad, one of Akbar's generals, "treated the question of the old man as unheard, but gave him an answer with the tongue of the sword." This tragical incident took place in Mewat, and not in the presence of the Emperor.

But he witnessed the death of Himu himself, and on that occasion gave an instance of the nobility of his soul, far beyond his years and far above the tone of the age in which he lived. In the battle which Himu was bravely fighting with the imperial army, an arrow pierced his eye and came out at the back of his head. He was then taken prisoner, and brought before the presence of Akbar, unconscious, bleeding and dying. Bairám Khán said—"This is your first war, prove your sword on this infidel, for it will be a meritorious deed." Akbar answered—"He is now no better than a dead man, how can I strike him? If he had sense and strength, I would try my sword." Upon this Bairám Khán cut him down with his sword.

Incidents like the death of Himu's father no doubt worked upon the young and susceptible mind of Akbar and led him to carry out his first innovation. As soon as he cut himself adrift from the apron-strings of his wise and revered, but orthodox, tutor and minister, Bairám Khán, he passed an edict prohibiting his soldiers to make slaves of prisoners of war, their old parents, their wives, their children and their people. It has always been the custom with the Muhammadan troops to consider the family of their vanquished enemy as their lawful perquisites. Ruin and desolation tracked their victorious march across the country. The wives, children and dependants of the natives were forcibly seized and sold or kept in slavery. "But His Majesty," writes Abul Fazl, "actuated by his religious, prudent and kindly feelings, now issued an order that no soldier of the royal army should act in this manner; for although evil-disposed men might follow senseless courses, and taking up arms against the Emperor might suffer defeat, the children and people belonging to them were to be secure from all molestation from the royal troops, and no one, small or great, was to be made a slave * * * If the husband pursues an evil course, what fault is it of the wife? And if the father rebels, how can the children be blamed?" At a time when the Mughal empire was not thoroughly consolidated, it was a bold step for the young Emperor, (he was twenty-one now) to take a step which deprived his soldiers of what they considered their lawful gain. But Akbar was bold in all things; above all he was always bold in the cause of righteousness. Next year saw another departure from the policy hitherto followed by the Muhammadan sovereigns of India. It was the abolition of the pilgrim tax, which annually brought "crores of rupees" into the royal treasury. Speaking on this subject, Akbar used to say that "although this was a tax on the

vain superstitions of the multitude, and the devotees did not pay it except when they travelled abroad, still the course they adopted was *their mode of worshipping the Almighty*, and the throwing of a stumbling-block and obstacle in their way would never be acceptable in the sight of God." These were noble words which fully shewed, that even at that early age, he looked upon the persecution of the Hindus with anything but favour. His mind always towered above the collective wisdom of his experienced councillors. With such liberal views swaying his mind, it was impossible that the *Jizya* or the poll tax, under the indignity of which the Hindus smarted from the beginning of the Muhammadan rule, especially from the time of Firuz Shah, should long continue to blot the administration of Akbar. This tax was remitted the year after the abolition of the pilgrim tax. How insulting the Hindus looked upon the *Jizya* tax may be gathered from the fact that when Firuz Shah imposed it on the Brahmans, who were previously exempted from it, a large number of them gathered round the palace and sat there for days without food or drink. This proceeding on the part of the Brahmans filled the heart of the King with gladness, and day after day with the deepest interest he watched its progress from his window, expecting that at last the leaders of infidelity were going to destroy themselves by self-imposed starvation. Again, when Aurangzeb revived the impost "with the object of curbing the infidels, and of distinguishing the land of the faithful from an infidel land," Hindus of all denominations, men and women, flocked to Delhi, besieged the Emperor while he was on his way to the mosque, and prayed for the recall of the edict. They were only silenced after being trodden to death by the royal elephant, which Aurangzeb ordered to be directed against them. The policy of conciliation bore for its fruit the magnificent empire over which Akbar ruled; the policy of persecution and repression hastened its downfall.

But the greatest innovation by which Akbar shocked the feelings of his orthodox co-religionists was his attempt to found a new religion based on Reason. The gradual development in his mind of ideas on this subject is of itself a study. Up to this time, he was a devout Musulman, and he continued to remain so for thirteen years longer. Whatever liberal measures he carried out during this period, and however unpopular they might have been with the doctors of divinity in his court and with the grantees of the Empire, they were entirely due to the humane feelings of the young Emperor and not to any disbelief in the precepts of the Kurán. All these years he regularly said his prayers five

times in the day, whether he was in the capital or in camp, often himself taking the lead in the worship. The sacred book was every day read to him at prayer time as also on other occasions. Even the learned Budauni, who looked upon Akbar's innovations with the greatest disfavour and who has left recorded his disapproval of them in the most emphatic language, bore testimony to the piety of the Emperor in these early days of his reign. "He passed whole nights," writes Budauni, "in meditation upon God and the mode of addressing him, as *yâ hû*, *yâ haddi*. Reverence for the Great Giver filled his heart. In order to shew his gratitude for some of his blessings, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and mortification upon the stone bench of an old well which lay near the palace in a lovely spot. Thus engaged in meditation, he gathered the bliss of the early hours of dawn." Year after year he would visit the tomb of the celebrated saint at Ajmir, in whose power to confer good he had the greatest faith. He would appoint a high officer of the court as Leader of the Pilgrims, "to conduct a caravan from Hindustan, like the caravans from Egypt and Syria, to the holy places in Arabia." He would pay from the royal treasury the means of travelling to "enlightened men of Hind, of Mawa-ran-n-nahar and Khurasan," and also to the pious poor who desired to join in the pilgrimage. "Never before had any monarch," writes gushingly a historian of the time, "provided for the annual departure of a caravan from India, nor had any one furnished means to the needy, to enable them to perform the pilgrimage." When Sultan Khwajah, one of the Amirs, was about to start for Mecca, the Emperor stripped himself of his royal apparel, put on a pilgrim's garment, and went several steps after the Khwajah as a mark of respect for the holy places beyond the Indian Ocean. This act of devotion raised such an acclamation in benediction and praise, as to drown all other voices in court. Nay, the Emperor himself "had a strong desire to go on the pilgrimage, but was dissuaded by his friends and counsellors." When Mir Abu Turab brought from Arabia a stone with an impression of the Prophet's foot upon it, he went out six miles to receive it with every mark of honour, and ordered the Amirs to bring it into the city on their backs. He used to keep the anniversary of the Prophet's birth, on which day he gave a magnificent entertainment to the Shaikhs, Sayyids, and the grandees. The 'Id festival was also duly celebrated. Thus in every respect Akbar conformed to the rules of his religion.

Nevertheless, all this time things were happening which might well unsettle the religious convictions of such a mind as

Akbar's. Religion, no doubt, has been a light to guide humanity to progress. But if Light is truly pictured, Darkness will be found to form its back. The two are so inseparable as to make one. So religion has its dark side too. Never has a bone been the subject of so fierce a contention among dogs, as the Almighty Father has always been among men. Well might one shudder in awe at this comparison. But to shudder in shame for cruel acts committed in the name of the Merciful Father will be shewing more reverence to Him. Let Buddha therefore exclaim -- "Leave Him alone ; love your fellow-creatures." Long before this precept was systematised in Europe, it was preached and practised in the plains of India. Religion filled the heart of man with hate for fellow-man from the time of the earliest animist to the modern days of the refined theist. Akbar saw this cruel animosity raging and surging round him, not only between Hindus and Muhammadans, but between Hindus and Hindus, and Muhammadans and Muhammadans. Once he beheld a sight near the sacred tank at Kurukshetra which must have created a deep impression upon his mind about the frivolities of religion. A large number of Jogis and Sanyasis were assembled there to wash their sins in the sacred waters of the lake. They were pious men who had besmeared their bodies with ashes, who wore on their heads long matted locks, who have rid their minds of all sense of conventional decency, who had renounced the world, and who had conquered all the passions and cravings of the flesh. But as pious men in the very earnestness of their piety are bound to hate all those that differ from them in opinion, the Jogis hated the Sanyasis and the Sanyasis hated the Jogis with the deepest hatred. They had some difference of opinion between them. Hearing that the Emperor was passing that way, both sects looked upon it as a favourable opportunity to have a temporary settlement of their dispute in the manner best approved by religion. They therefore respectfully approached the Emperor and begged for permission to fight out their quarrel in that same field where four thousand years ago other religious people made rivers of the blood of their kith and kin. The youthful Emperor was amused at this strange request, and not only gave the solicited leave, but, anxious to see the fun of the thing, graciously consented to witness the fight. A sanguinary battle took place, and many that day went to heaven to enjoy the long looked for reward of their rigorous ascetism. If any heretic and unpatriotic Brähman, like the humble writer of this article, feel sorry at this energetic display of piety on the part of the Hindu devotees, his mind may be

soothed a little by thinking over the chivalrous conduct of the imperial soldiers on the occasion. Just when the fray was about to begin, the Jogis were found to number about twice the Sanyásis. Some of the soldiers therefore besmeared their persons with ashes and went to support the weaker party. It is said that this was done at the wish of the Emperor. At the end of the last century, during a bathing festival at Hardwar, the two sects contended for the privilege of going first into the water. They again settled their dispute by a free fight, which left 17,000 men dead on the field. Disputes of this kind must be a matter of course where three hundred and thirty three millions of gods, goddesses and godlings scramble for human worship. It has been authoritatively stated in our Scriptures that the deities in heaven draw their nourishment from oblations poured into the sacred fire by their pious worshippers upon earth. There is lamentation in these books that in this Iron Age the quantity of such oblations is growing less and less, and, as a consequence the gods in heaven are getting thinner and thinner. Apparently a famine threatens the celestial regions; people who want to go there better postpone for a while their departure from these sublunary regions. It is further stated in the sacred books that the gods in their anger will not send down the rain, in order to revenge the famine above by a famine below. This is the true cause of deficient rainfall, not the rain-gauges, planted by the Meteorological Department all over the country, which, many wise men assert, frighten away the clouds, as soon as they catch sight of them from a distance. Canals, railways and agricultural improvements will not insure the country against famine. The best preventive measure will be to increase the pay of all Brahmans in the service of Government so that they may have sufficient means to please the gods by oblations and sacrifices.

If quarrels could be expected in a religion possessing an endless number of gods with an endless number of books to prescribe endless modes for their worship, surely no such quarrel need happen among the followers of a religion with only one God to worship, with only one prophet to inculcate that worship, and only one book to prescribe the mode of that worship. But this hope was not realised. There was dispute about the succession to the Khalifate, there was dispute about the meaning of certain passages in the Kurán, there was dispute about the key at which a certain word was to be pronounced, and there were many other disputes even in this religion of oneness. Over and above the old grounds, which created dissensions in the hierarchy of Islam,

a new cause for dispute arose about this time. Ever since Islam entered its nine hundredth year, a great stir was perceptible in the Muhammadan world. People spoke in hushed voices of the coming millenium. A belief gradually gained ground in the minds of men that the significant thousandth year would bring about the dissolution of the world. Men trembled to find themselves so near the Day of Judgment. All shook with fear at the uncertainty of their fate in that awful Day. On that Day they were either to pierce the vaults of the nether regions with shrieks of pain, or gleefully smack their lips after their first taste of the nectar hoarded in the coral mouths of the heavenly houris. Tiptoe they gazed round for the exalted Imam Mahdi whose advent about this time was prophesied of old. They were not long kept waiting. A regular crop of Mahdis sprung up on all sides, and at this critical juncture the religious exuberance of the Indian soil fully maintained its old reputation. Indeed, the expectant multitude now got more Mahdis in their hands than they really wanted, and as the article is not exempt from the ordinary rule which decides the fate of the supply that exceeds the demand, it soon became quite a drug in the Indian religious market. Most of these Mahdis appeared during the fifty years preceding the reign of Akbar, but this monarch had much to do with the sequelæ of the movement. Bengal reaped the greatest honour in this Mahidistic agitation. Her sweet voice and subtle intellect charmed people then as they do now. One of her sons soon stood in the front rank of the Indian Mahdis. His name was Shaikh Alai, whose father a short time ago settled at Biānā near Agra. Seven years before Akbar ascended the throne, when the Afghan King, Islam Shah, was reigning at Delhi, Shaikh Alai gave away all his property to the poor and began to preach the Mahidistic doctrines. He was a man of great learning and considerable oratorical powers. His fame soon spread over the country and reached the ear of Islam Shah. Meantime there was great consternation in the camp of the Ulama, or Muhammadan doctors of divinity in the imperial court. They formed the State clergy and controlled the ecclesiastical and judicial administrations of the country. The decisions they passed were final, and there was no appeal from the interpretations they put on the divine law which included the secular as well. Kings and princes bowed before their decisions. "How great this influence was," writes Blochmann, "may be seen from the fact that of all Muhammadan Emperors only Akbar and perhaps Ala-ud-din Khiliji succeeded in putting down this haughty set." These doctors of law from the very first viewed the Mahi-

distic movement with considerable alarm, as one calculated to diminish their influence. They took such prompt measures to nip it in the bud as to entitle them to the best thanks of their brothers of the Inquisition in a distant part of the globe. They advised Islam Shah to invite the Bengali Mahdi, Shaikh Alai, and to put him to death. Shaikh Alai fearlessly came to court, and by a powerful address so impressed the king with the vanities of the world and the hypocrisy of the learned that, instead of putting him to death, Islam Shah sent him dishes of cooked food as a mark of honour. Here his eloquence effected wonders, for day after day noble after noble joined the Mahdist rank. But the influence of the divines was however great with the king, and he was at last prevailed upon to banish the Bengali orator. He moved towards south, and there in the twinkle of an eye converted Bahar Khan Sarwani with all his army. Islam Shah on hearing it repented of his rude treatment of the holy man and invited him to come back to court. Meanwhile, another powerful Mahidist leader, named Miya Abdulla, was disturbing the minds of the people in the neighbourhood of Agra. He was brought before the King and ordered to be beaten to death. The king was so enraged with his bold conduct before him that he took a special pleasure "to watch on horseback for an hour the execution of the punishment, and only left when Miya Abdulla lay apparently lifeless on the ground." He was, however, not quite dead. When the king left, his disciples took him away and with great care brought him back to life. Thirty-eight years after, the kind Akbar gave him a freehold to keep him in comfort in his old age. The punishment of Miya Abdulla took place when the Bengali Mahdi, Shaikh Alai, was on his way back to Islam Shah's court. When he arrived, the king, who was partial to his merits and was anxious to save his life, softly asked him to whisper to his ear that he gave up his Mahidistic pretensions. Fully convinced of his holy mission, he refused to do so. The king to keep up the appearance that he distributed equal justice among his subjects, and that he disapproved of all dissenting doctrines, ordered a menial to give the Shaikh a few cuts with the whip by way of punishment. The poor man, who had just recovered from an illness, fainted away and died on the spot. "His body was now thrown under the feet of an elephant, and orders were given that no one should bury him, when all at once to the terror of the whole camp and the king who believed that the last day had dawned, a most destructive cyclone broke forth. When the storm abated, Alai's body was found literally buried among roses and other flowers." Every one then predicted that

some great misfortune, would soon happen. Three years after Humáyun came back and finally subverted the Afghan power. In three years more Humáyun died, and Akbar came to the throne.

The turmoils of the revolution did not entirely stop the persecution. The Ulamas continued to harass the dissenters with more or less vigour, and the persecution went on long after the commencement of Akbar's reign. Among the disciples left behind by Shaikh Alai was a man named Mubárak. Though poor he had great learning. People then honoured learning more than they do now. In those days poverty with self-respect did not necessarily condemn a man to obscurity. Mubárak though poor had influence. His adhesion to the Mahidist cause was therefore a matter of sufficient gravity to attract the attention of the court divines. They persuaded young Akbar to give a tacit consent to his death. Mubárak fled, and wandered over the country seeking refuge now here, now there. His affairs soon grew so desperate that he came back and for sometime hovered near the court in the hope of something turning up in his favour. Fortune at last smiled upon him. His eldest boy wrote a few pieces of poetry which soon excited universal admiration. They were recited before the Emperor, and their excellence so pleased him that he wished to see the young poet. But the enemies of Mubárak mistook the royal intention, and were in raptures at what they thought the approaching doom of the family. They hurried a detachment of Mughal soldiers to the place where Mubárak with his two sons was then living. The soldiers surrounded the house, ill-treated the father, seized the eldest boy and brought him a captive before the royal presence. The Uiamas recited verses from the Kurán in praise of the Almighty that He in His goodness would not allow the heretical sapling to take root, and at the same time the court executioner carefully felt with his finger the edge of his sword. But there was a misapprehension. Akbar did not order the young poet to be beheaded on the spot; on the other hand, he received him with every mark of honour and respect. The poet was Farzi, whose name must be familiar to readers of Indian history. Seven years after, in the year 1574, in the twentieth year of Akbar's reign, the other son of Mubárak came to Court. He was formally introduced the year previous through the influence of his brother, but Akbar had immediately to leave for the Eastern Provinces to see with his own eyes the conduct of war, then being carried on against Daud Khan of Bengal. In the first presentation, therefore, Akbar had no

time to take sufficient notice of the young man, whose reputation for learning had already spread far and wide and "the star of whose knowledge and wisdom was brilliant," says Budauni. When the second time he came to Court, he had acquired the rare title of *'Allami* or "very learned." A presentiment of coming evil now cast its shadow on the minds of the court Ulama. "What religious mischief is there of which that man is not capable?" asked Makhdum-ur-mulk, the head of the court divines, of his disciples, when he first set his eyes on the face of this young man. Indeed, the introduction of Mubarak's second son to court happened to be the turning point in Akbar's religious convictions. The name of this young man was ABUL FAZL.

G. N. MUKHARJI.

ON VILLAGE FOOD SUPPLY AND GENERAL DIETARY IN BENGAL.

THE rural villages in Bengal cannot boast of a daily bazar or market for the supply of food. It is only towns and advanced villages that enjoy the advantages of a fresh supply of fish, vegetables, and other articles which enter into the ordinary dietary of Hindus and Mussulmans of Bengal. The rural villages have, as a rule, a shop or two, for the sale of rice, dal, oil, salt, spices and other articles required by the simple rustics. Those that have no shops depend on *hants* or fairs held once or twice a week in some neighbouring village or town.

Rice being the staple food of Bengalis, the people have to procure it as the first necessary article of food. In towns and advanced villages the people buy ready made rice from shops and bazars, while in rural villages well-to-do persons and agriculturists generally have their barns where they stow paddy for a whole year's consumption and sometimes more. In the case of impecunious ryots and cultivators who borrow money from *mahajuns* at a high rate of interest and repay their loans by paddy—the amount of paddy left for home consumption after repayment does not last for more than a few months, and they have to go to the *mahajun* again for the supply of food. Sometimes farmers are tempted by high prices to sell off their stock of paddy in the hope of good crops in the next season. Both agriculturists and labourers of villages generally husk their paddy and make rice for themselves, which comes cheaper than the rates prevailing in shops and bazars. This practice is very common so much so that if the weather is unseasonable and the sun does not shine for a week or ten days (as was the case in November last, when it rained heavily for ten days) the rural people could not husk rice and had to live on *chow* and other things.

There are two ways of husking rice : 1st *Atap Chow* (আতপ চৌ) or table rice is made by drying the paddy in the sun and

then husking it in the common *dheki*, a sort of huge wooden pestle and mortar.

2nd. By boiling the paddy and then drying it in the sun and husking it. This is (সিদ্ধ চাউল) which is much more universally used than the first variety. This kind of rice is not so nutritious as *Atap* or unboiled paddy rice, because the boiling extracts some of its nutriment.

The varieties of rice and paddy are so numerous that it would require a whole article to describe them. Suffice it for the purposes of this paper to say that rice is of two or three kinds; fine and fragrant, medium sized and white and coarse and red. New rice comes into season twice or thrice in the year as *Aous* in September, *Amun* in November and December, and *Bor* in May and June. New rice is hard of digestion and generally occasions sickness, as diarrhoea, dysentery and cholera. The winter cholera in November and December is attributed by popular notion to the use of new rice by the lower classes.

Mode of boiling rice.—Rice is boiled in plenty of water so that there is always an excess of water left which is called *conjee*. This conjee extracts a good part of the nutriment contained in rice and is poured out of the boiling pot. It is generally thrown away in Bengal, but up-country Hindustancees drink it the first thing. New rice boiled in a little excess of water and taken as such is delicious especially with a little salt and vegetable *bhurtas*.

The composition of rice is as follows:—Nitrogenous substance varies for 3 to 7.5 in 100 parts, according to variety of rice, it also stands last in fat and salts compared with wheat, barley, &c. It stands first in the amount of starch of which it chiefly consists.

As rice is defective in nitrogen or flesh forming substance it is generally taken by the people of Bengal with *dol*.

The composition is:—it contains a large amount of nitrogenous substances.

• From the above it will be seen that *dol* is rich in nitrogen and is therefore as nutritious as meat.

• *Moosur dol* is very nutritious and is prescribed by Hindu physicians as broth for weakly patients—just as English doctors order beef tea for their patients. *Moosur dol* is as good as beef, nay, better than bad beef which is sold largely in Indian markets.

Moosur, *Chana* and *Urhur dol*, being more nutritious, are considered to be heating and hence these are avoided by persons of weak and feeble digestion, the latter prefer *Kelai* and *Moong* which are regarded more cooling, being less nutritious than the first group. In the hot weather the cooling *dols* are preferred to

the heating ones. In the preparation of *dol*, some spices and a little ghee are used to give it a nice flavor—the poor cannot afford the last and are thankful to get *dol* with a little turmeric powder and salt. With rice and *dol* the poor man has to content himself with the addition of some greens and vegetables. If he can get some fish, either caught with his own hand or purchased for a pice he thinks himself very fortunate and blesses God for the good feed.

Vegetables grow plentifully in Bengal and the people know how to make them into various dishes, the most palatable if not the most nutritious. Vegetarians maintain that a purely vegetable diet is as good and nutritious as meat. At the London Health Exhibition in 1884, vegetable dinners were served for six pence, consisting of vegetable soup, stewed lentils, &c., &c., and vegetable pudding, which were pronounced to be delicious as the writer can testify from personal experience. The people of Bengal know best how to make delicious dishes of vegetables, variously combined and spiced. The vegetables most commonly used in Bengali diet are greens of all sorts, brinjals and radishes, potatoes and yams of different kinds, pumpkins—sweet and bitter, potols, dondhols, jhingas and kakrees, the green jack and figs, peas and beans of different species, &c., &c.

The farmers and labourers of rural villages generally have a plot of ground near the mud hut or house in which he grows some greens and vegetables and also plantains. Pumpkins and beans and cucumbers are reared on the top of the straw-thatched roof. These home-grown things generally suffice for the poor man's daily requirements and he supplements them from *hauls* and bazars when his own supply runs short or altogether fails. He has only to buy a little salt and oil and fish, the latter is often procured by angling or netting. The middle and upper classes procure both vegetable and fish from the daily market or bi-weekly *hauls* or fairs, and if a house-holder miss a fair, he has to go without his supplies till the next *haul* day. In some districts with a hard soil which does not yield anything unless well-manured much vegetable cannot be raised and used. In such places the people have to content themselves with rice and *dol* with a minimum of vegetables and fish when procurable.

The variety and choice of vegetables being so great, it was necessary to restrict their use by some rules so that the poor people might not be tempted to use the same vegetables day after day. Hence the wise and crafty Hindu priests and Brahmins have laid down the days and months when certain vegetables are per-

missible and others non-permissible. To ensure this variety of vegetables and dishes, the sanction of the popular Hindu religion was given, so as to make the use or non-use of the permissible and prescribed articles a matter of conscience, especially with women who preside over the culinary department. It is or ought to be the custom in every country for the women to have charge of the kitchen and the ordering of dishes that should be served at the different meals. In Bengal this is the special province of the ladies, who wash and bathe early before they can enter the sanctum of the cook-room and handle the cooking pots and pans and prepare the nice and delicious dishes made of different combinations of vegetables and fish for which Bengal is famous.

The use of animal food is very limited, if not entirely prohibited. Certain classes, like the Vaishnaubs and high caste Hindu widows never eat any fish or meat. Fish forms part of a Bengali diet and is the only animal food consumed by the great majority. The well-to-do and those that have imbibed a taste for meat indulge in goat's flesh and mutton and sometimes transgress the orthodox bounds and go in for beef and pork in secret. In a hot country like India people should be sparing in the use of animal food. Europeans and others who eat meat at all meals suffer before long and pay the penalty by having a bad liver and have to leave the country temporarily or permanently. I know of some Europeans, including eminent medical men, who have given up the use of meat and taken to a purely vegetable diet. This fact proves the wisdom of the Hindu lawgivers who prescribed the Hindu dietary as consisting chiefly of vegetables with a little fish, and Dr. Chevers remarked that they could not have done better had they studied at the feet of Liebig or Prout. In the *Shastras* we read of old and holy Rishis and Munis indulging freely in beef, pork and horse-flesh as shown by their practice of গোমেদ (gomedh) অশ্বমেদ, and the hunt of the boar. The *Goalas* and *Lallus* of the N. W. P. still indulge in pork and fowls respectively without losing their caste. In defence of the practice of Rishis and Munis it may be urged that the Aryans at that time lived in a cold latitude, *i.e.*, on the heights of the Hindukush Mountains, beyond the Indus, and were then a strong and robust people, and that afterwards, they migrated to the hot plains, when they changed their habits as to eating and drinking.

Water is the principal drink of the Bengalis, except the low caste Bagdis and Boomas who drink liquor made from rice, *goor* and *mowa*. In the western districts of Bengal, like Burdwan.

Bankura, Birbhum, and Chota Nagpur, the lower classes eat one meal of rice and take *pechoon* or rice beer for the last meal or supper. This is a sort of stimulating food and the people seem to thrive on it. • The Sonthals, Kols and other aboriginal tribes all drink some intoxicating liquor made from the *mowa* fruit. The sudder and outstills distilleries have cheapened country liquor and placed greater facilities and temptations in the way of the people.

That a vegetable diet is capable of making a race strong and developing the muscles is proved by the case of the Rajputs and others who never touch any animal food, not even fish, and they form the best of our native forces. The Sikhs, though allowed to eat meat, as a rule live on *dol* and *rotce* and vegetables. Our Sikhs and Rajput sepoys are the best in physique and endurance. The *Gaulas* and *Chashas* of some parts of Bengal, who live on rice and vegetable, are no bad specimens of muscular development and physique. Mussulmans of Bengal, though allowed to eat meat, live, —the great majority of the rural population, on rice and vegetable—নানে মুসলমান কাঁজী ভক্ষণ।—though some of them eat beef, goat and fowls on special occasions.

The rural population of Bengal are said to be so poor and indebted from occasional outbreaks of extravagance at wedding, and *sradhs*, that a good number live on one meal a day. The cultivating and labouring classes partake of a little *bashi* (stale) rice, as *nosta* at 8 or 9 A.M. and in the absence of it, they chew some rice grains and drink water and thus break their fast. The midday meal of rice, *dol*, vegetables and fish is served at 1 or 2 P.M. or later. In the case of people in easy circumstances the hour is earlier and their breakfast consists of sweets and *jalpan*. The evening meal or supper is served early in the case of children who go to sleep soon after dusk, but adults never eat till a late hour, after which they go to bed immediately with heavy stomach. After each meal the people wash and rinse their mouths and carefully clean their teeth of all particles of food and then chew betel-leaf (or pan) or simply spices. This chewing of *pan* is good and has several things to recommend it. In the first place, it removes the fetor of the mouth and thus prevents the decay and caries of the teeth. So after all the chewing of *pan* is not a dirty habit as Europeans seem to think, but a good habit which prevents fetor of the mouth and destruction of the teeth. Those who have been to Europe, and noticed the misery of lads and lasses, of young men and maidens from bad teeth will be able to appreciate the benefits of rinsing the mouth after meals and chewing

some sort of fragrant stuff. It is rare to find in Europe young men and women or lads and lasses who have a whole and sound set of teeth in their heads, and whose mouths do not emit a fetor which makes close conversation with them a penance—to say nothing of something else which involves closer contact.

False teeth is the rule with adults and accidents of swallowing them are frequent. Dentistry is a flourishing branch of surgery in Europe. In India it is not cultivated by a single graduate of the college here.

2nd.—The chewing of *pan* promotes the flow of saliva which is so necessary to the healthy digestion and assimilation of starchy food of which the Bengali diet chiefly consists.

3rd.—The little *chunam* or slaked lime, used in *pan* might do good in correcting any acidity.

4th.—The little catechu may be of use in preventing diarrhoea.

Hindu *Bhojs* and Mahomedans *Khanas* are always on a large scale—the meals are served a late hour, 2 or 3 P.M., and are eaten off plaintain leaves. In *Fulahars*, fruits are eaten (as the name implies) first or last, with *luchers*, sweets, *dohis* (curds) and *khirs* (cream). In ordinary *bhojs*, rice, *dol*, and all sorts of vegetable and fish dishes are consumed with *dohis*, (curds) *pyesh* (rice and milk pudding) and *sundesh*.

In Mahomedan *Khanas*, the above are used with the addition of meat, sometimes well-to-do persons have *pillaus* and *kormas*. The hours are very late and the people, who have a good appetite indulge too freely in the good things provided by the master of the feast, and often get ill afterwards. At weddings, which generally take place at night, the feasts are held at very late hours and cause more sickness than those held during the day.

Pans are invariably served last to every guest who help themselves with a couple or more.

Suggestions and recommendations for the improvement of the Bengal dietary.

Rice being so defective in the flesh-forming substance, *dol* should be always eaten with it by persons with good digestion. Those that can afford should substitute *chapalis* of barley or wheat for one meal. *Atap choul* or rice from unboiled paddy might be universally used instead of the other variety, because boiling extracts some of its nutriment. The method of boiling rice again with excess of water which is poured out and thrown away should be gradually discontinued—as much of the nutriment is thus wasted. Rice should be boiled with water just enough to soften the grains and no more. In this way all its nutri-

ment, which is rather poor and not rich, is conserved. The addition of dol to rice to make *khichri* is good and should be gradually accustomed and habituated. The use of beans, lentils, and peas of different kinds (which are very rich in nitrogeneous matter) with rice should be encouraged and the people taught to use them.

The use of oil and ghee and milk adds more carbonaceous food which is required for calorificants or heat-producing agents.

K. P. GUPTA.

OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.

The Hindus in their day were a great nation. Like the Greeks and Romans, they produced several illustrious characters—heroes, statesmen, and sages, a life-account of whom is calculated as much to instruct as to entertain. But there rose no Plutarch among them to transmit their fame to future generations, and the history of their lives is a sealed book to the world. The idea of a history in the sense now attached to the term, was not conceived by Hindu writers. Nothing in the shape of a biography exists in Sanscrit literature. There has been no better development of the historic talent than that displayed in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the Puranas. These furnish a vast wealth of materials, but the accounts preserved in them are so overlaid by fables, allegories, and improbable circumstances—they form such an admixture of the real and the romantic, that truth lies imbedded deep below the surface, and it is a laborious, if not a hopeless, task to exhume it by protracted investigation. Impossible as it is to evolve a large measure of truth from such records, let us however venture upon the attempt of spinning out a yarn that may be taken up by a future student of greater researches and light. But we wish it to be understood that we do not promise to lay before the public a series of biographical sketches doing justice to the characters we have selected for elucidation. Our effort is modestly confined to skeleton outlines briefly telling the truth so far as it can be discerned, and bringing out the leading characters of our history with a prominence to the most significant and suggestive occurrences in their lives. Our aim is approximation to the truth. We write not so much from evidence as from sentiment; and we care not to analyze and explain it, if the result of our labours engages interest, and leaves an impression.

RAMA.

It would be a glaring omission if our list was not headed by Rama, who stands out so pre-eminent in the annals of our nation. Rejecting all that is wild and extravagant, the Ramayana

must be granted to rest upon a basis of truth. The "great beacon of the Solar dynasty," was no myth. "He lived, and moved, and had his being"—facts accepted and cherished by generation after generation. His line yet survives in the Rana of Mewar and the Raja of Jaipur. The places he spent his exile in, are all localised. His coins are said to exist among the penates of Hindu households. The anniversary of his birth is held a sacred day in the Hindu Calendar. Let us therefore open our account with a brief narrative of his story—stating a few of those salient facts the truth of which is beyond all question.

Rama was born on the *Navami*, or ninth day, of the waxing moon of Chaitra. The year of his birth is lost in the mystification of Hindu chronology—it being simply known that he flourished in the Treta Yuga. Modern researches, however, throw a glimpse of light on his age. His story "is represented amongst the sculptures of Bharut stupa as illustration of the Dasaratha jataka of the Buddhists," from which General Cunningham concludes it to be "certainly as old as the second century B.C." Rama is not mentioned either in the Vedas, or in the Manu Sanghita. He is spoken of in the Mahabharata. His antiquity may best be inferred from the antiquity of Ayodhya, "some of the coins of which in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," says James Prinsep, "are of such extreme antiquity that the characters in which their legends are graven are totally unknown."

The birth-place of Rama was Ayodhya, the capital of Kosala—the modern Oudh, upon the river Saraju—the modern Gogra, near Fyzabad. In the olden times, Ayodhya was a magnificent city "of large houses, well-watered streets, decorated temples, stately palaces, pleasant gardens, shady groves, spacious tanks, and impregnable fortifications." But in the present day, the traveller sees there little "beyond a shapeless heap of ruins, a mass of rubbish and jungle which stretches along the southern bank of the Gogra." Nevertheless, it is visited as a sacred pilgrimage by thousands throughout the year, and where a great *mela* is held on the anniversary of Rama's birth.

• Rama was the eldest son of Raja Dasaratha, by Kausalya, who had three other sons—Bharata and Satrugana by Kaikayi, and Lakshmana by Sumitra. The boyhood of Rama was passed under the instruction of Vasishta, the household chaplain. But he was trained more in the traditional qualifications of a Kshatriya and a prince—in archery, and in the art of throwing the quoit and javelin, than in lessons of grammar, language, and science. Out of the hands of his tutors, the youthful Rama turned out the most

hopeful scion of the Solar house—"the rose and expectancy of the state."

The career of Rama commenced with a noted incident in that age of heroic adventures. The Swayanivara, or the choice of a husband by a young virgin herself, was a remarkable feature in the ancient manners of the Hindus. In the neighbouring kingdom of Mithila, Raja Janaka had a daughter Sita, who was the most beautiful and accomplished princess of her age. Her hand had been promised to the individual who should succeed to bend a bow—"the ponderous bow of Ulysses," in the court of her father. Many a prince, sprung from the families of the sun and moon, became candidates for her hand. Among them was Rama, then in the bloom of youth, and possessed of a handsome manly figure and countenance. He set out for Janakpur, near modern Darbhanga, travelling thither under the guidance of Viswamitra. The Swayamvara came on with great pomp. Heralds, skilled in genealogy, proclaimed the assemblage of the different kings. Before them lay the enormous bow in the space facing the galleries erected for their seats. They entered one by one upon the trial of their strength; but far from bending the bow they could not lift it up. The feat was accomplished by Rama, who, fulfilling the vow of her father, won the hand of Sita.

"Happy, happy, happy pair!"

None but the brave,

None but the *brave*,

None *but* the brave deserve the fair."

On return home from his nuptial expedition, Rama was associated by his father in the government of his kingdom. But this step caused great heart-burning to his step-mother Kaikayi, who was anxious for the succession of her son Bharata. She was an artful woman who held her aged husband in blind subjection to her influence, and so infused suspicions into his mind that he doomed his hopeful son to exile for fourteen years. Rama departed from the court of his father, accompanied by his wife Sita, and his step-brother Lakshmana. He proceeded towards, Dandaka, or the Dekhan, where he proposed to take up his abode. Passing through Prayag, or Allahabad, he paid a visit to, and spent a few days with, Bharadwaj Muni, in his asram, or hermitage, close by the confluence of the Jamna and Ganges. The place where Rama crossed over to the other side of the Jamna, is the present Daria-ghat, which lies a little way off from the Railway bridge over that river. It is held as a sacred spot, where

Hindustani women perform their ablutions and matin rites in the holy month of Kartic, and where is witnessed a lively scene of their procession home clothed in drapery of the gayest colours, and striking up a melodious chant in chorus.

Under Bharadwaj's recommendation, Rama proceeded from Allahabad to Chitrakot. More than one hill was known under this designation. Kalidas' Chitrakot, which fell on the route of his "Cloud Messenger," was "in the vicinity of Amarkantak, and formed part of the same range." Valmiki's Chitrakot, the most famous hill of that name, is situated some thirty miles south by west of Allahabad, and which is visible from the Markanda station on the Jabbalpur Line. Literally, Chitrakot means the painted hill, owing to the various hues of its rocks, which are thus spoken of in the Ramayana :—

"There a silvery sheen is spread,
And there, like blood, the rocks are red.
There shows a streak of emerald green,
And pink and yellow glow between." *

It is an independent offshoot which stands alone in its beauty. The romance of the spot is thus dwelt upon by the poet :—

"Auspicious hill ! where all day long
The lapwing's cry, the koil's song,
Make all who listen gay :
Where all is fresh and fair to see :
Where elephants and deer roam free." †

Here, upon this delightful hill, did Rama choose his first asylum in his progress to the south, a circumstance from which it has derived the sanctity of a pilgrimage in the eyes of all Hindus.

During Rama's residence at Chitrakot, his father Raja Dasaratha died at Ayodhya. Far from raising any opposition to his succession, Bharata made a journey to Chitrakot to urge his return, and ascend the throne. But under the obligation of paternal behest, Rama was determined to work out the full term of his exile, and he nominated Bharata to administer the affairs of the Raj in his absence.

From Chitrakot, Rama went southwards into Dandakaranya, or the great wilderness of the Dekhan. The route of his journey

* Griffith's Translation of the Ramayana.

† The same.

cannot be ascertained now with geographical accuracy. Thus much we know that he at last arrived at Panchavati, where he closed his wanderings, and chose to pass the remainder of his exile. It was a scene diversified with hill, wood, and water, of which the following description is from the *Ullara Ram Charita* of Vavabhuti :—

Scenes of repose, with lavish nature graced :
 Haunts undisturbed of timid birds and deer,
 Streams decorated with the untrodden fringe
 Of flowery blossoms and luxurious creepers,
 I know ye well, Yon wavy distant ridge,
 Like a faint line of low descending clouds
 Defines Prasravana, whose lofty crest,
 Was once the vulture-King Jatayu's seat.
 And from whose sides precipitously falls
 The broad Godavari, At the holy foot,
 And on the margin of the stately wood,
 Where the dark trees, upon whose branches, bowed
 Into the shining stream beneath, the birds
 Sang sweet and soft, our leafy cottage stood.*

Panchavati is now identified with Nasik, the holiest *tirtha* in the Dekhan, and where the Godavari rises from the Western Ghats. In the seclusion of this romantic spot, Rama, associated with Lakshmana, spent his days diverted by the pleasures of chase. One day, during their absence in pursuit of a deer, Ravana, King of Lanka, or Ceylon, took advantage of the opportunity to possess himself of the beautiful Sita by stratagem and force, and bore her off to his kingdom. He executed his purpose with such deep secrecy, that for a long time Rama could get no information of the disaster which had befallen to his beloved consort. It was at last brought by Hanumana, who after a protracted search traced her whereabouts at Ceylon. Rama had now one thought, idea, and hope—to attack Lanka, and deliver Sita.

Ravana was a formidable enemy. He was king of the fertile and rich island of Ceylon—the Tambapani of the early Buddhists, whence the Taprobane of the Greeks; the Serehdip of Sinbad, the Sinkhaladwipa of Srimanta, and the “finest island” of Marco Polo. His insular kingdom, “set like an emerald in the silver sea,” defied attack. His throne was defended by many redoubtable warriors. He himself was a great soldier. So restless was he from strong military instincts, that his Queen Manda-

* Dr. Wilson's translation.

dari is said to have invented the game of Chess to keep his mind diverted from constant wars. He had extended his domination over the-neighbouring states on the continent, where his power was dreaded by many a Chief. Nothing daunted by the fearful odds, Rama girded up his loins for fight. He possessed great resources of mind which in every way qualified him both to conciliate and command. Finding the country around him smarting under the ascendancy of his enemy, he raised his standard to secure friends to help him in his need. This was a tempting opportunity for all eager to shake off the thralldom of an intolerant ruler. They found in the royal exile a consummate leader, like Sivaji in after ages, and flocked to his banner. Many a local prince and chief thus were interested on his behalf. His cause was heartily befriended by Sugriva, whom he helped to the throne of Kichkinda. Hanumana, whose powers of organization were invaluable on the occasion, became a most devoted adherent, and went through the most arduous services. The sagacious Jamvuvana guided his councils. There were barbarous mountaineers and foresters dwelling in Southern India in those early ages, who also became his faithful allies and auxiliaries.

On the country uprising in his favour, and improvising an army for him, Rama set out on his expedition. His march near Madras was opposed at Mahabalipur, the capital of Raja Bali, who was a great sea-king, with extensive maritime dominion and colonies reaching up to Java, where the town of Balli was founded after his name. The hostility of the Dravidian monarch led to his overthrow. Rama then pushed on along the coast towards Rameswaram. In those days, the span of waters between the mainland of India and the island of Ceylon was closed by the isthmus of a narrow ridge of sand and rocks. This isthmus—the Setubund of Valmiki, and Adam's Bridge of our day—"is surmised, on geological and historical probabilities, to have at one time connected the island of Rameswaram with the mainland. Tradition countenances this belief; and the original disruption by an inroad of the sea, caused by a hurricane, is by some believed to have occurred as late as the early part of the fifteenth century."* Over this natural bridge Rama marched his army to Lanka.

The site of the capital of Ravana—whether it was situated like Kandy in the central highlands of the Island, or like Colombo on the coast, it is now impossible to ascertain. "But there are abundant proofs that the ancient kingdom of Ceylon was both

populous and powerful : the ruins of cities and canals, the traces of enormous public works, the artificial lake of Kandely existing near Trincomalee, attest the greatness of the Singalis under the rule of their Native princes. Anuradhapura, one of the ancient capitals, was sixteen miles square, and a list of the streets in this ruined city is still in existence.* The conflagration of Lanka by Hanumana is a proof of its having contained several huts. So did Delhi in the height of its splendour, and so does Calcutta in our own day. But after all we may assume that Lanka was well fortified according to the rules of war in that age. The siege of that city, like the siege of Troy or Granada, was a protracted work. The Rakshasa King made the most strenuous efforts to repel the invasion. He called out his most distinguished warriors to stem its torrent. But in vain was the gallant defence—it was neutralized by the perfidy of his brother Vivishana, who took an active part on the side of Rama, and betrayed the most important secrets. One by one the Rakshasa heroes fell, till their throng was closed by the great Ravana himself. His death was followed by the subjugation of his kingdom. But under the laws of Manu, a Hindu conquest was seldom made for permanent annexation. The common usage was to make over the conquered Raj to one of its princes as a tributary to the victor. Rama repaid the services of Vivishana by seating him on the throne of his brother.

The outrage avenged, his consort rescued, and the Aryan conquest of India to its farthest extremity completed, Rama set out upon his return to Oudh. His progress was broken at Ramgiri, now called Rantag, a beautiful peak overlooking the lovely Tapti—the same that Kalidas chose for the scene of his exiled Yaesha. Here Rama celebrated his triumph, and received the homage of the Turanian Chiefs and people of the Dekhan in acknowledgment of his suzerainty. In memory of this event, the place ranks as a holy pilgrimage, crowded with temples, and is honored with an annual mela. 24th 845

From Ramgiri, Rama proceeded to Ayodhya, where he assumed the royal insignia, and rendered his reign illustrious by his wisdom and benevolence. The people having raised a clamour about her infidelity, Sita had to undergo banishment at the hermitage of Valmiki, where she arrived in a state of pregnancy and gave birth to Lava and Kusha. The celebration of Aswamedha, a rite performed only by the greatest Rajas of Hindu history, next engaged the attention of Rama. It concluded with the

* W. Cooke Taylor's *History of British India*.

return of his wife and children to Ayodhya. The happy years that now followed did not run in a long course. The death of Lakshmana, his devoted brother and companion in exile, was a heavy affliction under which he succumbed : an accident in the Saraju, below the present Ramghat, closed the earthly career of Rama.

Such are the outlines of a story which is too familiar to be cast away as an empty fiction. In his personal appearance, Rama may be described to have had "Hyperion's curls ; the front of Jove himself ; an eye like Mars, to threaten and command." His apotheosis by the unanimous verdict of the nation is the best comment on the greatness of his character. He ruled with such justice and benevolence that it is proverbial to speak of a happy kingdom as *Ram-Rajya*. The great result of his reign is the Aryan conquest of Southern India and Ceylon. Doubts have been cast upon this great undertaking by Mr. Elphinstone, who "thinks it highly improbable that Rama was the first invader of the Dekhan." But it is a well known fact that Alla-uddin, the first Mahomedan invader of the Dekhan, proceeded down to Deogiri, and overthrew its powerful Raj with the small force of eight thousand men. His General Kafur made a victorious march almost as far as Rameswaram. The interpretation by Wheeler that the war between Rama and Ravana is, in other words, the war between Brahmanism and Buddhism cannot recommend itself to acceptance, because it involves the ignoring of two patent facts—first, that Rama flourished long before the rise of Buddhism, and next, that Buddhism, far from being extinguished, still forms the great religion of Ceylon.

VALMIKI.

The literature of the Hindus presents a rich field, in which we find effusions of poetry rising to the sublimity of Homer, dramas approaching to the excellence of Shakespeare, philosophy rivalling that of the Greek Schools, and astronomy anticipating the discoveries of Cassini and La Place. It is not more remarkable, than it is to be regretted, that in a literature of such diversified character there should be no specimen of biography. Of the personal histories of such men as Valmiki and Vyasa, Gautama and Sankara, Kalidasa, Jayadeva, and Chand, little more is known than their bare names. They flit before our imagination in formless visions, and elude its grasp for want of a tangible memorial "giving the body and pressure" of their existence. Our ancestors confined themselves only to the admiration of their writings, and never felt solicitous about transmitting an account of their lives to posterity. There were no such literary Sanchos as a Spence to

collect their anecdotes, nor a Boswell' to run through the town for picking up a saying. The indifference thus evinced has gathered round their glories clouds of oblivion which scarcely allow a ray to break through the darkness.

The following outline, which by courtesy may be called the life of Valmiki, has been undertaken "hoping against hope" to overcome the difficulties arising from scantiness of materials forbidding the attempt. In laying it before the enlightened public of our day, we cannot be blind to its superficiality; but our object is less to instruct than to be instructed—to awaken curiosity that it may pour information from every available source.

Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana, is one of the most celebrated characters in the history of Sanscrit literature. Literally, the term Valmiki is an appellative applied to one who dwells in the hole of an ant-hill. In the forest-depths of India, the ants sometimes build up their nests so high and huge that room is found in their deserted hollows for a recluse to lay in his head. So recently as in Raja Krishna Chandra Rai's time, there were found in his Zamindari more than one *Tapassi* in such profound meditation that bushes had grown over their heads with birds' nests in them. Those who remember seeing, in 1834, the remarkable Mahapurusha brought down from Backarganj to Khidarpur, realized the phenomenon of an Indian Yogi "lifted up from nature up to nature's God." We have seen also at Nadiya the novice of a young Brahman who lived in a small hole dug in the bank of the Bhagirathi practising Yogism. The age of Yogis and Sadhus is gone: that of materialists and sceptics has succeeded; and the ascetic life followed in India from age to age is fast disappearing from the land. It was from his living secluded for a series of years in a hole dug amidst sands that our poet was called Valmiki. His name proper is unknown.

The next difficulty encountered in drawing a sketch of his life, is to ascertain his epoch. From the vagueness of Indian chronology, this question is involved in an obscurity upon which the keenest research fails to throw any light. There is the positive statement in the Ramayana that its author was contemporary with his hero. But, excepting Dante and Camoens, all the great epic poets—Homer, Virgil, Firdusi, Ariosto, Tasso, and others—took up to embody their inspiration after the lapse of a considerable time in the course of which the real circumstances of the stories were so much forgotten that a poet could safely venture to invest his hero with supernatural powers. The best clue to the age of

Valmiki is found in the intrinsic evidence furnished by the language of his writings. It has not the imperfect idiom of the Vedas requiring the glossarial aid of the "Nirukta" and the "Nighanta" to understand them, nor the grammatical refinement of the Srimada Bhagvada composed in the twelfth century. Between the two, the language of the Ramayana approaches the former in simplicity, and partakes the polish of the latter. Ravana is represented to have been a follower of Siva. The guardian deity of Lanka was Durga. If these statements be not interpolations of a subsequent date, then the epoch of Valmiki may be fixed after the rise of the sects of those divinities. Bentley, in his commentary on Hindu astronomy, supposes him to have flourished 300 years after Rama. For aught we know, he may have been the contemporary of the hero of his epic song.

The birth-place of Valmiki is as uncertain as that of Homer. From the circumstance of his plying the trade of a robber in the early part of his life, it may barely be inferred that he was born in a wild mountainous country which is convenient for brigandage. It may be Budlekhand, or more probably Malwa, the great stronghold of Bheel robber-clans. But we are quite in the dark about the particular town or village that forms the spot of his nativity. Equally unknown to us are the beings entitled to the honor of his parentage. Col. Tod traces his descent "from a budhek or robber, an associate of the Bheel tribe at Aboo," and that he was afterwards "invested with a sacred character."

Valmiki grew up a wild, illiterate boy. In his youth, he lived as an outlaw known by the name of Ratnakar. History has recorded the levities of an Anacreon, the sorceries of a Virgil, the deer-stealings of a Shakespeare, the briberies of a Bacon, and the vagaries of a Byron; but never did genius disgrace itself by ruffianism. Urged either by necessity, or imbibing it from his parent and associates, he took to the life of a highwayman, choosing a deep forest for the scene of his depredations, where he used to lie in ambush, and spring upon lone travellers passing his way, just as the *Kallaparas* followed the self-same trade in the districts of Lower Bengal until the opening of the Railways have put an end to their nefarious practices.

The story about a change coming over his spirit, and his abandonment of the life of a reprobate, is thus related. One day Brahma, Vishnu, and Varada, disguised as three Brahmans, were making their way by his lurking-place, when he pounced upon them to lay violent hands. The Brahmans demanded a parley before their despoilment. They asked Ratnakar the reason for

his following so unlawful a course of gain. He replied that he knew of no better means to procure bread to his aged parents. Surely, said the Brahmans, filial duty is one of the most imperative obligations, but would the beings for whom you are perpetrating such misdeeds share in their consequences? Taken aback by this interrogatory, Ratnakar stood dumfounded without a reply. He was directed to go and refer the question to his parents. Tying securely the Brahmans to three trees that they might not make their escape, Ratnakar went upon the errand prescribed to him. On plying his father and mother with the question of the Brahmans, they at once declared that a man's sins are his own, in which no body else ever participates. No sooner the light of this truth flashed on his mind than he forthwith resolved to give up his habits of detested outlawry, and coming back to the Brahmans set them free with thanks for their well-meant admonition. "This conversion of Valmiki," says Col. Tod, "is worked into a story of considerable effect, in the works of Chand, from olden authority."

The foregoing legend relates in figurative language how his conscience, reason, and sensitive mind, imagined to be personated by three Brahmans, prevailed to assert their influence, and weaned our poet from habits in which he was not gone so far as to have become perfectly insensible to the perceptions of right and wrong. He was gifted with a high order of genius, nearly allied to madness, which led him into an erratic life, but did not deaden his moral faculty. The better part of his nature rebelled, and awakened him to the undertakings which he had been destined to fulfil.

On his righting himself, Valmiki attached himself to a preceptor, and commenced his studies open to all classes of people before the introduction of the rigid caste-system defined the especial privileges of the Brahmans. In those days, the forests of Hindustan were not left entirely to the dominion of the brutes. They were many of them dotted with the abodes of men who isolated themselves from society to pursue in retirement an undisturbed course of learning, and an untainted life of devotion and piety. These recluses were known by the name of Munis, or Rishis, the sanctity of whose character was invariably blended with great erudition and wisdom. It is a remarkable fact in the history of our ancestors that their intellectual pursuits were seldom carried in the haunts of men. The nursery of ancient Hindu learning was in the desert—it was a native of the forest, and cradled upon the rock. The courts and capitals of princes rung not with its Paens. There was no such thing as the University of Ayodhya, or the Royal College of Benares. The seats of

our Sanscrit Muses were in the domains of solitude—they flourished in the caverns of the Himalayas, on the rocks of Bundelkund, and on the banks of the Sarasvati, Jamna, Ganges and Narmada. The mount of Chitrakot was their Hymettus, and the mount of Goverdhana was their Parnassus. There was Naimisharanya, the modern Nimsar, in Oudh, the most renowned sanctuary of learning, like the Academy and Lyceum of the Greeks, who had them in common Aryan fashion. The lessons received from the Munis were without fee or reward, as they are gratuitous to this day in the toles of our Pandits. Pupils from far and near flocked in hundreds to receive them, and sometimes their number rose to thousands. Buddha became the pupil of a Brahman at Vaisali (modern Besarh, in Tirhut), who had gathered round him 300 disciples. In Rajagriha, the capital of ancient Magadha, he placed himself under the instruction of another Brahman, who had 700 disciples. The number of scholars assembled at Naimisharanya is exaggerated to have been sixty thousand.

Valmiki proceeded to one such seat of learning, indicated to have been situated on the south side of the Jamna, about eight miles from Chitrakot. But who his preceptor was, is not mentioned. Nor is there any thing on record touching his educational career. The only fact, extant in the garb of fable, is that he spent a series of years in a hole dug on a sandy soil, prosecuting his studies with an unremitting attention. It was from this circumstance that he was called Valmiki.

On the completion of his studies, our poet entered into matrimony. He then chose his *Asrama* in a delightful spot, where lived with his wife, performing the prescribed sacrifices and ceremonies of religion. His *Tapavana*, or hermitage, is said to have been situated at Chakla, a village on the banks of the Narmada, in the Dhar country.

It is not known when our author commenced his communion with the Muse. But the circumstance which first turned his attention to her invocation, is related as follows. He was out upon a walk after purification. In the course of his perambulations, he happened to see a couple of fine herons by the side of a stream. Their beauty and dalliance made a joy in his poetic eye. But a fowler was concealed near the spot, who shot an arrow killing the male heron. The disconsolate female wheeled round and hovered over the dead body of her mate, uttering the most plaintive cries. It was not the bird alone that was filled with the agony of grief but our author, too, was highly afflicted. In his indignation, he pronounced the imprecation that “the

hunter acted amiss, and accomplished a fatal destiny when he slew without cause the bird that prattled so sweetly." These words, rising in his soul, fell spontaneously from his lips in a metre that took the form of a *sloka*, or couplet, afterwards employed in the composition of his great epic. We can scarcely meet with a simpler instance illustrative of that part of a poet's history, which relates to the first opening of his heart to the influence of the Muse. But all those who rightly understand the nature of a poetic temperament, must be acquainted that the lightning-glow of inspiration—the sudden striking of the chord of poetry in our soul, arise from causes many a time slight in their nature. They may be, to quote the words of a poet himself,

A sound,

A tone of music—summer's eve - or spring.

A flower—the wind—the ocean.

CHILDE HAROLD.

The life led by Valmiki was occasionally interrupted in its calm, noiseless flow. On Rama's return from Lanka, he travelled to Ayodhya with other Rishis of his day to welcome that monarch's arrival. Shortly after this period, Rama was obliged in deference to the *vox populi* to send his beloved Sita into banishment. The place chosen for her exile was the Tapavana of Valmiki, where she arrived in a state of pregnancy, and in due time gave birth to Lava and Kusha. She found great comfort in the company of the sympathising lady of our poet, who showed every regard and affection to her in distress. Her two sons were not only carefully educated with the other disciples of the Mum, but also brought up in the accomplishments requisite to adorn the character of princes. Twelve years subsequent to these events, Satrug-hana, the second step-brother of Rama, set out on an expedition against Lavana, who ruled in the neighbourhood of Matra. Having effected the overthrow of that hostile aboriginal chief, he made an opportunity to visit Valmiki in his hermitage. The poet received him with the most cordial hospitality, and amused him with recitations from the Ramayana sung to the music of the *vina*. Then came on the *Aswamedha* of Rama, to which Valmiki repaired with the two princes, Lava and Kusha, disguised in the attire of two of his disciples. In the presence of the august assembly of princes and sages gathered on the occasion, he made the two youths rehearse his epic. The whole audience listened with bursts of applause to the melody and pathos of its beautiful rhapsodies.

On the poem being thus made public, like Herodotus reading his work at the Olympic games, Valmiki acknowledged himself to be its author, and introduced the two boys as the sons of the great monarch. He then returned to his abode upon the joyful mission of sending back Sita to the court of her husband.

This is the last recorded incident in the life of our author, for nothing that henceforward occurred to him has come down for our information. We are not told any thing about the manner of his death, nor of the time at which it came on. How he appeared in flesh and blood, and what were the varied traits of his character, are matters veiled in the deepest obscurity.

Such is a brief sketch of the first poet of India, that scarcely gratifies the curiosity excited by the grandeur of his reputation. He is the first not only in point of time, but also the first in point of merit.

"Valmiki, bird of charming song,
Who mounts on Poesy's sublimest spray,
And sweetly sings, with accent clear and strong,
Rama, aye Rama, in his deathless lay."

In the Vedas, the praises of gods were embodied in verse, and sung from generation to generation. Valmiki in process of time was the first to develop the epos, and bring home the adventures of heroes to men's bosoms and business. The best comment on the excellence of his writings is found in their popularity, and in the fact that his subject has been taken up by "every poet of renown in our native land down to Tulsidas. To one and all the story has appeared in the same light, alike in outline and in all important detail, and though no attempt has been left untried to adorn it with the most sumptuous ornament of language, it remains substantially the same in every work. We find it in prose and verse; in hymns, odes, and epos; alike in the levity of the drama, and the grave sonorousness of historical composition. Vyasa in the *Mahabharata*, Kalidasa in the *Raghuvansa*, Bhartrihari in the *Bhatti*, Suta in the *Adhyatama Ramayana*, and Bhavabhuti in the *Vira* and *Uttara Ram Charitras*, have each tried his utmost to enrich it with the choicest stores of poesy, but none has departed from the story of Valmiki, and everywhere it is the Rama of the Ramayana that we encounter. In the vernaculars, in Hindi and Marhatti, in Tamil and Telugu, in Bengali and Nepalese, it is the same; and away from India, in Barma and Java, we have versions which likewise follow the lead of the Sanscrit original. In Ceylon, there is a tale extant, distinct from the Buddhist story, but it differs only in the merest

details. In all these different versions, and at the lowest estimate their number must be no less than a hundred and fifty, the most strenuous endeavours have been made to excel, but it must be said to the eternal honor of 'Pracheta's holy son' "that none has approached him in all that is charming, and all that is noble, and all that is sublime." Valmiki makes "the mind oscillate from joy to sorrow, from tears to smiles"—both loftiness of spirit and intensity of feeling being the great characteristics of his poetry. "Do we desire," says Tod, "to see a model of unbounded devotion, resignation, and love, let us take the picture of Sita, as painted by the Milton of their silver age (the Treta Yuga), than which nothing more beautiful or sentimental may be culled even from *Paradise Lost*."

The day is past, when Mill, echoing borrowed opinions, condemned all Sanscrit literature as "puerile reading." In our time, the Ramayana is placed in the highest class of literary compositions by the unanimous suffrage of European *savans*, who fully endorse Sir William Jones' opinion about "its unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style." But unable to get over the prejudices hemming their mind, they, from points of resemblance, conclude the siege of Lanka to be a copy of the siege of Troy, and lay aside the claim of the Ramayana to originality. Indeed, there is such a close likeness between the two tales, their characters bear such common features, that the one may be taken for the other with only a change of names. The two are so adorned alike with all that is grand, and lovely, and delightful in the physical and in the moral world that their identity becomes a natural deduction. It cannot be referred to the merest chapter of accident. History may repeat itself, but not with such exact veri-similitude. The office of settling the question of precedence can never be satisfactorily performed without positive evidence. The best way to cut short the controversy is to suppose the coincidence to have proceeded from a common Aryan tradition not permitting a wide difference in treatment—to trace the resemblance to common Aryan notions and usages. Hero worship, athletic sports, deciding by single combats, fighting with clubs, and the hurling of rocks, were common to the Aryans. The Sanscrit is the earliest tree of knowledge, and the Sanscrit speaking people were the first migrators in the Aryan dispersion. They

* Mill "strongly suspects that Sir W. Jones have never read the poem; or more of it than scraps." But Mill did not know a single Sanscrit word.

were ahead of all other nations in the race of civilization. In the age of Homer, the country of greater repute was India, where Lycurgus sat at the feet of the Brahmins about a hundred years later. Knowledge in those days travelled from the East to the West—it followed in the track of commerce. Homer's geographical knowledge scarcely extended beyond Asia Minor. The geography of Valmiki is confined only to India and Ceylon—the West to him was an unknown region. The highest age that may be assigned to Homer is a thousand years before Christ. There is no doubt that Valmiki is his senior by a considerable distance of time—the world being much older than it is stated in Biblical chronology. Col. Tod says, he is “the author of the oldest epic in existence.” To assume him as a borrower and copyist is the wildest of hypotheses. Both Valmiki and Homer are independent, original, and incomparable. To quote the words of Chateaubriand, they “belong to the class of those five or six writers, who have sufficed for the necessities, and for the food of thought. These mother geniuses seem to have brought forth and suckled all the others. * * * Their immensity, their variety, their truthfulness, their originality, cause them to be recognised at the first glance as laws, as models, as moulds, as types of the several varieties of intellects, just as four or five races of men have sprung from a single stock, of which the others are only branches.”

The Ramayana is in seven *Kandas*—European cantos. To doubt its historical foundation, is to give up Rama. There seems to be no reason to treat it as fictitious, because it has overstepped reality. The epic in those ages was a vehicle of history narrated in a form tending most to exalt the glory of the heroes. It is evident that the original Ramayana of Valmiki, founded upon the reality of persons and events, have been tampered with and vitiated by interpolations.

AN IDLER.

A CALL TO EMMA.

Come, my Emma, let us bring
Freshest flowers of the spring
To deck our little lawn.

Fruits, O let us, from the hills,
And sweet water from the rills,
Bring for our darling Dawn.

Then all thro' the gladsome day,
Will we join her in the play
And dance upon the lawn.

Thou wilt swell the sweetest lay
Of little birds, on every spray
The sun is shining on.

Or, till noonday will we roam
Away away from our home
O'er fields and meadows green.

With gayest hearts will we fly
Beneath the clear morning sky
To chase the insect-queen.

B. K. MITRA.

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BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJI AS A NOVELIST.

WHEN we take in one view the whole region of modern Bengali literature, we at once perceive that most of the productions are metrical compositions. This will not appear strange if we recollect that it is only the first stage of literary activity in Bengal. Unfortunately, however, for the interests of Bengali literature, the class of writers that come to the foreground are of little or no originality. Professing themselves to be poets, these, instead of enriching our literature, have directed their weak intellects and unhealthy minds, feverish with false aspirations, towards impoverishing poetry and disfiguring the patterns of writers of superior skill. Bengal has not given birth to another Michael Madhu Sudan Datta, nor has it produced a second Denobandhu or Hem Chandra; but the miserable rhymesters indulging in their morbid outpourings from year's end to year's end, are numerous to a degree. They have not only destroyed the purity of style and the simplicity of thought of the older Bengali authors such as Vidyapati, and Ghanaram and Bhārata Chandra, but have also debased the highly agreeable and finished diction of the new school represented by Babus Dutt and Dinobandhu. The language of our poets of to-day, most of whom are not deficient in education, is very far from being natural and is entirely destitute of that enthusiasm and that sweetness without which no feeling can be agreeable. The general, yet, great defect of their manner is the total absence of that freedom which forms an unfailing source of intellectual enjoyment. We find in them no glimpse of the ideal,

no graceful ease, no simplicity of expression. The style is often turgid, the grammatical construction involved, the decorations almost unnatural or so gaudy and artificial as to be positively disagreeable to readers of taste. In this there can be no comparison between them and the poets of the old school. Their sentiments are never lofty, their thoughts never sublime. Their ill-employed talents seem to wear out before they are mature. They produce nothing that is not trite or vapid. Their style and conceptions never attain to gradual perfection or that purity and simplicity which is the sure result of practice. Their conventionalism finds for them equals among only the poetasters of the reign of Charles II in England, who for their success in vitiating the national taste and morals were favoured by a profligate court, and who constitute a distinct age in the history of English literature called the period of the Restoration. Most of these writers have met with a deserved neglect, but some have also acquired unmerited praise. The poetic age of Bengali literature has already lasted long. It has, we think, lasted for a period longer than what is, perhaps, necessary for the development of the national literature. It is an epoch in the history of Bengali literature not of originality and invention but of mere fertility, the produce being of fifth-rate quality. For all that, the contributions of a few incomparable names to even the literature of this period, stand out in prominent relief, characterised by every mark of genius.

For the last forty years, though the Bengali press, as already stated, has been in considerable activity, yet invention has been less vigorous than stale imitation of models either foreign or national. The period is, indeed, lamentably poor in almost every department of dignified literature. Criticism, however, has not done its work properly. Productions that should have been condemned, have met with applause. Cockneys whose experience of humanity and the world has been acquired within the limits of the ditch have been held up as dramatic writers of merit. There is a fashion in literature as in everything else. The stage, which is still an infant institution, has already become a dispenser of literary fame. Pandering to the venal pleasures of the multitude whose attention is often engrossed by aged and ugly actresses decked out in rouge and tinsel, sometimes personating a Chaitanya or a Buddha and sometimes the highest prototypes of female virtue and meekness, although their incessant debaucheries seem to be stamped on their faces, the stage is responsible to a great extent for the apparent popularity which some of these writers enjoy. A single work of solid reflection, or even a

single interesting and amusing novellette suited to the tastes of readers familiar with the works of genius of other countries, is not to be found. This is, indeed, a sad and melancholy truth. In the department of fiction, there are only a very few works that possess real merit. Besides, perhaps, a dozen or so written by the late *Tekchand Thakoor* and Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and one or two other writers of originality, the productions are for the most part dull. The narrative, in point of language, is seldom interesting. Throughout colloquial, the style employed is without a single touch of beauty or adornment. The stories are seldom intelligible. The situations are overstrained and unnatural. Descriptions are made up of the most minute details, when, perhaps, a stroke or two from the hand of a real artist would suffice to give a more life-like picture. The materials, instead of being drawn from nature, or experience, are supplied by the inner consciousness of the writers. Sometimes history is attempted to be laid under contribution. Even in this the writers have totally failed, their failure being attributable to ignorance or a desire to exaggerate. The methods employed by them for developing the tale are often grotesque and ridiculous. Of novels purporting to portray even society as it exists, we have few that can be pronounced successful. Amongst scores of social portraiture, only a single social novelist has attained real success. We allude to the author of *Sarnalata*. He has faithfully painted a Bengali household, though the love-scenes are a little out of the way. Hindu society affording no scope for their display. *Tek Chand Thakoor* is another successful writer in this line. It must be, however, confessed that his powers of expression are often inferior to his conceptions. 'He had a ready mind but a faltering pen.' His language is extremely bald. It certainly lacks refinement and elegance, qualities in which Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji excels all his competitors. It is our deliberate opinion that Babu Chatterji is the greatest of living writers in Bengal as regards the department he has chosen.

Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji has distanced all his competitors. His tales are extremely interesting and have pleased nearly all classes of readers. His writings have exercised a distinct influence upon the mind of the present generation. His genius is unquestionable. His style is elegant and often eloquent. A critic has very truly remarked that Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji's *forte* lies in language. His sentences run smoothly and unconstrainedly. They are neither cumbrous nor pedantic. Totally divested of that grandiloquence for which the *Tattwabodhini* and Pundit Vidyā-

sugar were admired in their day, free from that sparkling wit for which Dinobandhu was famous and which incessantly produces roars of laughter to the detriment of the interests of sobriety and seriousness, his style, while not destitute of humour, is at once suited to all the purposes of agreeable narrative and ennobling sentiment. It is even melodious and to a great extent poetical. His diction, however, has one great fault. Readers of taste and intelligence must have marked that while he raises his thoughts to the highest strain of poetry, he occasionally uses language that is inflated. This has disfigured particularly some of his earlier writings. *Durgeshanandini* may be mentioned as one of these. In his later productions, in his attempts to avoid bombast, he has given up purity to false simplicity. Persons there are that are disposed to overlook this, more particularly as his choice of words is very generally fine, and his vocabulary extensive and well adapted to his requirements. But then the universal complaint, with regard to the simpler portions of his narratives, is the anglicised collocation of his sentences. That is a fault which Babu Chatterjee has in common with almost all the writers of the present age. It is certainly due to the circumstances under which we live. We study the language of England from our earliest years. We study it more carefully and continuously than our mother tongue. We are more familiar with Shakespeare and Milton and Pope and Byron and Tennyson and Browning than with Vidyapati and Ghanarāmā, and Bhārata Chandra and Michael Dutta. The very letters we write to friends and relatives, as also those on business, are in English. Our conversation is conducted in a strange jargon in which English expressions predominate. The reason is not far to find. Our neglect of Bengali has to answer for our inability to express all our ideas adequately and promptly in that language. No wonder, therefore, that when we set ourselves to even the serious task of composing sentences in our mother tongue, the collocation unconsciously becomes anglicised and un-Bengali. Our writers ought always to be on their guard against this. We cannot believe that the fault is not avoidable with care. It is more the result of carelessness than otherwise.

It is the general opinion of Babu Bankim Chundra Chatterji's readers that nearly all his characters are finely drawn and sustained with interest to the very close of his stories. This opinion may be taken as correct on the whole. He is more successful, however, in his portraiture of female characters than of male ones. His heroes are generally inferior to his heroines. We should judge him by his women, therefore, and not by his men.

The heroes of Bankim Chandra are beings who like common men are subject to every weakness of humanity, and consequently some of their qualities are brilliant and some dark. They differ from real members of Hindu society in their enjoyment of only that side of life which is romantic. They are certainly 'colourless' persons. They are not fit instruments for perfect works of art. They want many of the bolder qualities of human nature, yet they always enlist the sympathy of the reader. *Nava-kumāra*, *Mahendra*, *Sachindra*, *Nagendranātha*, and, in fact, all his heroes, have something very noble in them. They have not much purity of character, but of humanity and high-mindedness they have enough. For instance, the sense of purity of Nagendranātha, in *Vishavriksha*, is defective, yet his unhappy situation, his really penitent feelings under consciousness of wrongdoing, procure for him much sympathy. We feel for the hero. We observe his mistakes, yet we do not cease to admire his nobleness and magnanimity. He has the moral courage to own his guilty thoughts and actions. We are, therefore, ready to pardon his faults, grave though they be, because they are committed in moments of blind passion. In *Rajani*, the subject is the unscrupulous attempt of an infatuated young man who ignobly follows two women at the same time. *Amarnātha*, however, with all his fickleness, becomes at last a favourite with us, for frustrated in his unprincipled endeavours, he drags himself off at last from the mire of wordly passions,—the *mare magnum* of the world,—to the peaceful retreat of a hermit. He lives to repent, he survives to bless those whose happiness he has once endangered with his importunate suit. Babu Bankim's heroines generally are women of a spiritual world, ideal and pure, firm and loving, kind and affectionate, and, above all, devoted and faithful, with an unflinching determination of purpose. We may fairly compare them to some of the women of Shakespeare, and like those of that illustrious poet, they never resemble the women of real life. They are angels in human shapes. In sketching his women, as also his men, Babu Bankim Chandra has drawn most of them from a single model. Yet the two patterns are distinctly his own. His men are weak, his women strong-willed. The order is changed in one single instance, in one man and one woman, *viz*, in *Pratāpa* and *Saivalini*, the hero and heroine in *Chandrasekhara*. *Saivalini*, is painted after the type of Babu Bankim's men. His women never fall into common error. To this *Saivalini* proves an exception. His women are never infirm, but *Saivalini* is impelled to vice through the intensity of her love. She pays submissive homage to

self-interest, without the slightest regard for morality. Again *Pratāpa* is also different from the other men of Bankim. At the first glance, we are unable to account for this reversion; but a searching examination of all his works proves that *Pratāpa* is his ideal man and *Lavangalatā* his ideal woman.

Perhaps, the most remarkable peculiarity of Babu Bankim Chandra's novels is that every one of them contains two characters of quite opposite dispositions, who take up the most important part of the action, engrossing the attention of the reader. Judging from this point of view, it may be said that *Chandrasekhara* and *Rajani* are works allied to each other, and that they are connected most intimately. We have *Pratāpa* and *Saivalini*, two ardent lovers, separated in their subsequent life, at a time, that is, when love is expected to mellow down into a sweet and serene sentiment, when the calm and deliberate judgments of maturer years begin to bud forth. Again, in *Rajani*, *Amarnatha*, and *Lavangalatā*, are placed in exactly the same situation. The incidents of these two stories are similar. *Pratāpa* becomes an object of *Saivalini*'s affections. His own love for *Saivalini* is not less deep. But throughout his brilliant though short career, he cherishes a dignified sense of duty and the greatest regard for social institutions. In *Rajani* the facts are a little reversed. Here a woman of wonderful strength of mind that is seldom possessed by men, fills the enviable position of never yielding to temptation. What *Lavangalatā* does, *Saivalini* cannot. *Saivalini* gives way under the powerful impulse of her heart. The self denial of *Lavangalatā* and *Pratāpa* is worthy of the highest praise. Both come out scatheless of the test however severe and trying. *Kalyāṇī* in *Anandmatha* approaches very nearly to *Lavangalatā* in her touching tenderness, her mild resignation, and her virtuous disposition, but she wants the angelic femininism and the adroit readiness of *Lavangalatā*, which imparts to the latter the quality of doing things without much ado or any bustle whatever. Again, we may compare *Bhavānanda* to *Amarnātha*. In spite of the impropriety of their actions at certain periods of their lives, both are worthy of pity. The offence, the transgression against the simplest of commandments, intrigues against the honour of women, may, if not wholly, at least to some extent, be pardoned in these instances. The portraits of Babu Bankim Chandra are beautiful, because he always examines very carefully his ground line, which is human nature, and the result is that he never demolishes that tinge of softness that is peculiarly human. He explains the motives not as they ought to be, but as they are, modified in the human heart, as they find

place in the human mind ; and, therefore, he is never a moralist, but a good painter of the actions of men and women under critical and difficult situations.

Every critic of Babu Bankim Chandra is convinced that his unlimited success is due to his female characters. They are not like the duchesses of the English Court, nor like the viscountesses of the French Republic, nor are they the stage-actresses of Italy. They are all women of Bengal, chaste and of serene temper, modest and charming, possessing great personal beauty and moral uprightness. If we take these out, the colossal fabrics of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji would suddenly collapse and fall to the ground a meagre ruin. He enumerates the qualities of women as irresistibly delightful and highly enchanting. He takes a very comprehensive view of what a Hindu woman should do and what she should be. He clearly lays down her duties as a maid and as a matron. With him, as with every Hindu, it is devotion that ought to be her first virtue. She never learns the well-bred etiquette of a polite society, she is never 'lady-like.' She never dives into politics, never aspires to belong to that foppish class of the genus that one meets with in modern Bengal. Frank, yet simple in her manners, with thoroughly Aryan qualities adapted to the requirements of a Hindu household, noble in her bearing, intelligent and clever, with natural piety, she moves cheerfully in every situation. She is the antiquated maid of old India, a little demure and a little melancholy, perhaps, but seldom visibly so. Her affections never reside on the surface. Her domestic life glides seemingly as if in a dream. Her soul appears to be identified with her natural fondness for domesticity, never appearing in the form of caresses, embraces, and other acts of every day endearment. She has the keen susceptibility of childhood, the fanciful meditateness of virginity, the proverbial thoughtfulness of an elderly matron. Babu Bankim Chandra, however, has given only one side of the picture. He has put no limit to her energy, her faithfulness, her reverence, and, greatest of all these, her attitude of internal and pious devotion ; but he seldom looks to her vices, her falsities. He is afraid of the result and apprehends lest his really fine structures be ruined by an unfair wind. On one or two occasions he has painted such an evil character. He has attempted to throw a thick veil over her failings. It may be asserted that a true artist would not have done so. But here we seem to forget that one powerful instance may with equal, or even with greater force and more effect, serve the purpose of many weak ones. Instead of

diving constantly into the depths of horrible depravity, instead of stirring the already agitated surface of a dissipated society, investigating the vices of a proud plutocratic aristocracy, he presents the whole spectacle in one extensive and calm scene. The exhibition promises great moral remuneration. In this single analytical portrayal he is unapproached. This is the triumph of Pratāpa, the first ruin and the final resuscitation of Saivalini, the glorious paradise Pratāpa gained, the horrors of the darkest hell that Saivalini conceived herself to be struggling against. He appears, from his superior handling of women, to have understood thoroughly the feminine organism in our community. His flattering remarks are true to a great extent. He recognises none but the purely Hindu models. The 'female emancipators' do not like him much for this. They charge Babu Bankim Chandra with restricting liberty. Forward reformers groan under the effect. Woman is the companion of man, but she is also his subordinate. The romancer says that neither man nor woman should ever act merely through personal motives. His men are however generally selfish. We should respect our social laws that tie us together as individuals of the same nation or as inhabitants of the same country. We should devote our lives to the interests of society, to the preservation of its wholesome regulations. These are some of the every-day morals that we learn from him. Sometimes Babu Bankim Chandra, in his attempts to paint ideal pictures, has drawn several absolute saints. This is not allowable in domestic novels, where reality and true representation are aimed at. But of this, hereafter.

Having discussed the merits of Babu Bankim Chandra, we will now turn our attention to his faults. Babu Bankim Chandra's literary career may be divided into three periods, *viz.*, the earlier, the middle, and the later. We may briefly remark, his genius has shewn itself at its best during the middle period, and that it has degenerated from pure gold to only bright tinsel at the later. Competent critics will clearly mark this deterioration. When we compare any of his female characters with *Devī-chowdhraṇī* we cannot fail to observe that the picture is a laborious and extravagant failure. He has overdrawn it with a degree of license that cannot be permitted even to a romancer. Perhaps, the author wanted to shew in this work that domestic happiness is the highest felicity that one can enjoy in this world. He has, however, shewn this much better and in more attractive colours in his other works. *Devī-chowdhraṇī* is not only purposeless but the execution also is imperfect and insipid.

The prose fictions in Bengali, like those in any other language, may be divided into two general classes. To the first class belong the romances, the materials of which are taken from history ancient or modern, partly modified or wholly invented to accord with the character of the action. The second class includes novels properly so called, containing tales of private life and true pictures of society and manners. Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji may be taken among the writers of the first class of fiction, though we find him often mixing the romantic adventures of the heroes of his own creation with the events of domestic life in Bengal. He is a romance-writer in the true sense of the word, and in this he may be safely compared with Sir Walter Scott. He has displayed a power almost similar to that of Scott in combining facts from history with those from imagination. Indeed, that imagination has given to his fictitious characters such hues of reality as shew that he has followed Scott, step by step, in harmonising elements of even heterogeneous kinds so thoroughly as to leave nothing wild or irregular in them. This surpassing excellence, never before attained by any Bengali novelist or romancer, has procured for him a rapturous welcome. His strength does not lie so much in representing innumerable actual facts of Bengali civilisation of the day, as in exhibiting the defects and the estimable qualities of human nature, and in committing to paper the results of his own acute observations. His descriptions of nature equal those of Scott himself. They are, indeed, much inferior to those of Vyāsa or Vālmiki, for who that has read the description of the Ocean or the ascetic retreat of Kanwa in the *Mahabharata* or of Pampa in the *Ramayana* would not at once admit the inimitable superiority of the Sanskrit poets? The grandeur, however, of Vyāsa and Vālmiki is the grandeur of their subjects. The Bengali novelist's subjects lay in a different sphere. He cannot let his imagination loose amid nature, piling beauty upon beauty, with little regard to probability. The modern writer is restrained by considerations of probability and the hard tastes of his readers.

The real power again of Scott's genius consists in the extraordinary art displayed in the portraiture of character. Babu Bankim's *Ayeshā*, as is well known, is a copy of Sir Walter Scott's *Rebecca* the Jewish maiden. *Rebecca* is infinitely more beautiful and interesting than *Ayeshā*. She is the finest female character that Scott conceived. This is a very striking example of Scott's energy and facility of conception. The Bengali author has not succeeded in producing a picture complete in itself. For all that, however, we cannot say that *Ayeshā*

is unworthy of the writer. If we go further and enter into a detailed and minute examination of the writings of these two master novelists of two different countries writing in two different languages,—one of which is rich and elaborate, and the other melodious and poetical,—we shall find the Bengali writer even superior to Scott in some respects. Scott, while aiming at the picturesque effect of his men and women upon the mind of his reader, is very often careless and negligent about his plots, some of which have been pronounced to be even absurd, but Babu Bankim Chandra never forgets his *plot* and he is happiest when he elaborates his incidents and designs, fills them with the most lively drawings, and unites all these into a complete and unbroken story. He has studied the rules of unity and symmetry with care. His stories are generally made up of two distinct currents, sometimes flowing side by side and sometimes in opposite directions. Thus his *Chandrasekhar* contains, on the one hand, the narrative of *Saivalini's* guilt and, on the other, the story of *Dalan's* pure love at whose altar she sacrifices life itself. In *Visvriksha* the principal actors in the two narratives joined together to form the whole are *Dyendra* and *Nagendranath*. Once again, comparing the exquisite sense of beauty possessed by both these writers, it seems that Bankim Chandra Chatterji is a more eminent artist in the department that is common to them although it must be admitted that this is an element fitter for poetry than romance. Bankim Chandra's poetic temperament possesses more refinement, and is more inclined to the love of the sublime than that of Scott. Hence the writings of the Bengali author are so full of noble thoughts and superior images capable of adorning the productions of the most elevated poets. Romance and poetry are certainly allied to each other, but the relation is not so close as that between history and romance, or that between poetry and music. But romances approach more closely towards poetry than novels as such can do. Both the authors we have mentioned are romancers. The poetic element in their writings, therefore, cannot be regarded to be out of place. It has unquestionably added to the charming character of their productions. The poetic element, however, appears more prominently in Bankim Chandra than in Scott. The former has created several matchless representations the like of which one would not find in the professed poems of Scott. There is not a single work, in prose or verse, of Sir Walter Scott which can compare with *Chandrasekhar* in respect of the poetic power displayed in it. The passages in which *Saivalini* dreams of

hell and its punishments are remarkable for their horrid grandeur and painful realism. As productions of art, they would not be unworthy of Vyasa or Valmiki. We would ask the reader to study those passages with care and compare them with what he has read in English or other literature. It can scarcely be doubted that the reader will regard the imagery of those passages to resemble the lofty imagery of Milton himself while employed upon cognate topics. The description is so realistic and solemn that it reminds one of the outlines of the Mourning Fields and Tartarus which Virgil gives in the sixth book of his *Æneid*. The pictures are so very alike that one may with plausibility assert that the Bengali writer has imitated Virgil. But though alike, they are sufficiently differentiated. The infernal world which *Æneas* visited in company of the Sybil is different from the *Naraka* in which Saivalini found herself in her dreams. *Æneas* is a mere witness of spiritual judgments, Saivalini is herself a sufferer. *Æneas* is the corporeal visitant of the Phlegethon, the vast abyss of Stygian origin, unfathomably deep, overflowing with fire and blood. Saivalini, distressed by horrible mental agonies produced by the consciousness of guilty thoughts, herself swims in that stream. Those visions are the effects of her own overwrought brain.

The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.

The effect has been heightened by the extraordinary skill the author has shewn in blending together the several incidents into a harmonious whole. The amalgamation has been as successful as can be expected in such instances. Babu Bankim Chandra has sought to express in *Chandrasekhar* the Hindu ideal of female chastity, and as such he has certainly succeeded.

It does not require extraordinary penetration to find out that like all truly great artists, Babu Bankim Chandra has two separate characters in him. Every one of his novels shows that his style is a harmonious blending of the descriptive and the reflective elements. It may be that as a descriptive writer he has failed occasionally, but as a reflective writer he has not the slightest tinge of shallowness in him. His pages are full of political, ethical, and social truths. From beautiful and smooth narration he easily and often digresses into metaphysics and politics. He has a system of opinions, a philosophy of his own, a creed, a happy admixture of faith and reason, a union of the esoteric doctrines of

Hindu philosophy and the latest discoveries of Mill and Spencer in politics and sociology. As a reflective observer, he aims at a complete analysis of the human mind and life, and of the intricate organization of society, *viz.*, the links that bind a man to his wife, to his friends, and to his other relations. For this purpose he has equipped himself with universal philosophy—the all-embracing philosophy of the Hindus. He never, like the mourning philosophers, takes a desponding view of life. Nor does he laugh at the follies of humanity. Speaking generally, it may be said that he has the greatest admiration for fundamental virtue. He not only appreciates moral but also intellectual virtue, *viz.*, that virtue which is the embodiment of pure thoughts derived from the education of the mind itself. He knows what real virtue is and, more than that, he knows how to paint it in attractive colours. It is not simply a recognition of the ideals in nature and society that he loves to applaud as virtue, but that which he loves to recommend is fundamental honesty of purpose or frankness of the soul. He is *par excellence* the philosophic novelist of Bengal. He is not, however, a doctrinal teacher. He is a thorough believer in the efficacy of education, in its power to ennoble mankind and raise our sentiments beyond our mere duties as members of society. In this respect he prefers the *Puranas* to the writings of Bentham and all the later reformers of society and morals. Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji is an optimist and an upholder of fatalism, a modification of the doctrine of universal necessity. These tenets of philosophy, taken in their poetical aspects, are not destructive of morality and virtue. Although professing such views, all his works, however, show a genuine appreciation of virtue, and immorality is a charge that can never be imputed to him. His own frame of mind, as discovered in his works, is peculiarly appreciative of human nature in its softer and poetic phases. A gentle girl of a serene, loving, and agreeable temper, of a romantic turn of mind, which may pass for indifference to ordinary concerns, or speculation, or even idleness, with matter-of-fact people, is a more lovely and agreeable picture to him than that of a busy woman or a good matron. If we open a volume of the writer, it does not matter which, we shall find instances of what we mean. In social questions he is a conservative of the deepest dye. His politics, and his views regarding the organisation of Hindu society and the distribution of power in it which he thinks necessary for its preservation, require separate treatment. In this, again, he follows the conclusions of oriental philosophy correcting them by the light of the principles incul-

cated by the Western thinkers. The superior constitution of the assembly of the 'Sanyasis' in *Ananda Matha* is an instance to point. A complete sacrifice of personal interest to that of the commonwealth is not only an important requisition, but is indispensably necessary for success in the prosecution of the joint enterprise. The narrative in *Ananda Matha* groans under the weight of social and political digressions. A critic has very ably remarked that in this book are embodied, 'the most recent and the most enlightened views of the educated Hindus.' Those views have greatly influenced the national mind, and are shared by most of the educated members of our society. Several of his minor propositions, however, require proof before they can be admitted as definitely true. Few persons can doubt that the British Government is, under the circumstances, the best Government for us now. We feel that a sound basis of scientific and industrial education is absolutely needed for our improvement as a nation. We are of opinion that England is the country most fitted to teach us science and manufactures. We are, therefore, far from believing, with Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, that a revival of the Aryan faith and learning, even if possible through England's agency, can raise us as a nation. We regard the revival itself to be impossible. We are being fast anglicised without any hope of achieving an independent national existence. Darwin and Spencer have nothing in them that can give us back that part of Hinduism which the author calls 'internal.' Science and western ideas will advance with rapid strides. The very struggle for existence will help the consummation. The vast esoteric erudition of the Aryans, now lost to us under the tumult and confusion of modern civilisation which is very materialistic, will continue to be a sealed book notwithstanding the efforts of enthusiasts here and there to study it closely and present it to the modern Indian mind. The effects of British rule, direct and indirect, are opposed to its spread and popularity. We are labouring under a delusion, under the impulse of patriotism probably. The belief is common that a love of the ancient literature of India has been roused in the minds of our countrymen. The love, however, is seeming and not genuine. The sentiment is really a salve to patriotism. Old manuscripts are printed, but for what purpose? To be compared with the mighty products of the Western mind in the same departments and invariably pronounced inferior, if not reviled as slovenly and shallow! Will these help us towards regaining that Aryan civilisation which we are said to have lost?

There are some defects of another kind that are noticeable in many of the works of Babu Chatterji. The first of these is the frequent want of historical truth in narratives that are ostensibly historical, and of social verisimilitude in the portraiture of scenes admittedly domestic. Thus the rebellion of the *Sanyasis* in 'Ananda Matha' has no basis in historical truth. Nor are the incongruities in that story confined to its historical portions only. The picture of *Santi* is highly incongruous. Some exaggerations are, no doubt, allowable, but there is a limit to these. They must not pass all bounds; particularly when the basis is professedly historical; nor should the descriptions be clogged with the minutest details which often prove tedious without adding any beauty. It may be fitly remarked that some of his structures are too heavy for their groundwork. The second blemish of his stories is the absence of skill with which they are brought to a close. He abruptly ends the most interesting narratives when an additional chapter or two would make the tale complete. Continuations may be written of many of his stories to satisfy the curiosity his readers feel about many of his characters. This abruptness is no doubt a serious fault, if not of the imagination, at least of taste. If Sir Walter Scott had ended his story of *Woodstock* with the flight of Charles II or even with "the grand jail-delivery at Woodstock," the story would have lost half its interest. As an artist and a good story-teller, Scott felt that his Sir Henry Lee should live to witness the Restoration, although he might die of joy at the sight of the king making his first progress to the capital. The abrupt ending of a story is distasteful to many readers. It is a real blemish though scores of reasons may be advanced for justifying it. The third fault that appears in Babu Bankim's writings is his unnecessary and ostentatious display of learning and scholarship. His story of *Devi-Chandhrani* would have been as complete and as pleasant, if we leave off its learned passages. The discussions on complex philosophical questions, and his quotations from the *Bhagavadgita* have but clogged the narrative. We do not see any use of this show of any intimate acquaintance with the forgotten sciences in his latest production.

To European readers the great defect of the works of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji would, we imagine, be their want of the usual qualifications of an orthodox novel of the nineteenth century. They are, no doubt, very excellent short tales, but they cannot be called novels. His grasp of the romantic side of life, as already said, is vigorous, but that includes only one half of human nature. He seldom treats the unromantic side of life. He

has not that quality which Bagehot describes as the most remarkable one in Sir Walter Scott, *viz.*, the power of portraying with admirable ease the business of ordinary life as well as its commonplace sentiments. He wants that exquisite touch to which George Eliot mainly owes her fame and brilliant success as a novelist, that chance which renders even commonplace things and matter-of-fact men picturesque and lovely. This blemish which Western critics would attribute to his novels, a blemish clearly perceptible in almost all the novelists of England, Scott and George Eliot excepted, this absence of both-sidedness, arises from a comparison of a Bengali novelist with those of England and France. This, however, is judging Babu Bankim Chandra by a foreign standard. Miss Austen and George Eliot are not the true types which a Bengali author possessing sufficient talents and rare inventive faculty should follow, nor should he imitate Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and the other successful French romancers. Clear-sighted critics will recognise the mistake. Life in the East is different from life in the West in all its externals. Babu Bankim Chandra cannot be expected to paint a *Maggie Tulliver*, or an *Emma Woodhouse*. At his best, his attempts at these lines would not only prove abortive, but would be artificially coloured and, withal, languid and uninteresting. The novels of Bengal, even when they are antiromantic and realistic, which however is not often the case, bear the stamp of that lofty ideal of morality which is appropriate to the exciting scenes of romances, but which finds no expression in the narrower regions of domestic life in the West. Thus Miss Austen's sentiments are no doubt pure, but there is nothing of romantic interest in them. On the other hand, those of Babu Bankim Chandra are marked strongly by that traditional idealism of the Hindus, that poetic fervour, which very rarely exists in real life. As yet, besides of course a few exceptions, the novels of Bengal are generally weak, and, no doubt, not very interesting, but, whatever their faults, they are seldom without lofty ideals of virtue and passion never to be met with in ordinary life. They are not like the highly fantastic novels of Spain, full of sentiments which are often tasteless; nor have they anything in common with the conversational novels of France. They are, however, essentially the productions of the native intellect and imagination. The method is not fraught with superior skill and taste, and the writings, with of course a few exceptions, are monotonous. In England politics and Irish life have of late given a vigorous animation and spirit to literary fiction. It is to this that Mrs. Trollope and other second

class writers have owed their success and popularity. But the case is quite different in Bengal. The machinery of war and politics and even of antenuptial love would look absurd and unnatural in the romantic fictions of modern Bengal. It will mar their propriety and beauty. Portraits that are now graceful and consistent will simply be ruined by the least attempt to import or avail of that machinery.

It is not our purpose in these pages to treat the reader to a complete critical examination of all the works of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, nor even to make a partial attempt in that line. All that we proposed to ourselves was to notice some of the prominent features of his writings, and to determine approximately his position as a novelist, with a view to stimulate abler critics to take up the subject. We are aware of the fact that we have executed the task not very successfully, for many of the characteristics of Babu Bankim Chandra's genius remain unnoticed. We will close this article with a few remarks on his popularity. That he has achieved unparalleled success is, of course, a patent fact. The secret of that success lies in his art of inventing characters and adorning them with attributes whose archetypes exist in the minds of his readers. They read and before long find that the author is painting some character with which they are not totally unfamiliar. The times have been naturally propitious to him. He has been the first, in point of time, to protest against the melancholy seriousness of the *Totwabodhini*, the mellifluous chastity of Akhoy Comar Datta, and the grandiloquence of Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He has been the first to demonstrate that it is possible to be dignified and sweet without garnishing his pages by the careful selection of sesquipedalian words and compounds from the Sanskrit vocabulary. He demonstrated that the language we speak could be made the language of books without the subject suffering in the least. In both style and thought he revolutionised the public taste. He showed that beauty could be described without laying a contribution upon the stereotyped similes and the extravagant hyperboles of the Sanskrit poets. His high morality, clearly visible in even his minor works, marked out his productions as belonging altogether to a new era. Always keeping before him the aim of proving the beauty of virtue and its power as a factor in life, his writings became keenly earnest and impressive, because appealing directly to the heart in language the very opposite of artificial. His idea of pure love, divine in its essence and ennobling in its effects, is sublimer than that of the social novelists of England. Even Sir W. Scott yields



to him in this point. It is true that his later productions have not been so successful as those of the middle period. Thus, we suppose, few would hesitate to say that his *Chandrasekhar* is very near, if not quite, the finest of his works, while *Devi-Chaudhrani* and *Sitdrām* belong to the opposite end of the scale. We can only explain this as due to the action of many changes recently introduced in Bengali literature and Bengali taste. The great artist of the new era is Babu Rabindranath Tagore. The semi-poetic but realistic language of Babu Rabindranath can only paint contemporary life and manners, though he has employed it otherwise. Historical romance, in which freedom of invention and fancy transform even heterogeneous elements into a pleasant and harmonious whole, requires a bold, picturesque, and sympathetic style. The language of Babu Ramesh Chandra Datta, another romancer of modern Bengal, is chaste and flowing, but it is the language of history and not of romance. Again, he has nothing of that large and stimulating instructiveness of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji. Vulgarities and platitudes may be allowed in novels descriptive of manners, because society and the events of private life are the subjects treated. But too much of them constitute a vice to be repressed. No doubt, all these authors have one great aim, *viz.*, the amelioration of the condition of man and society, but this is not always the object which great minds should strive to accomplish. It is a principle of practical morality and education, of matter-of-fact people. The imagination works like a drudge and creates nothing splendid. Vice is chastised but virtue is not exalted. The ideas being narrow and limited find no place in romance. Democracy and reformation may tempt the mass, but with well-ordered citizens the virtues and splendour of monarchy and conservatism are more fit for romance. The social novels of Bengal are very few in number. But though Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore and Babu Ramesh Chandra Datta are romancers, and historical too, their method is not so elevated as that of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji. Nor are their thoughts so uniformly majestic. Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore may please the passing spectators who crowd to take up anything that is catching. Persons given to thinking desire something more, *viz.*, the ascendancy of the mind and the intellect. To men endowed with intelligence, who endeavour to penetrate beyond the visible veil, the efforts of Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore are unavailing, because his designs are symbolical. The works of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji have a classical importance, while those of Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore and the novelists of his class possess

a temporal fascination. This is the difference between imperfect artists of whom Babu Rabindra Nâth Tagore is the leader and Babu Ramesh Chandra Datta a fair specimen, and the rare inventors, the mighty masters of language and literature for all time, a truly marvellous instance of which we meet with in Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji.

B. S. G.

[It appears to us that the writer's praise of Babu Bunkim Chunder is overdone. He might at any rate have exalted his hero without attempting to depreciate men whom the judgment of generations of competent critics has classed with the immortals.--ED., N. M.]

AKBAR AND HIS INNOVATIONS.

II.

THESE bitter dissensions among the learned of his religion unsettled the mind of Akbar. The incipient embers of doubt were fanned and nursed by the vast knowledge and profound wisdom of Abul Fazl, until they blazed forth into an utter unbelief in the tenets of Islam. The very name of Islam was brought into disrepute by the ridiculous self-sufficiency of the Ulemas. But as said before, Akbar did not renounce the religion of his fathers in a hurry. Every chance was given to the Doctors of Divinity to establish the claim of Islam to the sole monopoly of heaven, in the face of the Hindu assertion that all religions are so many ways to approach God. To further the cause of truth a Hall, called the *Ibádat-Kháná*, was built at Fathipur, near the tank known by the name of Anúptaláo, where every Thursday evening discussions were held on religious and social topics. With all the humility of a sincere seeker of truth, Akbar heard from the wise men of the time learned dissertations about revelations, prophecies and religions, and discussions upon the past history and customs of other nations. He wanted nothing more than to be guided in the right path by professors of religion whose duty was to teach the laymen the way to worship God. "My sole object, oh wise Mullas," Akbar used to say in the presence of the divines and nobles of his court, "is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion, and to trace it to its divine origin. Take care, therefore, that through the influence of your human passions, you are not induced to conceal the truth, and say nothing contrary to the almighty decrees. If you do, you are responsible before God for the consequences of your impiety."

All historians of the time, whether they were staunch followers of the Prophet or not, declare with one voice that Akbar was grievously disappointed in the confidence he placed in the Ulemas of his court. He did not find in them the piety and humility befitting their profession as the expounders of the sacred

law and as the religious preceptors of the people. He found in them that inordinate pride which set at naught the learning of men, and that absence of a calm, unruffled spirit which ruins even the best and the holiest of causes. At the very outset he was confronted by a serious dispute about the seats to be occupied by the four orders of nobility attached to his court. Shaikhs, Sayyids, the Ulamas and the Grandees flew at each other's throat for precedence in the Hall consecrated for an impartial, unbiassed enquiry after religious truth. Akbar though annoyed took the matter calmly, frivolous as it was, for he had not yet lost his respect for men whom he considered his superiors in learning and wisdom. He settled the dispute by allotting each of the four sides of the Hall to each of the four orders of nobility. Although this question of seat was of the most vital importance to eminent men then as it is now, still its peaceful settlement by the interposition of the Emperor did not help to the discovery of one iota of new truth about God and his creatures to satisfy the reasonable longings for knowledge that lie implanted in thoughtful inquisitive minds. On the other hand, the wranglings and quibblings that ensued between learned men and learned men on various points of religion, on the teachings of the Kurán, and on the interpretations put upon them by the traditions, made confusion still more confounded. To add to the confusion, the unruly behaviour of the Ulamas, even before the august presence of the Emperor, brought dismay into the hearts of men who came there to hear the orthodox faith substantiated by reason and glorified by esoteric learning. The orthodox laymen were stung with a keen sense of shame at the unseemly conduct of their most revered *Murids*, the wavering grew more doubtful, and the unbelieving philosophers openly chuckled at the sight of the sorry plight in which the conceited and intolerant doctors of law had landed themselves by their own fault. Abul Fazl, whose father was long persecuted by the Ulamas, applied the following verses to these unfortunate wranglers in religion :—

"I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy ?
No one is my enemy but myself,
Woe is me ! I have torn my garment with my own hands."

Even Budauni, a strict follower of the Prophet, who in his well-known history deplored the secession of Akbar from the orthodox faith in no measured terms, considered the conduct of the Ulamas as highly reprehensible. He described it as the "vein

of the neck of the Ulamas of the age swelled up." The discussions at the *Ibâdat-Khâna* thus frequently ended in an uproar. Akbar though greatly vexed was at first disposed to treat the matter lightly, and to bring order in the Hall by punishing the most flagrant instances of breach of court etiquette. He, therefore, on one occasion asked Budauni to name the man who would so far forget the august presence as to behave improperly and to talk nonsense, that he might at once be turned out of the place. The historian quietly remarked that if he were to carry out this order most of the Ulamas would have to leave. Notwithstanding his adhesion to the orthodox faith, Budauni had a poor opinion of the learned Muhammadans of India. According to him a spirit of jealousy, spite and malice always preponderated over the pious thoughts of the saints of Hindustan. At any rate, Akbar soon gave the Ulamas up as bad beyond amendment. Illiterate though he himself was, he now felt the greatest contempt for their learning. Any further endeavours to bring them back to their senses were now out of question. To be guided by such men in the path of righteousness was equally preposterous. A different use was now made of them. Their angry disputes were found to be extremely refreshing to the mind of a conscientious sovereign on whom hung the cares of a mighty empire, constantly disturbed by rebellions and internecine wars. It was indeed a sight to see the profound doctors of law calling each other *Kâfirs* or *accursed*. It was a matter of great satisfaction too for Abul Fazl and his followers to see the Ulamas divided into two powerful factions. So great was the difference of opinion between these two factions that what the one called lawful the other called unlawful. Whatever amusement they gave to the Emperor by their constant squabbles, it was no longer possible for him to allow them to exercise control over the judicial and ecclesiastical administrations of the country. The most powerful among them were soon compelled to leave for Mecca, and some of those that remained in the country, being discovered to conspire against the peace of the empire, were seized and sent across the frontier to be exchanged for Kandahar horses and Turkish colts.

Thus ended Akbar's search for truth among the learned of his own religion. He also invited the followers of other religions to fearlessly bring forward what argument they had in support of their creeds. Hearing of the affability of the Emperor, his condescension, and "his superiority to all others in regal dignity and power, as well as in humility," learned men of all sects and persuasions flocked to his court from Khurâsân and

Turkistan, and from Irak and Hindustan. Shiáhs, Sunnis, Sufis, doctors, preachers, lawyers, Bráhmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chárbaiks*, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians all came there hearing of the royal bounty. Abul Fazl, who from his lofty height always looked pityingly upon the small thoughts of small men saw these enthusiasts, "in their vavity and conceit, attack and endeavour to refute the statements of their antagonists." Budauni states that on one of these occasions Akbar asked a Shaikh to argue with a Christian Padre. As usual the fiery Shaikh soon grew impatient, and he proposed—"Let us make a great fire, and in the presence of His Majesty, I shall pass through it, if any one else gets safely through, he proves by it the truth by his religion." A fire was made and the Shaikh pulled the Christian Padre saying—"Come on, in the name of God" but the Christian had not the courage to go. Abul Fazl, however, gives a different version of this incident. He writes:—"One night the *Ibádat-Khána* was brightened by the presence of Padre Radalf, who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigotted men attacked him and this afforded an opportunity for a display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly. * * * With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Padre replied to their argument, and then he went on to say—"If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Kurán to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the Ulamas with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest." The black-hearted, mean-spirited disputants shrank from this proposal, and answered only with angry words."

The Rajput princesses in the seraglio also contributed towards bringing about a change in the religious belief of Akbar. Nor were the Brahmans idle. Budauni, the staunch Muhammadan, bears testimony to the impression which the learned Bráhmans made in the mind of the Emperor: "As they surpass other learned men in their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs, based on reason and testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their doctrines so firmly, and so skilfully represented things as quite self-evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing his doubts, could now raise a doubt in his Majesty, even, if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder."

A Bráhmaṇ, named Debl, was frequently taken up the wall of the fort in a *chárpai* to the balcony above where the Emperor sat ready to be instructed in the mysteries of the Hindu religion.

Thus freed from the shackles of the orthodox faith which pinnioned the minds of men lest it flew to the region of doubt and investigation, Akbar sought for truth here, there and everywhere. "Night and day people did nothing but enquire and investigate. Profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature" were all brought under this ceaseless investigation, and of this investigation Abul Fazl was of course the high priest. What else could come of this investigation but a conviction in the mind of the Emperor "that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers, and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations? If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like the Islam, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old: why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself." Thus Akbar became an eclectic. It was bold in those days even for an emperor to give expression to such opinions. In the reign of Sikandar Lodi, a poor Bráhmaṇ of Gaur merely said that truth could be found both in the Hindu and the Muhammadan religions. The Muhammadan authorities considered the offence given by these simple words of such a momentous nature that he was sent by them to the Imperial Court, as the doctors of law in Bengal felt hesitation to sit in judgment over so grave a case. Even the *Maulvis* in the Imperial Court felt considerable diffidence to give a decision. So Sikandar was obliged to invite all the doctors of law that were to be found in Hindustan at the time. Long they deliberated upon the case and after several months they decided that the Bráhmaṇ should be put to death. When this was done, the Emperor Sikandar Lodi publicly expressed his thanks to the learned men for so wise a judgment and sent them away with rich presents.

• But for Akbar the way to enunciate such opinions was first cleared by the downfall of the Ulanas. When that was consummated, he felt that a new responsibility rested upon his shoulders. Who was now to interpret the divine law and who to settle all theological disputes among his subjects? Without some one at the head of religion the whole fabric of society would go to pieces and a perfect chaos will reign over the length and the breadth of the land, specially in an age

when dark passions heaved high, when every man wore a sword, and when controversies were settled oftener by sword-cuts than by arguments. If those quarrelsome Ulamas could be fit guides in such matters, why not the God's Vice-regent upon earth? At least so thought those on whose minds the strong character of Akbar had made the deepest impression, and who looked upon him almost as a supernatural being. A document was accordingly prepared, supported by the authority of the Kurán, recognising the superiority of the *Imám-i-Adil* (just leader) to all other leaders in the land, lay or divine. It was virtually to confer on Akbar the spiritual leadership of his people. In the vain hope of escaping the final doom the humbled Ulamas now saw impending over their head, even *they* put their signature on this their death-warrant. Thus it bore the signature and seal of Mukhdum-ul-mulk, the head of the Ulamas, who discerned some years ago the ascending star of Abul Fazl; of Abdun-nabi, the head of the other faction of the Ulamas; of Kázi Jaláluddin of Multán; of Sadr Jahán, the Mufti of the empire and of Gházi Khán of Badakshán "who stood unrivalled in the various sciences." In short, it was gradually signed almost by all, willingly or unwillingly. But none signed it with greater pleasure than Mubárák, the father of Abul Fazl, "the deepest writer of the age," yet the victim once chosen for death by the haughty Ulamas. Well might he rejoice, if his noble heart could rejoice at the misfortune of a fallen enemy, when the day arrived for his two chief enemies, Makhdum and Abdun-nabi, to leave the country for Mecca, in the very same year shortly after they signed the *Fathwah*.

This document minimised for Akbar the chances of dethronement or assassination as the inevitable result of innovations in those dark ages. It gave him a comparatively free scope for those large ideas which filled his mind ever since he discovered that he was a greater man than all the Ulamas put together. How many men pass out of their lives without ever knowing their own greatness and what trivial chances lead to the discovery of himself to himself! Writes Budauni—"No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument than the road of deciding any religious question was open; the superiority of the intellect of the Imám (Akbar) was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imám became law." Gradually the religion of Akbar now took shape. It was a "Divine Monotheism" without a prophet or a revealed book. At first it was like the theism of

to-day based on intuition and reason. But as Akbar grew old he felt the want of some tangible symbol, a living manifestation of the Almighty Power in the material world, through which the homage of man could be rendered to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. What else could represent Him but the glorious sun above, the life of life in the various orbs that eternally move round and round in the endless expanse. Even European Philosophers of modern days, in the despair of their heart, are now turning their faces towards the sun as the immediate manifestation to man of the Most Glorious—He who exists beyond all human conception. And the representative of our sun upon earth is fire. So Akbar included the worship of sun and fire among the practices of his new religion. The sacred fire was kept burning at court by day and night and Abul Fazl was appointed the chief priest of the fire temples. *Hum* or the oblation to fire was also made according to the form prescribed in the Hindu sacred books. From the teachings of the Bráhmans, Akbar was convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. He approved of the saying—"There is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." When the doctrine of the transmigration of souls was accepted, it was but natural that the doctrine of eternal punishment should be discredited. Like the Hindu and the Buddhist doctrine of the continued progress of man, it was believed that the soul-life was a life of gradual advancement towards perfection, until it had attained the final stage of *Insán-i-Kámil*, the perfect man, the Buddhahood of Buddhism. Such are the outlines of the religion which Akbar and his followers promulgated.

T. N. MUKHARJI.



BUDDHISM, POSITIVISM AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

I.

WHEN Auguste Comte gave to the world the fruits of his laborious researches under the name of a Positive Philosophy, he had evidently not the remotest idea that the doctrine of Positivism had been preached in the far East many centuries before, by a man mightier than himself--by Gautama Buddha. Of course it is not to be expected that a man of Auguste Comte's encyclopedic knowledge of ancient and modern history should ignore the existence of Buddha. In fact, on the list of all sorts of men of distinction, enumerated in Comte's Positivist Calendar, the name of Buddha figures opposite the 14th of the first month. But the very place the name of Buddha is made to occupy in that list shows how superficial the knowledge must have been the compiler of the Positivist Calendar had of the character and teaching of his hero of the fourteenth day of the first month of the Positivist Calendar. For the first month in this calendar is, according to its author, to be the month of Initial Theocracy; it is the month of Moses, because Moses is "the most familiar, if not the most accurate type of the fine theocratic natures of early antiquity"*. When we however come to enquire what Comte understood by Initial Theocracy, and compare it with what we at present know of Gautama Buddha and his teachings, we shall find that there is as little reason to associate the name of Buddha with Theocracy--initial or otherwise--as there would be reason to associate the name of Comte with the fine metaphysical natures of modern times.

Here is what Comte has to tell us about the Theocracy of old:—

"The intellectual and social elements of a primitive civilization can expand only under the almost absolute rule of a sacer-

* The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte freely translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau, Vol. II. p. 239.

dotal class Its general spirit consists in the hereditary transmission of functions or professions which is embodied in the institution of caste, ruled by the supreme caste of the priesthood, which, being the depository of all knowledge, established a connection among all heterogeneous corporations which (in their turn) took their rise from families Thus the great system of castes flourished first in Egypt, Chaldaea and Persia; and it abides in our day in those parts of the East which are least exposed to contact with the white nations, as in China, Japan, Tibet, Hindoostan, &c."

Now it is but too well known that Buddha's chief aim was to abolish that "absolute rule of the sacerdotal class;" to do away with the "hereditary transmission . . . of caste, ruled by the supreme caste of the priesthood;" in fact, to uproot all traces of theocracy, known in Hindoostan by the name of Brahmanism. Neither was it correct on the part of Auguste Comte to say that "the great system of castes abides in our day . . . in China, Japan, Tibet, Hindoostan;" known as it is that the three first named countries enjoy a perfect freedom from the caste-system; and this, owing to the very teaching of Buddha--a teaching the latter country has repudiated up to date. No doubt the theocracy of the first three countries was supreme at the time of Auguste Comte, and, with the exception of Japan, it is still so; but it was certainly not Buddha's fault that things have assumed theocratic features wherever his doctrines found acceptance. Buddhism in its purity is as little apt to become the ruling power of a land, as the religion of Jesus Christ, who distinctly declared that his kingdom is not of this earth. Nevertheless Christian countries had to fight hard in order to free themselves from theocratic influences; and we need not wonder if Buddhistic countries still groan under the yoke of a despotic theocracy. India would, in all likelihood, have been much worse in this respect, seeing that the caste-system still holds its sway over the people, had it not been that the government of the country passed into the hands of a nation quite foreign to the religious traditions of the land.

Enough has been said to show that Auguste Comte was ignorant of the true character of Buddha's teaching. His estimate of Buddha was derived merely from the practice of Buddhism in Buddhistic countries; a fatal, but pardonable error, considering the time he lived in. But now, as we have, within the last 30

or 40 years, come to be acquainted with the true character of Buddha and his teachings, it is worth our while to enquire, how much of Positivism there is in Buddhism, and in how far the Positivism of Gautama Buddha compares with the Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte.

Like Buddha, Auguste Comte has taught a system of Philosophy—the Positive Philosophy—and a system of religion—the Positive Religion, also called the Religion of Humanity, or the Universal Religion. The present comparison shall however be restricted to the philosophy of the two teachers, reserving the study of the religious sides of both systems for some future occasion.

The law of human progress being, as it were, the corner-stone of Comte's Positive Philosophy, it is hardly necessary to apologize for the following rather lengthy quotation from *II. Martineau's Positive Philosophy* which has received the sanction of Auguste Comte, and may therefore be looked upon as the authorised version of the Positive Philosophy. We read then in the first chapter as follows :—

“ From the study of the development of human intelligence, in all directions, and through all times, the discovery arises of a great fundamental law, to which it is necessarily subject, and which has a solid foundation of proof, both in the facts of our organization and in our historical experience. The law is this :—that each of our leading conceptions—each branch of our knowledge—passes successively through three different theoretical conditions: the theological, or fictitious; the Metaphysical or abstract; and the scientific, or positive. In other words, the human mind, by its nature, employs in its progress three methods of philosophizing, the character of which is essentially different, and even radically opposed : *viz.*, the theological method, the metaphysical, and the positive. Hence arise three philosophies, or general systems of conceptions on the aggregate of phenomena, each of which excludes the others. The first is the necessary point of departure of the human understanding; and the third is its fixed and definite state. The second is merely a state of transition.”

“ In the theological state, the human mind, seeking the essential nature of beings, the first and final causes (the origin and purpose) of all effects—in short absolute knowledge—supposed all phenomena to be produced by the immediate action of supernatural beings.”

“ In the metaphysical state, which is only a modification of the first, the mind supposes, instead of supernatural beings, abstract

forces, veritable entities, (that is, personified abstractions) inherent in all beings and capable of producing all phenomena. What is called the explanation of phenomena is, in this stage, a mere reference of each to its proper entity."

"In the final, the positive state, the mind has given over the vain search after absolute notions, the origin and destination of the universe, and the causes of phenomena, and applies itself, to the study of their laws,—that is, their invariable relations of succession and resemblance. Reasoning and observations, duly combined, are the means of this knowledge. What is now understood when we speak of an explanation of facts is simply the establishment of a connection between single phenomena and some general facts, the number of which continually diminishes with the progress of science."

"The theological system arrived at the highest perfection of which it is capable when it substituted the providential action of a single being for the varied operations of the numerous divinities which had been before imagined. In the same way, in the last stage of the metaphysical system, men substitute one great entity (Nature) as the cause of all phenomena, instead of the multitude of entities at first supposed. In the same way, again, the ultimate perfection of the Positive system would be (if such perfection could be hoped for) to represent all phenomena as particular aspects of a single general fact ;—such as gravitation, for instance."

Coming now to the teaching of Gautama Buddha, we may fairly say that, what Comte considered as a hopeless expectation, as the ultimate perfection of all human wisdom, has been the very corner-stone of Buddha's doctrine. The great fact of which all phenomena do represent but some particular aspect is, according to Buddha—not gravitation—but the all-embracing fact, that the whole universe is for ever and ever on the move ; either changing, or about to change ; and that there is nothing constant within the universe but—change and tendency towards change. Phenomena succeed each other because rest or permanency is out of the question in this cosmos of ours. Short-sighted, short-lived as we are ; apt as we are to take relations for realities ; to mistake qualities of Body for qualities of Matter ; we believe that rest, absolute rest, is the natural condition of things, and that without some special cause no phenomenon could be superseded by another : while there is no power in this world which could ever render a phenomenon permanent—permanent in the absolute sense of the term. Universal motion being the law of the universe, any

particular phenomenon as well as any class of phenomena, however wide in its range, finds its explanation in the mere fact, that it is a part of the all. And in this sense it is legitimate indeed, to refer the cause of all phenomena to Nature—to the All in All. Neither is there the slightest harm, to speak of Nature as an entity; at any rate, no one would ever think of saying that this entity partakes of the metaphysical—of the abstract.

Not that this explanation is so satisfactory in each and every case as to make any further explanation unnecessary. It is to be expected that an explanation so wide in its range as to embrace all possible phenomena, cannot at the same time account for the particular mode in which each phenomenon, and each class of phenomena supersede another and make their appearance instead. From a practical point of view, it may readily be conceded, that questions referring to particulars are often of more importance to us than questions dealing with general laws; for, citizens of the world though we are, we are before all citizens of a certain corner of the world, and have, as such, to adapt ourselves, mentally and bodily, to the peculiarities of our *own* surroundings. But as we are for the present chiefly concerned with a positive *Philosophy* or as Comte defines it above: with a system of conceptions on the *aggregate of phenomena*—a general explanation is just what is wanted before all. Such a general explanation contains moreover within itself half of the explanation of each particular phenomenon and of each class of phenomena. Take gravitation. What strikes the mind on reflecting on the tendency of matter to move towards matter is, first of all, the problem: Where does the tendency, to move come from? matter in itself being supposed to be an inert mass. Secondly, how is it that matter has the tendency to move in the direction of matter, in preference to any other direction?—Now the first, and most perplexing of the above questions, is simply answered by the fact, that matter was never, nor ever will be, an inert mass. Whether it moves or not, the tendency to move is always with it, and within it. What remains to be explained is the mere mode of this particular motion—a problem of secondary importance, as compared with the first; a problem, moreover, the solution of which must, by the very nature of its comparatively limited range, first be referred to the province of Science, whose task it is to establish subordinate generalisations of groups of phenomena, before it can ever become an integral part of a system that deals with the aggregate of phenomena—with *Philosophy*.

As to the Origin of this universe, with all its unceasing changes, and its unceasing tendencies towards unceasing changes, Buddha, by his example, taught men, to stand before this overpowering problem in awe and silence. Here his Positivism begins and ends. It is a positivism, compatible with the law of Causality, as we shall see hereafter. The doctrine of Continuous Change and tendency towards Change, has, moreover, within the last fifty years, received the sanction of Science, under the name of Conservation of Energy, or Persistence of Force. And if Positivism, in order to be what it is, must also have its negative merit, the merit namely of being able to abolish fiction; the teaching of Buddha can still pretend to the title so dear to many; for it has abolished the very fiction under which Auguste Comte still labored, and labored in despair, the fiction namely concerning the original inertness of matter.

Gravitation, we are told, *may*, in the course of time, attain the rank of an ultimate general law. Meanwhile we are left without any such law, without an adequate conception, regarding the aggregate of phenomena. Like that misanthrope of old, who, in addressing a circle of friends, concluded by exclaiming: "My friends, there are no friends;" we may say of the Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte: "Positive Philosophy—there is no Positive Philosophy; Positivism has destroyed its own philosophy."

Without any intention of being hypercritical, it may be mentioned, that gravitation alone has not the slightest chance of ever assuming the rank of a general law, co-extensive with the aggregate of phenomena. It does not require a great deal of genius to see that, if gravitation had its full sway in this cosmos of ours, without let or hindrance, there would soon be an end of the aggregate of phenomena; for the simple reason, that all of them would be swallowed up by one huge phenomenon—the conglomeration of all matter into one mass. It is evident that, unless we are prepared to call the law of Repulsion to our aid, no fair conception on the aggregate of phenomena could ever be formed.

Now, mutual attraction of matter under certain conditions, and mutual repulsion of the same under some other conditions, represent but two aspects of one fact, of Motion. We have, then, in the latter, exactly what is wanted for the starting point of a philosophy—one single, general fact, of which all phenomena represent a particular aspect. And this is just what the modern doctrine of Conservation of Energy has succeeded in establishing, both in the case of each and every particular aggregate of pheno-

mena, and in the case of the aggregate of phenomena in general. Motion in some form or other—potential or kinetic, molar or molecular, material or ethereal—has been recognised as the single, general fact of which all phenomena represent but a particular aspect.

As the author of the Positive Philosophy has once for all turned his face against the search after causes, it would be unsuitable to the occasion, to enquire, why he, of all others, should have been so much behind the times in his attempt to point to a generalisation co-extensive with the aggregate of phenomena. For at the time when his Positive Philosophy was published in France, Dr. Julius Meyer of Germany had already given distinct indications of the doctrine mentioned above. Suffice it for our present purpose to have satisfactorily shown that, what was to Auguste Comte almost a hopeless problem, was clearly conceived and openly preached by Gautama Buddha two thousand and three hundred years before.

Are we then to suppose that the modern doctrine of Conservation of Energy offers a sufficient basis for the philosophical conception of the Universe? The answer to this question will depend upon what we are to understand by the terms: Energy and Motion. Scientifically defined, the meaning of Energy is either the capacity of doing work—work being known to be measurable by foot-pounds; or the capacity of preventing work from being done. The very measure by *foot-pound*, shows that energy in its activity is closely related to motion, which in its turn, is defined as change of place within space. Understood in this sense, the professors of the doctrine afore-mentioned claim, and rightly claim, to have established a generalization co-extensive with the aggregate of the phenomena of the universe. In doing so they start however from the supposition that phenomena represent the units of cosmic occurrences; and as far as cosmic events as such are concerned, that is to say, cosmic events irrespective of an observing human mind, the supposition is correct enough. But as we are mostly concerned with such cosmic events which do come within the reach of the one or the other of our senses; as, moreover, it is this class of cosmic events that are particularly termed phenomena; it is evident that we deal here no more with a unit of an occurrence, but with an occurrence compounded of two widely different operations. In fact a phenomenon has been defined to be: A modification of our inner sense, brought about by some outward event. Such being the case, we can hardly escape the conclusion, that the ultimate of all generalisations must be so consti-

tuted, as to include both the physical and mental events occurring within the universe; it must be a generalisation to which the activities of both matter and mind are subject. And since mental processes refuse to be expressed in foot-pounds; since, moreover, the movements of the mind have nothing to do with change of place within space, the doctrine of Conservation of Energy, as understood by its modern professors, cannot claim to offer an adequate basis for the philosophical conception of the universe. Gautama Buddha's doctrine of continuous *Change*, or tendency towards Change within the Universe, is the only doctrine as yet known, that includes all the elementary processes of this world, both physical and mental; it is the highest generalisation yet proclaimed by man. It is, at the same time, a generalisation broad enough to suit any mode of thought, any school of philosophy. The materialist may not be prepared to look upon mental processes as prompted by an energy of their own. As he believes them however to be by-products (whatever that may mean) of physical and chemical changes constantly carried on within a living brain in the process of organic metamorphosis, he cannot help admitting that mental changes must run along with the organic changes, that is to say, that they must be as continuous as the organic changes themselves.

To the ordinary mind of man it may be a matter of surprise to learn that our mind is either changing or about to change. That the mind of man is changeable everyone readily admits. In fact, were it otherwise, we should be incapable of receiving new impressions, each such impression being known to gain admittance at the cost of a preceding one, which is to be elbowed out for the time being. But it is one thing to know that things are changeable, and another thing to learn that things do change, and that change is as much of their very nature as the nature of the things themselves.

Now while it has taken the world no fewer than two thousand and three hundred years, to establish empirically the doctrine of Buddha from its physical side, it happily requires but a little self-observation on our part, to see, that the images of our mind are naturally either moving, or about to move; that a great effort of the will is, moreover, necessary in order to fix any given image before our mind's eye, be it even for a comparatively short time. This fact I have always considered as an expression of psychic energy, understanding thereby the power possessed by every mental image to move; and, in a wider sense, as being subject in its tendency towards motion to the

directive agency of the Will. Mental images are to me living elements. The writing-desk before me is to all intents and purposes dead ; not so its image in me ; it is a living individuality within my mind. Anyhow images are moving within our mind ; nothing can fix them for a length of time. And this shows that, whether they actually move or not, they have the tendency to move—to change from a vivid to a dormant state and *vice versa* ; to replace other images, and to be, in their turn, replaced again by others ; be this tendency a mere by-product of organic changes, or a tendency peculiar to psychic objects, as such.

L. SALZER, M.D.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

We are taught by experience that extremes in all things are bad, the middle course is always the safest, and it is the course sanctioned by common sense. Writing from the British point of view, Daniel O'Connell was one of the worst enemies that his country ever knew; writing from a confused and Irish point of view, hard to reconcile with facts but easy to believe, he was one of its best friends. So he was—in the manner in which the pleasant old gentlemen Mr. Fagin, in *Oliver Twist*, is to Charley Bates and the Artful Dodger; only Mr. Fagin did feed his clients with rich sausages and other delicacies, while O'Connell let his poor friends starve, after taking thousand after thousand from the poorest people on earth for his "Rint." Let the parallel be good or not, it seems thus far; the apt pupils were expected to go out and do business—that is mischief. If the English government find it now necessary to employ an armed police and coercive laws. If since 1,800, or so they have spent millions on Ireland in the unproductive business of a peaceful government—if, in spite of all, we find industries driven out, mines unworked, stewards and overlookers shot down, and men beloved by their fellows murdered in cold blood because they are Protestants and magistrates; if England has to watch the disloyalty of the priests and the Fenians, and to mourn that sad stupidity in a quick-witted people which prefers its own ruin and poverty, along with its blinded superstition, to peace, truth, plenty, and power as the ally of England—whom have we to thank but the nearly sainted ally of the priests, Daniel O'Connell!

O'Connell was born of a very ancient and important family in 1775; and at the period of his birth Ireland was in a very discontented state. The Penal Code in all the plenitude of its wickedness was in full force; and, as England is very wicked towards Ireland now, she was worse then. The Englishmen of that day had recourse to strong measures to pacify a country which had been twice given to them by the Pope, which was part and

parcel of themselves, as they considered, but which never had grown friendly or cordial. That which England desired Ireland hated, and *vice versa*; no kindness could pacify, no justice disarm her. Her bards, the most fertile of story-tellers, told of civilization which never existed, and spoke of kings that had never required, or were but heads of clans. Their most glorious history was that of civil war, their chronicles were songs of murder, slaughter and rapine.

The native Irish delighted in tales of surprises, slaughters, and dread revenges so much that there is hardly a lake or a mountain in Ireland that is not the scene of legendary murder. Under the English Catholic monarchs Ireland hated the priests and still kept an attitude of rebellion; when England reformed her faith, Ireland clung to the priests—not that she loved their religion, but because she hated England. The country was rich in pastures, cattle swarmed within its boundaries, its shores were bounded by a not dangerous sea, abounding to a marvel in fish that could have fed all the Irish; yet they never gathered the harvest of the sea; and exported the butter and the meat, roundly abusing English merchants for buying of them. At all, sent butter and beef to France in exchange for claret, and fed on potatoes, which barely sustained them. They had many virtues, but these alas, were turned by some fatal fairy into a curse! The peasants were content—hence they lived in cabins worse than piggeries, and ate food which sustained life but gave no energy; they had faith—hence they believed the legends of a hostile and ignorant priesthood, and prayed for Heaven's help, when Heaven's help lay, as it often does in man's work. They were faithful to their Church, but it was to a Church whose policy it is to keep its votaries helpless and ignorant; they were warm-hearted, loving and generous, but they were unjust, jealous, and vindictive. Such qualities seem antithetical; alas, they are the same! How could such a country be quietly governed? Unhappily for Ireland, England has moral fits, and an idea that self-government, which suits her people, may safely be entrusted to any other. Hence when the wisest of her statesmen advised a firm but gentle coercion as regards Ireland, and a Court which should attract and conciliate—for the Irish love chieftains, and are not good at playing at republics—others, succeeding them, proposed the most indulgent conciliation. Ireland like a sick child, had the physic and the jam administered in alternate doses, and she liked one as little as the other. She had rebelled against Elizabeth, she had mistaken and defied Cromwell, she had cast in her lot

with James II, she had sympathised with the revolted colonies of America, she—pious and Christian—had delighted in the French Revolution, she had welcomed the French invaders under general Hoche ; but she expected the French to do all the fighting, and herself to have all the plunder of her own people ! She gave no help to her ally after her frantic rejoicings that the French were on the seas ; and it is hard to say, in the abortive invasion and rebellions, whether the French were more deceived or disgusted by the few savages who came to help them, who devoured a week's rations in a day, and who were too ignorant to load a musket. When O'Connell was twenty-three years old, the Irish rose in rebellion (1798), and, after some terrible scenes of massacre on their part, were defeated at Vinegar Hill by a handful of regulars and yeomanry, though the rebels were led by priests, who persuaded them that images of the Virgin and blessed medals would stop bullets, and were composed of pikemen so bravely ignorant that they rushed to a cannon, and stopping it with a turf or a wig, cried, "come on bhoys—her mouth's stopt !"

A thoughtful writer has said that it is a pity that all Irish rebellions have been so petty and abortive that England never respected the foe she conquered. He cites the case of Scotland, which stood up in fair fight and more than once worsted English armies. For a brave foe to be beaten by one equally brave but more powerful or fortunate is no disgrace, and a hard fought field begets respect on either side. But it cannot be said that England was revengeful. Before and after '80 and '98, and independently of the burning of English soldiers in their barracks, the slaughter of women, and the perpetration of cruelties which it is a pity have not been given wider currency, England has been trying conciliation. Supposed sympathies with the Irish Catholics on the part of the Ministry produced the wild "No Popery Riots" in London in 1780, but this did not make them relax their efforts. The Ministry had set their hearts on the complete union of the two countries, and the native Parliament of Ireland was not only worse than useless, but was exceedingly willing to lay down its separate existence, and to become, not a parish vestry, but part of the Imperial Rule.

The abolition of prohibitory laws had enabled young O'Connell to enter at the Bar ; he had been educated at St. Omer's, and but for the relaxation, might have been a priest. He had been adopted by his Uncle of Derrinane Abbey, was a pleasant-looking, tall, manly fellow, with a winning way, and a chest of prodigious girth, which gave him a voice of remarkable

power, perhaps never surpassed for open-air speaking. We must add to this, great readiness, humour, cunning, and a rich Kerry brogue, which could be deepened at will. Young "counsellor" O'Connell spent his earliest years in browbeating witnesses, and in bullying juries if they were not of the right sort. When of the right sort they acquitted a prisoner, although caught red-handed. "There was no mistake about it" said Dan on one occasion; "the man was plainly guilty—a professional horse-stealer—but I got him off. He never forgot me and always came to me when in trouble. I got him acquitted three times. When I met him in the street he crossed himself and muttered something. 'What's that you say fellow,' said I. 'Och Counsellor I only prayed the Lord preserve you to me' was the answer." To this part of O'Connell's career belongs the story of his wager that he would out-slang and exceed in abuse even Biddy Moriarty, a foul-mouthed fish-wife, and of his doing so by calling her a "parallelogram," and charging her with keeping an "hypotheneuse" in the house. Biddy was silenced by pure and innocent terms, which she imagined excelled her highest exploit in foul language. Other stories relate his mode of catching a witness by making him speak more than the truth, as thus. "And this is the hat the man (a murderer who had shot his victim) wore?" "Yes." "You're sure of that." "Yes; I saw it drop off." "And you picked it up, and noticed it particularly"—turning the hat about and reading—"and it had J-a-m-e-s written in it;" (the assassin's name) caught by the earnest, deliberate tone, the witness stammered, "Yes." "Then my lord," cried O'Connell, "I submit that the case is finished: there is nothing written in the hat!" The prisoner was acquitted.

But O'Connell had more than cleverness. When he had a good cause, he was really eloquent. His friends declared his speeches to be masterly, crushing, and unanswerable, and he was continually retained against the Crown, and made much money. In the last year of his practice he earned, he says, nine thousand pounds—a large sum in Ireland, and in those days worth considerably more than it would be now. Continually employed against the Crown, he naturally rose in public esteem; and, although he welcomed George IV, and was accused of servile adulation to that king, he determined to play the rôle of an agitator for that which he had created as an ideal to the Irish imagination—the Repeal of the Union. He was returned to Parliament, and became the "Liberator" of a people whom he never liberated, but misled. Unable then to earn money at the Bar, he depended

on the "Rint" of the people, a collection which he presumed would bring in at least fifty-thousand pounds a year, of which fifteen-thousand pounds was to be spent in managing the press, and the rest in support of the cause. It never yielded that sum ; but it doubtless took an enormously large aggregate from the poor people during its incidence. "Dan" was welcomed in the house of Commons, which has the property of reducing men to their true level, and made some finely abusive speeches ; but his language was certainly not the language of a wise legislator or educated gentleman, and assuredly would not have been tolerated in the early past nor let us hope in the near future.

It was by favour of Catholic emancipation that Ireland was to be quieted, and O'Connell got his seat. He at once refused to take the old oaths, and put Ireland in a ferment. He quarrelled with all parties, and was challenged by Peel, Disraeli, and others, and though not a coward, would not fight. He was prosecuted for treason and imprisoned for a short time, but the conviction was quashed in the House of Lords, and, after short imprisonment, he was set free to be the hero of his people. He was crowned on the Hill of Tara, and habitually talked treason and counselled peace. Any other government in the world would have executed a man for half what O'Connell did. He made his fellow-countrymen unhappy, and kept them restless and poor. He was always dangling an useless and impossible ideal before them. It is now one hundred and fifty odd years since the good Bishop of Cloyne pointed out that idleness, drunkenness, and dirt would make any nation poor—that Holland with half the advantages of Ireland is rich ; that government had nothing to do with luxury, laziness and shiftlessness. O'Connell never spoke like that, he was no true, or at least judicious friend to Ireland.

But his punishment came ; his influence grew weaker, and in his old age, with sickness on him, with capital banished from Ireland, corn diminished, the population enormously increased and utterly helpless—with the heart of England increased, alienated, and wounded by abuse, mistrust, and the enormous cost of governing a people as free as themselves and as interested in well-being—famine raised its gaunt head in Ireland. The potato crop failed, and the Irish had neither money nor credit to obtain food. Perhaps the best words ever uttered for Ireland by O'Connell, were those last words of his in Parliament in which he pleaded for her. "I beg you to step forward, help, and save her ; she is in your hands. If you do not save her, she cannot save herself ; I predict most solemnly that one-fourth of her population will

perish unless you come to her relief." England did come to her relief, and only one-eighth died ; it was too late to save more, although ten millions of money were freely poured in. A million died, poor souls, and another million emigrated. But the chief cause of the famine and the poverty was the great agitator, who himself lay dying at Genoa, and who had neglected to tell his countrymen to be self-helping when he spoke to them about being the finest "peasantry" in the world, and great, glorious, and free—as if they were not free already—when he ripped up old wounds, stirred up strife between peoples, flattered the weaknesses of his dupes, gathered money for an impossible purpose, and set a whole nation—except the Protestant part which did not believe in him—on a butterfly chase for a ridiculous Utopia, instead of relying on that which alone can make a nation great—self-help, self-restraint, and self-respect. These are some historical facts about this greatest Irish leader. History has yet to write its verdict on the present Irish leader, Mr. Parnell ; what will that verdict be ?

VICARIOUS.

[The writer deals more in opinions than in 'historical facts'. Opinions of a very different kind, and a good many historical facts will be found in Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1889, which purports to be a review of O'Connell's *Correspondence* edited by W. J. Fitzpatrick, F. S. A., and is founded upon a good many works besides.—ED., N. M.]

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CHEAP AND SOUND LITERATURE FOR INDIA.

As the question of forming a Society for the diffusion of cheap and wholesome literature throughout India is at present attracting the attention of the people of this country, I intend to discuss in the present article the benefits which are likely to accrue to us from the establishment of such an organization and the measure of success which is likely to attend its efforts. This movement has been set on foot by the Rev. James Johnston at the instance of Lord Northbrook, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot and other well-known well-wishers of India. Preliminary meetings have been held at Calcutta and Madras under the auspices of the Governments of these Presidencies and provisional committees have been appointed. Everything that is required to make this movement eminently successful has been done ; but how far it will succeed in carrying out its objects is more than what we can tell at present. So far as Bengal is concerned, the movement seems to be an opportune one, for nowhere else is the demand for such literature greater than on this side of India, and at no time was it greater than at the present moment. The literature which constitutes the chief mental pabulum of the people of this as well as of other parts of India is mostly trash of the worst description. Now that the schoolmaster is abroad, a taste for reading has naturally sprung up. With the spread of Western education amongst the people of this country, a growing desire is felt for the study of English books. It will be evident from this that India is in that state of prelimi-

nary preparation which is indispensably necessary for a nation before it can be benefited by any literature. Buckle, the accomplished author of the "*History of Civilisation*," has said in that work that "no literature can ever benefit a people unless it find them in a state of preliminary preparation." Thus it will be seen that the people of India are now well-prepared for the reception of a sound and cheap literature. I will now attempt to examine the nature of the literature which constitutes the chief reading of the people of the three sister presidencies, namely, Bengal, Bombay and Madras.

The public taste for reading in Bengal has, of late years, become very much vitiated by the sensationalism and the questionable morals of the books which constitute the chief reading of the people of Bengal. If we refer to the very interesting reports, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, on the books received in the Bengal Library, we shall find that fiction, drama and poetry form three-fourths of the literature that emanates from the Bengali Press. A careful examination of the "Catalogues of Books printed in British India" which are published quarterly in every province of India under the provision of Act XXV of 1867 will furnish us with a clue to the nature of the books which are read by the Indian public at large. In 1867, 2,351 books and pamphlets were made in the office of the Bengal Catalogue in Calcutta, 65 per cent. of which were works designed for other than educational purposes. The majority of these latter, however, come under the category of fiction, drama and poetry. With the progress of female education the inmates of the zenana have also imbibed a taste for reading. But the literature which delights them most consists of the "penny dreadfuls" and the "sensational pot-boilers" which the literary hacks of Burtollah—the Grub Street of Calcutta—send out daily in enormous quantities. Now this ephemeral literature, which emanates from Burtollah, comprises low vulgar prints which exercise a very baneful influence on the minds of their readers. Another fruitful source of evil is the publication and dissemination of obscene literature by some native publishers. A few months ago, two obscene books, the names of which are unmentionable to ears polite, were openly published in Calcutta and they were advertised for sale by means of large placards in flaming characters which were posted up in the streets and lanes of that city. Further, hand bills containing an abridgement of the subjects treated of in the books were circulated by thousands among the young men and boys of that city. These books were rapidly bought up by the people

both of Calcutta and of the Mofussil, who did so, no doubt, attracted by their catching titles and the lascivious nature of their contents. The booklets and pamphlets which constitute the "street literature" published by the Burtollah booksellers, by reason of their cheapness and of the piquancy of their language, are readily bought up by young boys and girls from the street-vendors who hawk them about through the native quarter of Calcutta and near the educational institutions in the same quarter. The fact that our young men are allowed to peruse this filthy literature without any let or hindrance from their parents or guardians and that many young men go astray and become addicted to evil courses by reading them is mainly due to the negligence of the police authorities in not putting a check to the dissemination of these pernicious books. But under this vast mass of literary rubbish, pure gold is frequently found, and that in the shape of the works of the popular Bengali writers. The works of these authors are characterised by unimpeachable morals, good taste and considerable literary merit. Under this latter category come the novels of Bunkim Chandra, R. C. Dutt, Tarack Nath Gangopadhyaya, Svarna Kumari Devi, poems of Hemchandra, Nobin Chandra, Isan Chandra, Rabindranath, the dramas of Joytirindranath and Dinobandhu and the plays of Rajani Kanta Gupta, &c. Now the works of these authors, like the generality of Bengali books, are so low-priced as to be within the reach of every body's means. But, as Mr. Beveridge very pertinently observed at the Calcutta meeting, that though there is a reading public in Bengal there is no book-buying public. This opinion is also confirmed by a gentleman who has long been in the Bengali book-trade. Hence it will be abundantly evident that, excepting the works of a favoured few, almost all Bengali books, in spite of their low prices, do not command extensive sales. Nobody in Bengal thinks it worth his while to invest a small portion of his income in the purchase of standard Bengali books, though everybody will try to satisfy his craving for mental food by borrowing books from others. Thus one Bengali book, bought by one person, is read by many others to the pecuniary loss of the author and the purchaser, for, had not the borrower received the loan of the book, he would have been obliged to buy it. Under these circumstances, it would appear that even the best and the soundest books in the Bengali language are very cheap and within the reach of every body's means, and, as such, we do not stand in need of the interference of any such body as the projected Society for the supply of sound and cheap literature

The number of books registered in Madras during the year 1887 was 1043, which included a large number of little tracts of all kinds, but not periodicals, and the majority of which were unimportant, trivial and bad. In 1888 the books registered in the same Presidency amounted to a little above 1000 and most of them were works written either in defence of the "advaita" a non-dual system of philosophy propounded by Sankara Acharya, or in praise of Siva or Vishnu of particular shrines. Thus it would appear from the above that many thoughtful works, dealing with theological and philosophical subjects are published at Madras; and they are cheap enough to be within the reach of everybody's means in that Presidency. Under the circumstances, it would be merely wasting the energies of the projector if his society were to attempt to supply sound but cheap vernacular literature to the people of the Southern Presidency; and the Rev. G. M. Cobban very truly said at the Madras meeting that "if a Society were formed to assist in the circulation of good literature, that itself would be an unspeakable boon to the large increasing and intelligent public of Madras; but *with regard to vernacular works, he was not so sure that much could be done in that direction.*"

I will now examine the books of a vernacular literature, the chief mental food of the people of the British Presidency. The average number of publications in Bombay is about 1900 a year, a large number of which are Jain and Parsi religious publications. With regard to this Presidency it might also be observed that the assistance of a Society like the projected organization is not at all needed for the diffusion of cheap and wholesome vernacular books, for already the Mahrathi and the Gujrati books, which are regarded as standard works in that Presidency, are cheap enough and within the reach of every body's means.

Thus it is evident from the examination which has been made of the nature of the books registered in 1888 in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay under the provisions of Act XXV of 1867, that the vernacular literature of the three sister Presidencies, though consisting of much literary rubbish in the shape of vulgar prints, fugitive publications and obscene books, still contains much that may stand a fair comparison with some of the best books in the English language in point of sound morals and literary merits. Bengal has a literature rich in fiction, drama, poetry and biography; Madras has a vernacular literature rich in works treating of the merits of particular religious doctrines; Bombay is rich in its Jain and Parsi publications. In the two latter Presidencies, religion is

the stock-subject for discussion in the majority of the vernacular books. These works are much in favour with the people of those Presidencies and are, at the same time, very cheap. Hence any attempt on the part of the proposed society to supply vernacular books at low prices will end in failure for the best vernacular books of the three Presidencies are cheap enough.

With reference to English books, it may be observed that the demand among Indian readers is for a certain cheap series of works of fiction issued by Mr. John Dicks of the Strand, London, and for the works of Zola, Daudet, Gaborian and for other books, Parisian fiction translated and published by Mr. Vizetelly of the same city. These constitute the chief reading of the English-reading public of Bengal. But they are also the favourite reading of the people of Madras, for Mr. Krishnama Chariar very truly observed at the meeting held in that city that "if the society now projected could do nothing more than providing for the reading requirements of the thousands that have received an English education by creating a Rupee Library of recent works issued from the English press, sound and healthy in character, it would be doing an immense service to arrest the circulation of the pernicious penny books, Gold's series and Dick's novels which are largely sold in the bookshops of Madras, to the serious injury of the rising generation of native youths." The chief attractions of these books consist in their sensational character, the piquancy of their details, and a certain low moral tone which pervades all of them. Besides the above, the works of sensational novelists like Ainsworth, Grant, Braddon, Florence Marryat, &c., are in great request among them. But very few care to read Dickens, Thackeray, Scott, Disraeli or George Eliot, for there is in their works very little of that sensationalism which constitutes the chief delight of the Indian reading public. British poetry and the British drama, excepting such pieces and such plays as are taught in the schools and colleges, attract very few readers. Neither the mellifluous poems of Tennyson, nor the psychological teachings of Robert Browning, conveyed in immortal but obscure verses, have any charms for the Indian readers. It must, however, be said here in passing that since the establishment of circulating libraries and reading clubs in some quarters of the native portion of Calcutta, a taste for healthy literature is coming more and more into vogue amongst the Bengalis. These libraries, small as they are, contain select books in every branch of literature and consequently readers possessed of every variety of taste can find in them

books most congenial to them. These institutions are doing a great deal of good in their quiet unobtrusive way, and it is to be hoped that with the advance of years their sphere of usefulness will also be gradually widened. It is with reference to the supply of good English books only at a reasonably cheap price that such an organization as the projected Society can at all be useful to the public. It has been clearly shewn above that there is a preliminary preparation of a desire on the part of the Indian people for a literature of a higher class than what is available at present in India. That there was a similar desire for a higher class of literature on the part of the English people during the early part of this century is best shewn by the success which attended the efforts of Messrs. W. and R. Chambers of Edinburgh in publishing in 1830 wholesome literature at exceedingly cheap prices. The above firm was the first to publish good books at cheap prices, as for instance, Chamber's *Papers for the People* and *Information for the People*. The success which attended Lord Brougham's Society for the Diffusion of useful knowledge founded in 1821 is due to the fact that that nobleman turned to account this preliminary preparati^{on} of a desire on the part of the English people for a higher in the literature. How far this Association was successful in supple^{ing} a rev^{erend} kind of literature at low prices can be best inferred from the F^{amous} series of the "*Library of useful and entertaining Knowledge*" issued under its auspices. The secret of this success lay in the fact that Lord Brougham and his influential committee found an able co-adjutor in the late Mr. Charles Knight, the well-known editor of "*The Illustrated Shakespeare*" "*The Pictorial History of England*," "*The Penny Cyclopædia*" and other useful publications. Of the three ways suggested by Sir Alfred Croft at the Calcutta meeting in which the projected Society may discharge its functions, the enlistment of the co-operation of some well-known firm of publishers in England seems to me to be the most feasible plan. For thereby the Committee will, with the assistance of publishers, be in a position to give good illustrated editions of standard works to the Indian public at a cheap price. The present prohibitive prices of good editions of standard authors and of illustrated works place them beyond the reach of the Indian reading public. But by way of objection to this plan, it has been urged that already several English firms are publishing editions of standard English books at very cheap prices and that the projected Society's aims are therefore misdirected. The objectors say that *Morley's Universal Library*, published by

Messrs. Routledge and Sons, will cost 1s. per volume ; Cassell's *National Library of English literature*, 6d. per volume ; and Bettany's *English Classics*, published by Messrs. Frederic Warne and Co., 1s. per volume. But the reply to this objection is that all the above series contain reprints of the older English works and do not comprise the books of modern English production. Mr. Johnston says that by presenting modern books,—not merely the old books which were instructive to English readers, not merely books for their intrinsic merits, but cheap books of modern production which would be given at a low price, adapted to the ordinary wages and incomes of the populations,—much of the money spent on injurious literature now prevalent would find its way into a better channel and become a source of revenue to every city. Another objection which has been raised to the foundation of such a society as the proposed one is that it will seriously handicap private enterprise in England. It has been urged by the objectors that, as books can now be bought in India at a price equal in value to the sterling price in England, if the society were to give the same books at still lower prices, private publishers would be offended and the cause of free trade interfered with. But suffice it to say in reply to them that, at the present rate of exchange, 12 annas is equivalent to 12 annas of Indian money and that the prices of English books have in consequence thereof gone up proportionately. Hence the prices for which English books are selling in India are so large as to be prohibitive of their being bought by Indian readers. Hence the society will be of great benefit to the Indians if it were to enlist the co-operation of some English publishing firm and, thereby, to give to Indian readers standard works at cheap prices. Our young men are frequently charged with leaving off their studies as soon as they leave the college. This charge is to a certain extent true but the want of wholesome and useful English books is one of the chief causes of their discontinuing their reading. The majority of the natives of India are poor and cannot afford to buy costly English books and hence, their desire for reading is nipped in the bud. Under these circumstances, nothing can be more laudable than to supply the mental food and, thereby, to satisfy the appetite which has been created by the present educational system, which is the object of the projected Society.

Another way by which wholesome and useful knowledge may be imparted to the public is by the publication of chief illustrated magazines. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge began to publish in 1827 two cheap illustrated magazines

entitled the *Penny* and the *Saturday Magazines* dealing with all manner of useful and entertaining subjects. It seems to me that a cheap illustrated magazine like the *Penny* should be started by the projected Society, for it will be one of the best mediums for imparting wholesome and useful knowledge to the public. A journal entitled *Progress* published at Madras and resembling the old *Penny Magazine* in many respects is doing much good in the way of imparting wholesome knowledge to the youths of that Presidency for it has a circulation of about 3000 and contains illustrated articles on interesting subjects and is, besides, very cheap.

It has been proposed that the projected Society should engage authors to write to order. Mr. Johnston says that the Society should be founded, not for the purpose of publishing or selling books, but by paying the cost of production and circulation to secure them—a course which would be far more likely of success than that of the Society that was started in England. This system is sure, as was pointed out by Sir Alfred Croft at the Calcutta meeting, to result in a complete failure, ~~the~~ did in the case of that admirable series of books, viz., the *Ma good wenter* Series, called after that well-known lady philanthropist in the late Miss Mary Carpenter, published under the auspices of a ~~rev.~~ National Indian Association. Years ago we had amongst ~~us~~ a school book Society which issued some popular works at a cheap price and it seems to have done some good in its day. Though it still exists it has now almost become effete, for the day when works like the *Paswabali* or *Animal Biography* published by it could satisfy the public taste for reading, is gone. It has been said that attempts, similar to the present one, to establish a Society for the supply of good literature, were made before and that a society established in this country in 1820 for this purpose failed to carry out its objects. The reason of this failure is not far to seek. India during the early part of this century was not in that preliminary state of preparation for the reception of a literature as it is at the present day.

It has been suggested that a University composed of scientific and literary men should be founded and that it should invite compositions from well-known authors. This competition among authors will, it is said, result in the production of the best works on the subject on which compositions will be invited; and that some prize in the shape of some title of literary distinction should be conferred upon the most successful of the competitors. This scheme is said to have originated with Messrs. Cassell & Co., the

well-known publishers of London. Though this proposal is admirable and is likely to succeed in England, where good writers are to be found in large numbers, yet the scheme, I submit, will not prove successful here in India where there is a great dearth of good writers. Moreover, as has been pointed out above, writing to order has, in India, always failed to turn out works of sterling merit. Under these circumstances it seems to me that the projected Society will be successful if it only confines its operations to the supply of sound and cheap English literature and does not waste its energies by trying to publish cheap editions of vernacular books, for it has been pointed out that they are already cheap enough and are within the reach of everybody's means.

S. C. MITRA, M.A.

[In our judgment the writer has not shown, clearly or otherwise, that "there is a preliminary preparation of a desire on the part of the Indian people" for literature of a higher order.

To issue books of "modern English production" at lower than the English prices would be to trample upon the legal rights of the authors and the English publishers. Incessantly to do with impunity what the United States can. If there were no legal difficulties in the way, the first thing necessary would be a cheap reprint.

Nobody need trouble himself about private enterprise in England. That is strong enough to defend itself against anything which can be done in India. —ED. N. M.]

MR. R. C. DUTT'S ANCIENT INDIA.—(I.)

IF we were to judge from the Sanskrit literature extant, we would be forced to the conclusion that the Genius of History never inspired the spirit of our ancestors. While our forefathers have left us erudite works on philosophy and logic, original books on arithmetic, algebra and geometry, magnificent epics and elegant poems and dramas, their library of history is almost a blank. Unlike the Hindus, the Mahomedans, though little advanced in other branches of literature, were careful recorders of facts, and have left a mass of valuable materials wherewith a history of their times may well be written. While therefore we have a complete history of the Mahomedan movements in India, the history of the Hindu period is in the void. So utterly did we neglect history that many European scholars, well informed about India and its people, have come to doubt whether, even with the aid of European education, we can develop the spirit of historical criticism and accuracy in us. We are glad therefore to find that this doubt is on the way of being removed by Mr. R. C. Dutt. Before the publication of his work we had no history of the Hindu period; and it was usual among the writers of Indian history to deplore the want of materials on the subject; a history of the Hindu period had therefore to be constructed. Thanks to the energy, perseverance and erudition of European scholars, the time has come when a history of the Hindus, in bare outlines at least, can be written. We cannot therefore be sufficiently thankful to those European scholars who have spent the energies of their lives in searching after manuscripts, copper plates, and coins, and who have deciphered the writings of thousands of years, and have read the languages of many nations who ruled over the continent. It is not a little humiliating to feel how little our countrymen have contributed in constructing the ancient history of our country. The very defective system of education that obtains in this country altogether precludes our countrymen from keeping themselves abreast with the advancing tide of human knowledge or sharing in the honors of

discovery in the several branches of science. But it might have been hoped that, in a country where Sanskrit education is compulsory and where patriotism is so loudly talked about, we would take a little interest in developing the ancient history of our native land. We have not the least doubt in ascribing this apathy of our countrymen, for the cause of our national history, to their inert nature and to the want of vigour of their mental capacity ; our minds as well as our body have to be trained up to the European pitch before we can expect to achieve anything in the department of literature. For the present we are afraid we should be contented with producing nothing better than seasonal rhymes, dramas and tales such as are catalogued and published in the *Calcutta Gazette* once every three months. We must at the same time admit that our countrymen who wish to devote themselves to letters labour under one serious disadvantage, to wit, the want of opportunity. No department of public service affords greater facilities for continuing studies than the educational department ; and it has in Europe produced men eminent in science and literature. Most of the foremost scientific and literary men of the present in England belong to the educational department, such as—Morley, Blackie, Max Müller, Sayce, Arnold, Freeman, Judd, Geikie, and a host of others. Even in this country we have the examples of Bühler, Kielhorn, Oppert, Griffiths, &c. If we are informed aright no professorship in any high class University in Germany is given to any one unless he has shewn his aptitude for original investigation. Here no such qualification is required for appointment in the higher grades of the educational service, and we find none of our countrymen in Bengal in the educational department whose name can be placed alongside of any of those named above. How can the educational department of a country produce men of letters when “eat the air” and “give the door” men and men who have neither the ability nor the inclination to original study are hoisted into posts eminently suitable for study, and those who are really willing to devote themselves to study find their lives lost in earning a scanty morsel of bread in work where no study is possible. But to return to our review.

There was a time when a record of the doings of kings and princes, of their wars and intrigues was considered history. But in these days of democracy the people have claimed a share to be noticed ; and records of their habits and custom in different ages, of their advancement in civilization are considered the main features of history. To one who is not wedded to either of

The history of India necessarily begins with the Vedic period. We may here remark that Mr. Dutt is as good an authority on Vedic period as any in Bengal ; having a few years ago published a Bengali translation of the Rig Veda, he had to study his subject thoroughly well. The picture given of this period is exceedingly interesting. Here we find a bold band of fair-coloured Aryans migrating from the tablelands of Iran and settling themselves in the fertile plains of the Punjab watered by the mighty Indus and its numerous tributaries. Their incessant wars with the dark-coloured aboriginals who fought every inch of ground they yielded, their occupation in times of peace, tilling the fruitful soil or tending their flocks by the fertile streams, and occasionally making themselves merry over the pot of the much adored soma juice ; their religion, the simple religion of an untutored race, as yet unencumbered with the grosser forms of later Brahmanism, which taught to invoke the aid of the mighty phenomena of nature with which they were surrounded ; the sun, though not the moon, the dawn, the cloud, the thunder, and above all the rain which they needed so much for their cultivated fields ; their worship of the fire, their sacrifice of beasts and libation of wine, when there was no priesthood ;—a religion to fatten on the labours of the industrious, or tempted by money of the toilers,—all these are very graphically described. The position of the women, that of the elders of the families who were the priests in their own households, their food and drink, and they had no objection to beef or pork and to the use of the strong drink produced of the soma juice ; and the state of the society in general are very philosophically treated. However fascinating the description may be we cannot but remember that the society here described is that of a people but one step removed from barbarism. Ferocious in their nature, as they must have been, given to intoxication, waging cruel wars on the aboriginals on whose rights they trespassed, possessing rude weapons of war and implements of peace, living almost naked or clad in the skins of animals to shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather, and making very little advancement towards the comforts and conveniences of life ;—there was a society which can hardly be called civilized or which one would be justified in admiring. The interest lies not in the advancement actually made by our ancestors in the Vedic period, but in the insight we have in these pictures of a great nation just emerging from the state of barbarism and essaying to step towards civilisation and enlightenment. Their thoughts, as expressed in the Vedic hymns, their religion of nature worship

have an interest, not as the perfection of human thought and religion, but as displaying the mental working of an infant nation.

Not the least interesting feature of the Vedic study is the study of the gradual development of later superstitions from the primitive Vedic hymns :—how the simple outpourings of an infant people suggested to the priesthood of succeeding ages the materials wherewith to forge a chain in order to bind down a priest ridden nation. It can scarcely be believed, nevertheless it is a fact, that Brahma which meant prayer, and Vishnu, the sun, and Rudra, the thunder, in the Vedic time developed themselves into the gods of the Hindu trinity of the Pouranic age ! More than this, —according to Professor Max Müller the story of the siege of Troy developed out of a simple Vedic hymn ! Then “in the Veda, Vishnu is said to traverse space in three steps, *viz.*, the sun at rising, at zenith and at setting.” This simple hymn has been transformed in the Pouranic age into a not very happy story of king Vali and the dwarf with three feet, the latter covering the sky and the earth with his two feet, and finding a resting place for the third on the king’s head !

Passing from the Vedic, we come to the second, the epic period. Here we find the horizon of the Indian settlers considerably expanded. They were no longer a rude, nomadic, and nomadic people, but had advanced towards the Indus and its tributaries, but had advanced towards the East and established large and mighty kingdoms on the banks of the Ganges. They were no longer the same rude agricultural people, but had been considerably civilized, educated, and become polished in their manners.

It may be stated at the outset that one reading Mr. Dutt’s account of the epic age must be prepared to receive a rude shock to the preconceived idea, if he has it, that the Ramayana and the Mahavarata contained any very great materials of history ; that any account of this period could be written, in the way, it has been written by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, by giving an abstract of the two epics and leaving out the supernatural portions in them. Writing a history of the times of the Ramayana and the Mahavarata is not so simple a work. These epics were certainly not composed in the forms we have now got them, like the Iliad and the Odyssey. Separate pieces relating to some great battle, a war, and of great deeds of individual kings and heroes were most probably sung about in different times and in different places, and additions and alterations continued to be made for endless years. These pieces were after a lapse of ages put together in the shapes as best suited the views of the time

and the country in which they were collected. It is not to be supposed that additions and alterations, and subtractions as well, ceased when the epics received their definite shapes. In a time when printing was unknown, and writing rarely resorted to, and in a country so vast and varied as Hindustan, it can easily be imagined that the epics continued to be modified, even up to a modern time, till the original poems were lost beyond recovery. However they are not altogether without their value. If they do not afford any reliable account of historical events, they at least furnish much in the way of illustrating the civilization of earlier periods. Besides the Ramayana and the Mahavarata the Brahmanas and probably the later Vedas furnish materials of history of this age. All the Brahmanas have not yet been studied, so it is just possible, nay probable, that rich materials for history lie entombed waiting the labours of future antiquarians. But from what have already been gleaned we learn that in this period five powerful kingdoms were founded by five powerful tribes, *viz.*, the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Videhas, the Koshalas and the Kashis. The places where they established themselves and reared their mighty kingdoms are ~~shown~~ shown in the map attached to the first volume of Mr. ~~Smith~~ ^{Smith}.

Little is known of the history of these peoples. The Kurus and the Panchalas and their neighbouring tribes and lived in mutual friendship; but for ~~the~~ ^{some} reason or other not known they flew against each other, and the result was a sanguinary war in which many of the neighbouring tribes joined, and which terminated both these kingdoms. This appears to be the fact round which the original poems of the Mahavarata centred themselves; but the additions and alternations of later ages have altogether hid from view the original poems. In the present epic, even the principal actors are mythical.

The prosperity of the Videhas appears to have reached its climax under their king Janaka. He was not only a powerful monarch, but also a learned sovereign. His court was embellished with the learned men of the time who came to receive instructions from him. The subjects mostly cultivated in his court were Philosophy and Psychology. In his time the Brahmins had not yet obtained the monopoly of learning and religion, and the Kshatriyas were the rulers of men and the instructors of the people. The bold flights reached by the Kshatriya teachers with Janaka at their head in Psychology have not been surpassed in any age or country. The abstruse philosophy of the Upanishads composed mostly by the Kshatriyas soars much higher than the

pompous ceremonials of the Brahamanas the almost contemporary product of the Brahaman intellect.

Of the Koshalas likewise very little is known. Their claims to eminence rested on their having colonized countries south of the Vindhya, a great achievement, but whose history is wholly lost. Rama and Sita are mythical, and the only point historical in the Ramayana is the idea of conquering and aryanizing Southern India. Mr. Dutt places Ramayana posterior, in point of time, to the Mahavarata, the both epics taken as they are at present. The question of the priority of the one epic over the other is still, we believe, an open one—Mr. Dutt has of course his reasons for holding the opinion he does.

There is not much to be said of the Kashis.

We must now hasten to notice some prominent features of this age. It was at this period that we find the system of caste being gradually developed. It was as yet a feeble tie, but we see the chain being forged which has up to this day held in bondage, and levelled to the ground a highly gifted people. We cannot express ourselves on the point better than in the simple yet powerful language of the author. H. Good—

"But the worst results of priestly supremacy were not brought about in a day. We see the dark cloud slowly forming, first in the close of the Vedic Period. We see it increasing in strength and gloom in the epic period. We shall see it casting a still gloomier shadow on the society of the Rationalistic Period. But it is only in the Pauranic Period which followed the Buddhist Era that it threw an utter impenetrable gloom over a gifted but ill-fated nation. In the earlier periods, so long as the nation had the life and strength of youth, it made repeated attempts to throw off priestly supremacy and to assert its free born rights. The Kshatriyas made an attempt to assert themselves in the very period of which we are now speaking, as we have already seen. And the Kshatriyas made a still mightier attempt later on to throw Brahmanism overboard, and adopted the Buddhist religion all over the land. With the extinction of Buddhism such attempt seemed to end, and priestly supremacy became ten times worse than before. The energies of the nation were cramped, the natural boldness of martial races was subdued by superstitious beliefs, the feeling of political unity was almost annihilated, and the descendants of those who had fought the Kuru-Panchala war, and had opposed the march of Alexander, fell before petty adventurers. The great nation was conquered by an adventurer from Ghor, who had scarcely a kingdom of his own, and whose descendants soon lost all connection with their mother country, and ruled in India through the weakness of the Hindus. And in five or six centuries that followed the conquest, there was not political life enough in the millions of martial men who inhabited Northern India, from the Punjab to Behar to make one serious effort to send out the handful of aliens who held them in chains. Ancient Greece fell through dissensions among her petty states; Rome fell on account of her luxury and vice; India fell on account of her superstition and consequent lifelessness."

Who is to be blamed for this miserable state of things ? Mr. Dutt, in another place, blames the people more for submitting themselves to the undue authority of kings and priests than the kings and priests for exercising undue authority over the people.

It can easily be imagined that from the Vedic times the Hindus made great strides towards civilization and enlightenment. The art of government was greatly improved, the education of boys was carefully attended to, women were held in high esteem, they were not kept in seclusion, nor widow marriage prohibited. Caste rules were not very strict, and intermarriages between persons of different castes very frequently took place ; and men could, by their own merit, get themselves promoted to a higher caste than the one in which they were born. The nation was, on the whole, in a fair way to advancement, and, but for the baneful influence of caste and a superstitious religion, would have attained to a much higher degree of civilization than it actually did. A religion that encumbered the people with a belief in innumerable gods and goddesses, with endless rites and ceremonies from year's end to year's end, that subjected them to the supremacy of a class of professional priests, and excluded the bulk from being educated,—~~was a~~ serious hindrance to their attaining that degree of civilization to which their intelligence fairly entitled them. Every nation ~~meets~~ such impediments must halt at a certain point in its onward career towards civilization, and thence retrace its steps backward towards barbarism ; and so did the Hindus !

It is somewhat refreshing to turn away from these melancholy pictures and notice the advances our ancestors made in science and literature. In this period all the Vedas were compiled, and so were the epics. Metaphysics and Psychology were extensively studied and the Brahmanas and the Upanishads were composed. The passage of the moon through the constellations was marked, and the Solstitial points were observed. The year was divided into months, and the months named after certain lunar constellations. These were some of the advances our ancestors made in the field of literature between the years 1400 and 1000 B.C. !

A CRITIC.

PESSIMISM.

Pessimism, by which I mean the affirmation that everything is for the worst in the worst of all possible worlds, is as old as literature. Nay, it is coeval with the existence of the human race. The struggle for life, of which we hear so much now-a-days, must have raged with appalling severity in prehistoric times. Primeval man had to face wild beasts as yet unconvinced of his supremacy. He was ill-protected against the rigour of climate. His fare was an alternation between bestial gluttony and starvation. The good old rule, the simple plan was in full force, and the fierce passions thus generated embittered existence and corroded the heart. It is more than probable that our remotest ancestors often asked themselves whether life was worth living, and paused for a reply. As human society gradually emerged from the gloom of barbarism and its voice became articulate, we find its earliest utterances pregnant with despair. The contrast between inanimate nature, ever renewing her forces and revelling in eternal youth, and the fate that awaits mankind, appealed powerfully to the dawning intelligence and found an echo throughout the whole range of ancient poetry. Job, the story of whose trials is of the hoariest antiquity, complains that man born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble. The Psalmist declares that "The days of man are as grass, as a flower of the field so he flourishes. The wind passes over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof shall know it no more." Homer has the same simile :—" Like leaves on trees the race of men is found. Now green in youth, now withering on the ground." Poets so widely distant in time and different in race, language and surroundings as Moschus and Horace touch the same mournful chord :—

We, alas, earth's baughty kings,
 We, who promise better things,
 Losing soon our happy prime
 Faint and fade in little time.
 Spring returns, but not our bloom,
 All is silent in the tomb.

This strain differs essentially from Pessimism only in the deductions based upon it. The dominant note of ancient thought may be summed up in the prophet Isaiah's words: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die." We shall soon see how wide the gulf between this comfortable philosophy and the sombre creed of the pessimist.

Christianity stemmed the tide which might have overwhelmed civilization as it certainly sapped the foundations of the edifice. In its view, this world is but the vestibule of an eternity which shall be happy or the reverse as our actions here deserve. Such a cult leaves no room for despair: for the pleasures and pains of life are as nothing when compared with the joys that await believers hereafter. It sternly represses all indulgence in sensual pleasures, which materialists of old regarded as the highest good. The influence of Christianity was deep and far-reaching: and it has left indelible traces on Mahammadanism. In Christian and Paynim countries alike the pessimistic tone was, for many centuries, overmastered by means of praise, and prayer offered to a personal Creator who "willeth not that any should perish, but that all should have everlasting life." The prevailing current of thought from the rise of Christianity down to the close of last century and even later was, thus, a placid contentment with this life tempered by apprehensions regarding the future. It finds utterance in Gray's *Elegy*:—

For who to dumb forgetfulness a prey
This pleasing, anxious being e'er resigned,
Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day
Nor cast one longing lingering look behind?

But belief, that belief I mean which inspires our actions, is a question of temperament and surrounding. The historian Hume used to say that his habit of looking at the bright side of things was worth a thousand a year to him.* The wise and witty Sydney Smith, attributed his sunny nature to the fact that he always took short views of life. There is the difference of the poles between the type of Christianity that finds favour in Aberdeen and that which is affected by the worshippers of St. January at Naples. Pessimism has never been wholly extinct: and it waited an opportunity afforded by the decay of ancient creeds to rear its head in triumph. The first blow to the opposite bent of mind was given by the French Revolution, itself the offspring of philosophic doubts as to the reality of revealed religion, and profound dissatisfaction with society as it stood. Closely following on that great cataclysm

came the victories of Napoleon, bringing with them a long train of sufferings to both sides in the contest. The stimulus of war gave a powerful impulse to material progress, to "Mechanical arte and merchandize." Population increased: wealth grew and became concentrated in a few hands; and the proletariat, the great army of the Have-nots gained yearly accessions of millions to its numbers.

It remained for a German to elevate a phase of thought to the dignity of a philosophic system. The Teutonic mind is prone to mystic ponderings. Throughout Central Europe, national life was well nigh crushed out by the Thirty-years' War: and for two centuries men gave their blood and gold freely at the bid of countless kings and princes. The Elector of Hesse Cassel sold his subjects by thousands to Great Britain, as food for the tomahawk of the Red Indian or the rifle bullet of her revolted colonists. The King of Würtemberg, too obese to ride or walk, was driven in a coach down the long lines of honest Suabia, paraded before their start as a contingent of Napoleon's Grand Army. They saluted Cæsar as men about to die, for they were destined to be overwhelmed, almost to a man, in the icy steppes of Holy Russia. The human mind, debarred from heroic action and the bracing air of the political arena, sought an outlet for its energies in philosophic dreams and subtleties worthy of mediæval schoolmen. Napoleon's heel pressed heavily on the devoted land, and the gigantic effects made by princes and people to rid themselves of the incubus plunged them into grinding poverty aggravated by an ungrateful soil and the rigour of a climate of which dwellers in the tropics can form no conception. The seed of Pessimism would germinate freely in such a medium as this.

The year 1788, pregnant with fate to civilisation, gave birth to Arthur Schopenhauer, a man whose works will surely exercise a wider influence on its destinies than the French Revolution itself. His youth and early manhood were spent in a society convulsed by war, and the horrors which we then witnessed reacted powerfully on a morose and contemplative nature. His powerful genius was allowed to develop itself untrammelled by the moral training which might have restrained its morbid exuberance. He grew up a nineteenth century Epicurean, and, after a life which was an alternation between severe study and gross sensual indulgence, he died, regretted by no one, in 1860. But the philosophic system which he elaborated lives, and exercises an indelible and ever-widening influence on human thought. It has been summarized for English readers by James Sully, and afterwards by Norman

Pearson, to whose works I am indebted for the following Synopsis of Pessimism.

The material world as we see it has no real existence. The visible forms of things are, in fact, inherent in the human intellect. Will alone exists absolutely. It is a blind power, which pervades the universe, in itself unconscious but, attaining consciousness in the intellect which it dominates. The consciousness of every animal lies in the species : and the Will of the species manifests itself in actions tending to self-preservation and reproduction. Will is, therefore, WILL TO LIVE : and sexual love, the mainspring of all art and poetry is a blind striving for life on the part of the species. On these premises we have the following deductions :—

I. This blind, reasonless force, the Will to Live attains its ends by means of the female sex, which is the enemy of our reason and the minister to our worst follies.

II. There is no God. Theism is the creation of our childish years, and Pantheism a poet's dream.

III. Neither has man a personality of his own. There is no soul. That which we conventionally style Soul is made up of will, *i.e.*, Will to Live, and intellectual-cerebral phenomena varying with our organism.

IV. Free Will has no existence. Our character is the product of heredity, influenced by cause and effect just as the rest of the phenomenal world.

V. We are strictly compassed about and confined by Necessity : which is : -

- (1) Logical, governing the sequence of ideas.
- (2) Physical, governing the succession of phenomena.
- (3) Geometrical, governing the relations of space.
- (4) Moral, governing the actions and motives of men.

VI. There is no such thing as Conscience. What we term conscience is made up of fear of man, superstition, prejudice, vanity and custom.

It follows from these axioms that human existence is an evil : for living is willing, willing is striving, and striving is suffering. Our life is a long struggle for existence with the certainty of losing the battle and the higher our intelligence the greater our sufferings. Progress is a snare and delusion : for increased civilization implies increased pain. We are happy only while we sleep, or concentrate our thoughts on works of art. Indulgence in all other pleasures is forbidden, because through them we become the playthings of that Will to Live which is the fount and origin of our miseries. Hence it is the duty of every man to extirpate the Will

to Live by perfect asceticism ; and to abide the time when the enormity of the evil shall work its own remedy : when the whole world will embrace the creed of Pessimism and the gigantic blunder of existence shall be rectified by the extinction of the human race.

A century ago the publication of such doctrines would have brought upon their author the penalty of a persecution for blasphemy : if, indeed, it did not consign him to a madhouse. The fact that to-day they number professed adherents by thousands and have sensibly leavened the whole current of thought is a hard nut to crack for those who believe in the perfectibility of our species. Pessimism, allied with Darwinian theories, has converted the French people, once light-hearted in disaster and the mirror of chivalry and courtesy, into a mob of ferocious egoists. It has left its trail on our literature and art, which is surely losing its healthy sympathy with human joys and sufferings and labours under an incurable *morbidezza*. Why, in despite of the enormous advance in material civilization which has marked our century, do theories apparently so crude and certainly so dangerous find favour with the most cultivated ?

The key to this intricate problem is to be found in the population-question : a subject which agitated nearly ninety years ago by Malthus, is now knocking at the door and will take no denial. To trace the connection between racial hypertrophy and Pessimism would carry me beyond the limits assigned by my readers' patience. Suffice it to say that, throughout the west, the struggle for existence is now so keen that millions are doomed to go down to their graves after a life of hard and thankless toil, irradiated by no ray of hope. The complexity of modern life causes a morbid development of the nervous system ; increasing our susceptibility to pain, moral and physical. It creates new wants, and dangles before our eyes the prospect of new and unattainable pleasures. Mass education has crammed myriads of stunted brains with strong meat which they cannot digest. All of us who are capable of thinking at all are possessed by a vague discontent with the established order of things ; its colossal inequalities and still greater injustices. We feel that we are on the eve of a social upheaval compared with which the events of 1789 and all previous revolutions are of small account. The outlook is gloomy : and it is calculated to shake the optimism of the staunchest believer in the vitality and progress of our race.

F. H. SKRINE.

A POET'S SELF-LAUDATION.

[*From the Persian of 'Mirza Schaffy.'*]

O wherefore doth the world esteem
 Shiraz, that land of wine and flower ?
 And Roknabad's pellucid stream,
 And fair Mosella's fragrant bower ?

'Tis not because in beauty dight,
 She stands a queen, beyond compare,
 For other lands have streams as bright,
 And flowers as lovely bloom elsewhere.

O Hafiz, thou alone hast crown'd
 Shiraz with everlasting fame,
 Thy songs have made her so renown'd,
 And won for her a glorious name.

The State, from priestly power set free,
 On broad foundations stood secure,
 Put down was pride of place by thee,
 Ennobled were the meek and pure.

Thro' thee the Town resplendent shone,
 Rose-lined the streams in music ran,
 To precious gem was every stone,
 Converted by thy talisman !—

And Tiflis also, fair to see,
 Has roses, wine, and maidens gay,
 And, Mirza Schaffy, she has Thee,
 Thou peerless lord of lute and lay !

Exalted as Shiraz hath been
 By Hafiz.—Tiflis too shall rise,
 Thy poesy shall crown her queen,
 O Schaffy, and the world surprise.

Thy genius and thy wondrous art,
 Thy love for Tiflis shall combine,

To win for thee her maiden heart,
To make her and her riches Thine.

Within her walls sweet waters meet,
High hills like sentries stand around ;
Poet ! thy sway is now complete,
O'er all on this enchanted ground.

Her blooming daughters, (note this well),
Their rose-bud mouths, their eyes' soft shine,
By virtue of the potent spell,
The spell of dulcet song—are Mine !

For Love, for Wine, for Beauty rare,
My lays a paradise will be,
And those who gain admittance there,
From sin and sorrow will be free.

But those whom Love and Wine displease,
And priests,—shall ne'er such bliss attain,
Each verse of mine, for men like these,
• Will be the source of endless pain.—

In distant lands,—to castles and creeds,
Thus will my wondrous song resound,
And lofty thoughts and noble deeds,
Therein reflected will be found.

My pupils shall thy worth proclaim,
—Fulfill'd has been my grand design,—
O Tiflis, glorious is thy name,
From Kyros to the banks of Rhine !

O. C. DUTT.

OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.

VYASA.

"The poetical *gens* called Homerids, who lived in historical times in the island of Chios, regarded Homer as a progenitor and *eponymous*—that is, a name-giving ancestor or chief—whom they worshipped in common, and in whom the individuality of every member of the gens was merged. The compositions of each Homerid were called the works of Homer, the names of the various individual bards perishing, while that of the common gentile father increased in renown through the genius of his self-renewing sons." Similarly, Vyasa,* meaning a compiler, was an eponymous, whose descendants merged themselves in, and passed under the common name of, their great ancestor. The Vishnu Purana gives a list of twenty eight Vyasas.

Krishna Dwaipayana Vyasa, the greatest of all Hindu literary characters, was born on a sandbank of the river Jamna, the site of which is unknown. It is not ascertained in Lassen's geography of the Mahabharata.

The age of Vyasa is the fifteenth century before Christ, which is the age of the great war he has immortalized. The date of that war has been determined upon the following grounds:—
 "1st, that certain positions of the planets, as recorded in the Mahabharata, are shown by Bentley to have taken place in 1424—25 B.C., who adds that there is no other year, either before that period or since, in which they were so situated. 2nd, in the Vishnu Purana it is stated that at the birth of Parikshita, the grandson of Arjuna Pandava, the seven Rishis were in *Mughha*, and that when they are in *Purva Asharha*, Nanda will begin to reign. Now, as the seven Rishis, or stars of the Great Bear, are supposed to pass from one lunar asterism to another in 100 years, the interval between Parikshita and Nanda will be 1000 years. But in the Bhagvata Purana this interval is said to be 1015 years, which, added to 100 years, the duration of the reigns of the nine Nandas, will place the birth of Parikshit 1115 years before the accession

of Chandra Gupta in 315 B.C., that is, in 1430 B.C. By this account the birth of Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, took place just six years before the Great War in B.C. 1424. These dates, which are derived from two independent sources, mutually support each other, and, therefore, seem to be more worthy of credit than any other Hindu dates of so remote a period."* To fix the year of the great war of the Mahabharata, is to fix the epoch of Vyasa, who was an eye-witness of its events.

Vyasa was the son of a Kshatriya woman by a high born Brahman. By the side of his father, he was descended from sages of great renown—and his maternity connected him with the princes of the Lunar dynasty. His great-grandfather, Vasishta, was the royal priest of the Rajas of Ayodhya. His grandfather, Shuktri, happening to fall on the way of Saudasa, surnamed Kalmashapada, a prince of the Solar family, who was hunting in the woods, was struck with a whip, on which he pronounced a malediction that cost him his life. The death of Shuktri took place when his wife Adrisyanti was in a state of pregnancy, and her posthumous child was Parasara, who was brought up by his grandfather. On his attaining majority, and learning the cause of his father's death, he resolved to avenge it by a sacrifice from which he was dissuaded by Vasishta. Parasara distinguished himself by great learning in various branches, and resided in the forest of Srisoila with about 15,000 disciples. He is said to have first taught the doctrines of Vedantism, and is the author also of the first treatise on astronomy. But the work by which he is best known is the Vishnu Purana, the translation of which was first attempted by a few Hindu College students for Government,† and afterwards accomplished by Dr. Wilson in 1840.

The mother of Vyasa was Satyavati, the daughter of a condemned Apsari, named Adrika, by prince Uparichara of the Lunar family, who gave her in charge to a fisherman living upon the banks of the Jamna, to bring her up as his own daughter. He had a boat by which he ferried passengers across the river. One morning being absent when Parasara had occasion to cross over, his place was supplied by the girl who had learnt the profession of her adopted father. She was then a young maiden of great beauty inherited from her mother of the Himalayan race, and was known by the name of Matsyagandha. No sooner her

* General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*.

† Babu Kasiprasad Ghose, Editor of the *Hindu Intelligencer*, dated 30th July, 1849.

charms attracted the notice of Parasara than he owned himself a captive to their influence. He urged the fair ferry-woman to direct the helm towards a neighbouring sand-bank, where she was induced to yield to his desires under the cover of a fog. The offspring of this fortuitous amour was Vyasa, in whose age such illegitimacy was without scandal, and was tolerated in society. It is strange that in the face of this recorded account, Mr. Wheeler should fall into the error of identifying Matsya-desa (from Matsya-gandha) with Eastern Bengal, and supposing Vyasa to have been born on the western bank of the Brahmaputra.

The peculiar circumstances of his birth precluded Vyasa from being called by a family patronymic. He received, therefore, the name of Krishna from his black complexion, and was called Dwaipayana, or the Island-born. The appellation of Vyasa was an after-title by which he was distinguished on his compilation of the Vedas. Passing his infant years with his mother, Vyasa took his leave of her in due time to enter upon the prosecution of his studies, promising her to obey her calls whenever she required his services. The country along the banks of the Jamna then formed a part of the Brahmarishidesa. Probably, the quarter to which Vyasa directed his steps in quest of a tutor, was the neighbouring region of the Devanirmittam Brahmaverttam, where the greatest Rishis dwelt along the banks of the Sarasvati, and Vasishtha had an extensive hermitage at Sthanatirtha, or Thaneswara, close by that of Viswamitra. In this classic locality Vyasa pursued his studies, and was taught the Vedas by a sage of the name of Vishnu.

Whilst thus engaged, Vyasa was summoned to attend at the court of Hastinapur, where Raja Vichitravirjya had died without leaving a successor to the throne. The practice of raising up issue to a deceased brother, similar to that of the ancient Jews and Egyptians, was in vogue also among the Hindus of old, and of which traces still linger in some of the low classes. It was justified by Manu under the emergency which called it into requisition. The children thus born were regarded as lawful sons of the father's body, and admitted to all the claims of inheritance. Barbarous as this mode of preserving a family from extinction was, it was prevented by certain restrictions from degenerating into an infamous practice. Care was taken to limit the exercise of the privilege strictly to an individual who bore the relationship of a brother. The union of his mother Satyavati with Raja Santanu subsequent to his departure from her, had made Vyasa a half-brother to the deceased monarch, and he was the most eligible person to under-

take the office of begetting children on his widow Rani. The first child Dhritarashtra being born blind, he had to go to the second Rani, who bringing forth a pale child—Pandu, Vyasa was compelled to perform the duty of begetting a third son—Vidura, on their attendant maid.

From Hastinapur, Vyasa returned to his alma-mater, and pursued an undisturbed cultivation of letters. His life of a student being over, he married a woman by the name of Sakhi. He chose his *asrama* in a place which is still called after his name Vyasasthali, and is situated near Thaneswarā, in the neighbourhood of Kurukshetra, by the side of the Sarasvati, where a sacred halo hovers over its atmosphere. The Hindu nation, in European fashion, have not marked the spot with "storied urn or animated bust" *in memoriam*. But in their own fashion, they have cared to remember its site through every variety of change, and to consecrate it as a sacred pilgrimage visited by all who repair to the great battle-field of Kurukshetra for indulgence in ancient memories. Vyasa is said to have resided also at Nadarikaśrama upon the Himalayas, whence he was sometimes called Vadarayana. He travelled over a great part of ancient Aryaverta, visiting the famous tirthas and hermitages of the times. Occasionally, he appeared in public life paying "angel visits few and far between" to its haunts. The first Rishi of his day, he acted as the high-priest at the great Rajsuya Yagna of Raja Yudhishtira in ancient Indraprastha, and presided also at the Ashwamedha of that monarch at Hastinapur. After these incidents, he seems to have finally retired from the world under the infirmities of extreme old age. The subject of his death is involved in the darkness of a mystery. Vyasa left behind him a son called Sukdeva, who performed the ceremony of *Parayana* in the court of Raja Parikshit.

Vyasa is the greatest genius that has appeared amongst the Hindus, by whom he is regarded as one of the six immortals of their nation. The many-sidedness of his mind is proved by the wideness and variety of his knowledge. He carried its commerce like "a merchant, who hath an argosy bound for Tripoli, another for the Indies, a third for Mexico, and a fourth for England," setting up pillars like Hercules to mark the extent of his exploration in the regions of black letter. His writings embrace a wide range of themes. But the greatest of all his literary undertakings was the compilation of the Vedas, which for all time has made him famous under the name of Veda-Vyasa. Composed from age to age by different sages, they made a mass of floating literature preserved by committal into memory. Vyasa col-

lected and arranged them in the form in which they have come down to us, forming the oldest repository of human knowledge, and possessing the highest authority in the Hindu world. He reduced them into four parts called the Rik, the Sam, the Yayur, and the Atharvan Vedas, which again were subdivided into various *sachas*, or branches. The knowledge of these Vedas was communicated to four of his most distinguished pupils, Paila, Jaimini, Vaishampayana, and Sumanta, who founded four schools of them. To the first was taught the principles of the Rik Veda; the second was instructed in the Sam Veda; and the third and fourth in the Yayur and Atharvan Vedas. The compilation of these sacred books made a remarkable epoch dating, as calculated by Mr. Colebrooke, about the beginning of the fifteenth century before Christ. Each Veda consists of two parts—the hymnal and the ritualistic. The Rik Veda contains many hymns and prayers by far older than the chronology of the compilation, being composed probably before the date of the Aryan dispersion. They are written in that obsolete Sanscrit which is scarcely understood without glossarial aid. There exists more than one commentary in the shape of Brahmanas and Aranyakas, but the most famous one is that of Sayana Acharya, who lived in the court of a Hindu Raja in the Dekhan, in the 14th century of the Christian era. The Rik Veda has been translated into English by Dr. Wilson and Mr. Max Müller, and into Bengali by R. C. Dutt. The other Vedas belong to the ritualistic period dawning in India.

The next work generally attributed to our author, consists of the original Sutras of Vedanticism. "It is a conclusion naturally adopted," says Mr. Elphinstone, "that the compiler of the Vedas, whoever he was, is the most likely person to have written a treatise on the scope and essential doctrines of the compositions which he had brought together." But Mr. Colebrooke is of opinion that "in its present form the school of the Vedantists is more modern than any of the other schools, and even than the Buddhists and Jainas; and that the work in which their system is first explained, could not, therefore, have been written earlier than the sixth century before Christ." It is not an irrational view of the question to ascribe the origin of this philosophy to Vyasa, who derived its principles from his father Parasara, and undertook to teach them to Prince Kukustu of the Solar dynasty; and to date from a later age their elaboration and development into a system imbued with the ideas of a more enlightened period. The doctrines of Vedanticism seem to have exercised the highest influence. It is by the tenets of this school that Buddhism, which

had once grown so powerful as to threaten the supercession of the Brahmanical creed, was put down and banished from the plains of India. The most eminent philosopher of this school was Sankara Acharya, who flourished in the ninth century.

But the work of Vyasa held in the greatest popularity is the Mahabharata. The hermitages of our ancient Rishis were most sequestered centres of literary and religious life, looking out upon a pure sky, green trees, flowers, and purling streams, with animal life in the shape of cows, sheep, goats, and squirrels running from tree to tree—where they lived amidst the picturesque, and breathed in an atmosphere of poetry. The hermitage at Vyasasthali stood upon the Sarasvati, which then flowed in a mighty stream—and Vyasa was the minstrel of that river, as Homer was the minstrel of the Meles. Vyasa was not content to rest his fame on the compilation of the Vedas. He yearned to leave behind treasures of thought and literature drawn from the resources of his own great mind, to which an expanded world might resort with greater public usefulness. Walking one day in this mood, by the side of the Sarāsvati, he became inspired on a sudden to celebrate the great war of the Mahabharata, and undertook its composition with the object of placing religious knowledge within the reach of women, Sudras, and mixed castes, who may not have any access to the Vedas and other higher works.* Consisting of a hundred thousand couplets, the Mahabharata, in its present form of eighteen *parvas*, makes the longest poem in Sanscrit literature. But there is an acknowledgment within the poem that Vyasa is the author of only twenty-four thousand verses, which recite the genuine story of the war. The rest is the interpolation of subsequent ages. Indeed, the legend of the churning of the ocean, the story of the elephant and the crocodile, the adventures of Nala and Damayanti, the episode of Rama, the maxims of the Bhagavad Gita, which bear no connection to the ancient story of the war, are all foreign materials of later dates. This is the opinion held by European scholars who have critically examined the poem "Had we possessed the Indian epics," says a writer, "in a state nearer their primitive form, the Ramayana, and especially the Mahabharata, would present us a less considerable compass." Professor Lassen is of opinion "that, with the exception of pure interpolations which have no real connection with the substance of the work, we have the ancient story of the Mahabharata before us in its essential elements, as it existed in the pre-Buddhistic

* Dr. Wilson's Preface to the Vishnu Purana.

period, *i.e.*, several centuries before Christ. The subsequent additions have reference chiefly to the exclusive worship of Vishnu, and the deification of Krishna, as an incarnation of that divinity." Goldstücker remarks "that this huge composition was not the work of one single individual, but a production of successive ages, clearly results from the multifariousness of its contents, from the difference of style which characterises its various parts, and even from the contradictions which disturb its harmony." We are told by Max Müller that "the name of the Bharata is mentioned in the Sutas of Asvalayana, and that his age (about 350 B.C.) furnishes a limit below which the first attempt at a collection of the Mahabharata ought not to be placed. But there is no hope that we shall ever succeed by critical researches in restoring the Bharata to that primitive form and shape in which it may have existed before or at the time of Asvalayana. Much indeed has been done by Professor Lassen, who, in his *Indian Antiquities*, has pointed out characteristic marks by which the modern parts of the Mahabharata can be distinguished from the more ancient. In the form in which we now possess the Mahabharata, it shows clear traces that the poets who collected and finished it breathed an intellectual and religious atmosphere very different from that in which the heroes of the poem moved." The epic character of the story has throughout been changed and almost obliterated by the didactic tendencies of the latest editors, who were clearly Brahmans, brought up in the strict school of the laws of Manu." Professor Bhandarkar of Bombay thus concludes his investigation of the question of the age of the Mahabharata:—"I have thus briefly sketched the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahabharata from the time of Panini and Asvalayana, namely, from about the 6th century B.C. to the time of Sarngadhara, *i. e.*, the 14th century after Christ. Of course, I do not assert that the poem existed in Patanjali's time in exactly the same form as we have it now. There can be no question that several additions have been subsequently made, and it has undergone a good deal of transformation. But the main story as we now have it, leaving the episodes out of consideration, was current long before Patanjali's time."

Mr. Muir, in his Introduction to the *Metrical Translations from Sanscrit writers*, observes:—"Until the poem shall have been subjected to a much closer examination than it has yet received, and of which Professor Holtzman has set the example, it must remain uncertain in regard to many portions of its contents, to which of the two classes, of ancient or modern, or to

what stage within either, they should be assigned. I may perhaps hazard the opinion that such passages as that containing the long collection of maxims uttered by Vidura in the 5th Book—as interrupting the narrative, if not for other reasons—are unlikely to have formed a part of the original work. And from their contents the same is probably true of large portions, at least, of the 12th and 13th Books. The texts which I have quoted from this great poem are far from being all in harmony with each other. In a work of such great extent, augmented no doubt by a series of successive additions from the pens of different writers of very different dates, a conformity of sentiment was not always to be expected, but development in various directions was a natural result. Perhaps the most distinctly marked diversities are those which relate to the light in which the pretensions of the Brahmins are regarded. In some passages which I have translated in the following pages, these pretensions are stated in their most exaggerated form; whilst in other texts the value of priestly birth is as distinctly depreciated, and moral and religious goodness alone is esteemed as possessing any value. This alteration in sentiment is ascribed to the influence of Buddhism by professor Ludwig, who considers that other principles of the later Brahmanism also were derived from the same source. And even contemporaneous writers may have regarded the Brahmanical pretensions differently. Again, the Machiavellian maxims are opposed to the spirit of the better sentiments of the poem, and are even repudiated by the supposed narrator, or more probably by a subsequent interpolator. There is a class of unscrupulous men whose ideas are expressed in these verses, while they are rejected by men of higher feelings. Fair dealing with enemies is expressly enjoined. Further, we find very different sentiments regarding women. It is needless to say that this should be no matter of surprise, and is easily to be accounted for by the difference in the characters of women, and in the experiences of their eulogists or censors. I must confess, however, that my own examination of the Mahabharata has been very superficial, and, as above observed, much light yet remains to be thrown upon its discrepancies and developments by a minuter and more careful study of its contents. So much, however, seems to be already clear, that however many of the sentiments and ideas which occur in it may be due to Buddhistic influences which can easily and naturally have acted upon the contributors to its contents, there is no reason for resorting to the supposition that Christian doctrines may have modified any considerable number of its ideas."

The following story is cited by Ward. Janaka, king of Mithila, and a great patron of letters, having been charmed with the poetry of the Ramayana, invited Valmiki, and requested him to undertake a similar epic celebrating the works of the Kauravas and Pandavas. The poet, labouring under the infirmities of age, declined the task. Fortunately, it happened that Parasara and Vyasa were present at the time in the court of Janaka. On the refusal of Valmiki, they agreed to take up the undertaking proposed to their great predecessor. Both father and son engaged themselves in the attempt, but the verses of the latter met with preference. One would wish that this story were as true as it is interesting. But it is a pure Brahmanical fabrication, confounding the two authors as contemporaries when they lived at periods separated by at least two hundred years.

The absorbing spell bearing fruit, Vyasa finished his poem and recited it first of all to his son Sukdeva. It was then rehearsed to his pupil Lomaharsha, and made over to his care. The epic was read at the *Sarpa Yagna* of Raja Janmajaya by Vaishampayana. Next, it was narrated by Ugrasrava, a *soot* or carpenter by caste, and the son of Lomaharsha, to the assembly of Rishis in the forest of Naimasharanya, in ancient Oudh. Thus introduced, the poem came into public recognition.

It is said that the Vedas were weighed in the balance with the Mahabharata, and found wanting. "The poem," says Sir W. Jones, "is so very popular throughout the East, that it has been translated into most of its languages," and into the various dialects of India. In Persian, it has been translated by Faizi, Abul Fazil's brother, who learnt his Sanskrit from a Brahman at Benares, who failed to penetrate through the disguise put on by the Masalman. Sarala Das has translated it into the Otkal or Orissian dialect; Ananta Kundali into the Assamese,—and Kasirama into the Bengali. The prose version, made under the care and expense (a lac of rupees) of the late Babu Kali Prasana Singh, is the most faithful in our language. There is no complete translation of it in English as yet—only a few specimens appeared in the *Oriental Magazine* and other works. In his prose Mahabharata, Mr. Wheeler has reproduced the ancient traditions in a condensed form, marring the usefulness of his labours by uncalled theories that are many of them prejudicial and misleading.

The Mahabharata is the second great poem in our literature. If from a striking resemblance the Ramayana be thought to have been borrowed, the same may be said too of the Mahabharata, which commemorates the events of a fraternal warfare like those

of Eteocles and Polynices in the Thebaid. But excluding the supposition of foreign influence, let us attribute such close coincidences to sentiments and circumstances common to humanity. The wars among the sons of Shah Jehan form a repetition justifying our conclusion. Vyasa wrote from eye-witnessing the exploits of his eventful times, and from a personal knowledge of the characters he has drawn with such dramatic truth and individuality—his *asrama* having been only a few miles from Kurukshetra. But it is, indeed, difficult to discriminate who the real hero of the poem is—whether it is Yudhishthira, or Arjuna, or Krishna? In Mr. Elphinstone's opinion the last has the pre-eminence. But we think the great object of the poem is to teach the world the appreciation of God's-heroes before the world's heroes. From this point of view, the great moral-hero Yudhishthira appears to us as the principal character. Homer has no such hero, and Milton's Adam pales by his side. But the moral-hero of Vyasa must yield the palm to Lakshmana, the greater moral-hero of the Ramayana, whose example has no parallel in history or fiction. Under the interpolation of numerous episodes interrupting the narration of the original events, the unity of the poem has been broken, and a perplexity is caused lessening the strength of the effect. Mill, reading the poem through the medium of scraps of translations, was unfitted to form a correct judgment. Besides, we think him to have been deficient in critical taste, as he was a sturdy Benthamite who ranked poetry with the play of pushpin. "All who have read the heroic poems in the original," says Elphinstone, "are enthusiastic in their praise; and their beauties have been most felt by those whose own productions entitle their judgment to most respect. Nor is this admiration confined to critics who have peculiarly devoted themselves to Oriental literature. Milman and Schlegel vie with Wilson and Jones in their applause, and from one or other of those writers we learn the simplicity and originality of the composition; the sublimity, grace, and pathos of particular passages; the natural dignity of the actors; the holy purity of the manners; and the inexhaustible fertility of imagination in the authors. From such evidence, and not from translations in prose, we should form our opinions of the originals.* * * Some of the poetical translations exhibit portions more worthy of the encomiums bestowed on them. The specimens of the Mahabharata which appeared, in blank verse, in the *Oriental Magazine*, are of this last description. It is true, that though selections, and improved by compression, they are still tediously diffused; but they contain

many spirited and poetical passages : the similes, in particular, are short, simple, and picturesque ; and, on the whole, the author must be acknowledged to tread, at whatever distance, on the path of Homer."

The insertion, in consequence of powerful political and religious revolutions in a later age, of the Bhagavad Gita, which inculcates the doctrine of the identity of Krishna with the Supreme Being, " has turned the old poem upside down." It has converted the ancient epic song into a great text-book of the Vaishnavas, in connection with the colossal authority of Vyasa. Since then, the Mahabharata has exercised a great influence in fashioning the Hindu mind. Its public rehearsal for edification is esteemed a pious work, undertaken by a rich man with great ceremony. The Pandit performing it duly educates himself for his task. He sits clothed like an ancient Rishi, upon a raised seat, beneath an awning, in the open court-yard ; reading and expounding the texts with a sonorous voice varied by modulations of tone and histrionic efforts—a half-dramatic exhibition made to an audience of elders and matrons with a silent current of devotional feeling flowing through their minds. The Mahabharata is a great moral ocean yielding moral pearls to generation after generation. The following specimen is selected to show how the same thoughts arise from common human circumstances.

3

" As men who climb a hill behold
 The plain beneath them all unrolled,
 And thence with searching eye survey
 The crowds that pass along the way,
 So those on wisdom's mount who stand
 A lofty vantage-ground command.
 They thence can scan the world below,
 Immersed in error, sin and woe;
 Can mark how mortals vainly grieve,
 The true reject, the false receive,
 The good forsake, the bad embrace,
 The substance flee, and shadows chase,
 But none who have not gained that height,
 Can good and ill discern aright."*

The same idea occurs in Lucretius, and is quoted by Lord Bacon with his own improvements as follows :—" It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the sea ; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see the battle

and the adventures thereof below ; but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene) and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below."

The Srimad Bhagvata is attributed to Vyasa. But the polish and refinement of its language attained in the latest age of Sanscrit, affords the best proof in support of the opinion that it is the composition of Vopdeva, a famous grammarian, who lived at Deogiri, in the Dekhan, in the 12th century. The eighteen Puranas are also ascribed to our author. But they are the works of other Vyasas or compilers, and not of Krishna Dwaipayana Veda-Vyasa. Let us conclude our sketch with the following quotation :—

Hail, bard triumphant ! born in happier days ;
Immortal heir of universal praise !
Whose honors with increase of ages grow,
• As streams roll down, enlarging as they flow ;
Nations unborn your mighty name shall sound,
And worlds applaud that must not yet be found.

AN IDLER.

SOLON AT THE COURT OF CRÆSUS.

IN ancient times Lydia cut a very remarkable figure. Perhaps, no kingdom equalled it in power and opulence. Its dominions were very extensive and its riches simply fabulous. The last king of that famous country was Cræsus; but though the last, he was not the least. In fact, he was the greatest of the Lydian kings. He added considerably to his father's possessions and his name was a terror to his enemies. According to Herodotus, Cræsus was the earliest historical aggressor. Before his time all the Greeks were free, and he was the first Asiatic sovereign, who, by fair means or foul, reduced the Grecian states to various kinds of dependency. But if the extent of his kingdom was vast, his wealth was vaster still. Gold he possessed in immense quantities and his coffers in other respects were also full to overflowing. But he was no miser. Indeed, his liberality was quite in keeping with his riches. He made very large and valuable presents to the well-known temple at Delphi; and worth, learning, wisdom, and even flattery came in for their share of his bounty. The splendour of his court at Sardis was without a parallel, and people came from all directions to have a look of it. Even some really great men did not fail to satisfy their curiosity, and those who did not choose to come of their own will and pleasure received special invitations from the king. Among those chosen few who were honored with royal invitations was that celebrated sage who made the beasts and birds speak lecture on morality and practical wisdom. Aisop came to Sardis, and was very honourably received. This well-known fabulist was not only a sound moralist, but was also a capital man of the world. He easily gained over the heart of his proud host, and became a great favourite at Sardis where he resided for a considerable time. While he resided there, a far superior man arrived at the invitation of Cræsus. This old experienced sage was then travelling in foreign countries after having given his own countrymen the best laws they were capable of receiving. When Solon reached

Sardis, he was struck with its grandeur and magnificence. He had not as yet seen the king ; while passing through the court, he came across many of the grandees. All these nobles were so richly dressed and were walking in such great pomp amidst a proud array of guards and attendants that he took each of them for Cræsus. At last, when he was conducted into the august presence, he found himself, as it were, in a fairy land. But his wonder lasted for a short while. The novelty of the scene soon wore out, and wonder was followed by indifference. He did not even so much as pay those compliments to the king which were expected of him. On the contrary, it was plain to all persons of discernment that he did not like such vain ostentation and littleness of pride. Cræsus then ordered his treasures to be opened, and his splendid apartments and furniture to be shown him ; but it was so much labour lost, for Solon's indifference was not changed in the least. When he had seen all and was conducted back, Cræsus, in the pride of pomp and riches, asked him,—“Have you ever beheld a happier man than I ?” Solon answered,—“Yes, I have, and that man was Tellus, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left valuable children behind him ; and who, having been above the want of necessities all his life, died gloriously, fighting for his country.” Cræsus had entertained a very high opinion of Solon, but at this reply, his esteem fell considerably, considering that he preferred a common private person to the mightiest sovereign of the time. However, he asked him again,—“Barring Tellus, do you know another happier man in the world ?” The Athenian sage answered,—“Yes, Cleobis and Biton, two loving brothers, who were so very dutiful to their old mother that the oxen not being ready, they put themselves in the harness and to her exceeding joy drew her to Juno's temple amidst the blessings of the people. After the sacrifice, they drank a cheerful cup with their friends, and then went to bed from which they rose no more, for they died in the night without sorrow or pain in the midst of so much glory.”

“Well” said Cræsus, now highly displeased, “and do you not then rank me in the number of happy men ?” Solon, reluctant either to flatter him or to exasperate him more, replied,—“King of Lydia, human fortune has nothing permanent in it, but, like the things of this world, is changing constantly. One who is a monarch to-day may be reduced to beggary to-morrow. The future is quite uncertain and carries for every man many and various events in its bosom. He, therefore, who enjoys happiness to the very last, is in my estimation a happy man. But the happiness of

him who still lives and has the danger of life to encounter, appears to me no better than that of a champion before the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain." These wise words which it behoves every purse-proud "little great" mortal to always bear in mind, made no favourable impression on Cræsus at the time, though they afterwards served to save his life from a violent end when he was a captive of the great Persian potentate, Cyrus. Æsop, who was much concerned at the unkind treatment which Solon received at the Lydian court, saw him before he departed, and gave him this advice,—“A man should either not converse with kings at all, or say what is agreeable to them.” To which Solon replied,—“Nay, but he should either not do it at all, or say what is useful to them.” The advice and the reply were quite agreeable to the character of the respective parties by whom they were given. Both of them were wise men, but the wisdom of the one shone in its naked simplicity, while that of the other was clothed with the artificial garb of worldliness.

S. C. DEY.

SOLACE.

[*From the German of Hensel.*]

Mother, why weep for me ?—I am not dead,
Eternal bliss my soul has now attain'd,
Thy tears would dry, thyself be comforted,
Couldst thou but see the star-crown I have gain'd ;
The light of Heaven shines round me gloriously ;—
—O weep no more for me !

Why weep for me ? I could no longer stay
In the dark land where sin and death abide,
A blessed lot is mine, for day by day,
Palm branch in hand, with cherubs side by side,
The Great White Throne,—God's loving face I see ;
—O weep no more for me !

Why weep for me ?—The time is near at hand,
Soon will thy Angel lead thee to this shore,
Then wilt thou see me one of that bright band,
And we shall meet with joy—to part no more ;
Pray to Our Lord thy suffering soul to free ; —
—O weep no more for me !

O. C. DUTT.

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BUDDHISM, POSITIVISM AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

II.

WHEN we consider that Auguste Comte took it for granted that phenomena are governed by laws, that is by "invariable relations of succession and resemblance," it does, at first sight, appear strange, that the founder of Positivism should have gone out of his way, in search after a general law, co-extensive with the aggregate of phenomena in their various aspects, while the mere fact that phenomena are connected with each other by invariable relations of succession, might have fully served his purpose.—The modern doctrine of Conservation of Energy derives its very generalisation from the fact of the invariable succession of phenomena; Gautama Buddha's generalisation of continuous change points in the same direction. Having then been so near the truth, how is it that Auguste Comte could not make up his mind to accept as a generalisation what was proclaimed as such by men before and after him?

On closely studying the subject, it can, however, be shown that the question under discussion is not half as perplexing as it would appear at first sight. What Auguste Comte took for granted was the existence of invariable relations between phenomena, in other words, the existence of uniformity in Nature in the order of succession of phenomena. As to the succession itself, as to whether it has been going on without beginning, and whether it is to go on without ending, Auguste Comte's conviction was that

it would be idle to touch the question ; and, such having been the case, he could hardly be expected to frame a general law which had, by its very nature, to deal with these questionable points.

Having been so far consistent with his own conviction, the wonder is, how the founder of Positivism came to take it for granted, that observations which, in a general way, lead us to the belief in the existence of order and uniformity in the course of Nature, might, by a close application, supply a sure and solid basis for the establishment of laws, supposed to be valid for all time to come. To a mind that has "given over the vain search after absolute notions, the origin and destination of the universe, and the causes of phenomena," the events of this world, bereft of all causal connections, have no relation with each other beyond that of either co-existence, or antecedence and sequence—mere space-and time-relations, as the case may be, without the slightest element of correlation. But, if such is to be the case, then we might just as well let conclusions be drawn from events so loosely connected, take care of themselves, and abide, moreover, in full consistency with the positivist conception, by the maxim : Sufficient unto the past is the experience thereof.—To declare that causality is to be given up as an element in the realm of Nature, and to tell us in the same breath, that we are to apply our mind to the study of phenomena with regard to their invariable relations, sounds almost like a contradiction in terms ; unless we choose to understand the term, invariable, in a retrospective sense merely—a sense in which it is certainly not generally understood. Neither is retrospective invariableness capable of supplying the elements necessary for the construction of prospective laws.

Of course the positivist will tell us in reply, that he is quite satisfied with the warrant of the past concerning the stability of Nature's laws. If he cannot hold forth any reason why things should go on in future times as they have gone on before ; neither can there be any valid reason brought forward, why the past order of Nature should cease to be what it was. This would, no doubt, justify his belief in the uniformity of Nature, notwithstanding his disavowal of causality. But when we are told that "the ultimate perfection of the positive system would be to represent all phenomena as particular aspects of a single general fact," we are given to understand that such a fact does exist in Nature, as a matter of course. Now the existence of such a fact presupposes more than mere uniformity, it assumes the existence of unity in Nature ; an assumption for which there is hardly any

ground in a world where phenomena come and go without the one being in any manner connected with the other. If you are not to assume any kind of bond of union between two contiguous events in Nature, what ground can there be, in the name of all that is positive, to assume that the aggregate of all events are united with each other by one, single general law?

We see here once more, how Positivism destroys its own philosophy. This time we have moreover no less an authority than that of Auguste Comte himself to corroborate our assertion. In his Catechism of Positive Religion, Second Part, we read, in the sixth chapter, headed "The Doctrine," the following:

"First of all, you must give up all idea of attaining to an absolute, external, or, in one word, an objective unity The wish for such an objective unity was compatible with the enquiry into causes. It is in direct contradiction with the study of laws; for by laws we mean invariable relations traced in widely varying phenomena. These relations admit of no unity but a purely relative and human one; in one word, a subjective unity. In fact laws cannot be reduced to unity, cannot be spoken of in the singular, by virtue of the impossibility that notoriously exists of reducing under the other, either of the two general elements of all our conceptions of things, the world and man. It is conceivable that we might succeed in condensing each of these two great objects of study around one single law of nature. Still, as even then, the two must remain separate, scientific unity is unattainable. The knowledge of the world presupposes man as the being who has that knowledge. But the world could exist without man, as is perhaps the case with many stars which are not fit for man to live in. So again, though man is dependent on the world, he is in no sense its necessary result. All the efforts of Materialists to do away with spontaneous vital action, by exaggerating the preponderating influence of the material environment on organised beings have ended in nothing but the discrediting the inquiry. It is as useless as it is idle; for the future it should be abandoned to minds of an unscientific character. Further than this, we are far from being able to establish any objective unity even within the limits of each general element of the dualism above mentioned, the dualism of the world and man. The various branches into which the study of the world or of man is, for practical need, divided, reveal to us an increasing number of different laws. These laws will never be susceptible of reduction, the one under the other, spite of the frivolous hopes inspired at first by our discovery of the law of planetary gravita-

tion. These laws are for the most part still unknown, many must ever remain so. Still, we know enough to guarantee against all danger the fundamental dogma of Positivism—the subjection, namely, of all phenomena of whatever order to invariable relations. The existing order, the result of the whole combination of the laws of nature, bears the general name of fate or chance; fate if the laws are known to us, chance if they are unknown.”

Such is the doctrine of the latter day Positivism, that is to say, of the Positivism given to the world after the possibility of ever discovering a single general fact of which all the phenomena are to represent a particular aspect, had been given up in despair. There is no unity in Nature, consequently the idea of a generalisation is to be abandoned as a dream of the past. Yet the subjection of all phenomena to invariable relations remains as of old, the fundamental dogma of Positivism. By way of parenthesis, we are given to understand why the latter dogma is to stand as firm as ever, while the belief in the unity of Nature is to be reduced to a subjective conception, without any substratum of reality, in fact (if we are to follow the argument above quoted) with the reality pointing to all but unity in Nature. “The existing order” is represented, by way of parenthesis, to be “the result of the whole combination of the laws of Nature.” Now this presumed combination must evidently be as real as the order itself which is supposed to be its result. And yet with such a real combination of the laws of Nature before us, we are not to believe that there is any real unity in Nature! The combination is supposed to be real; the order resulting from it is supposed to be real; but there is to be no unity between the combining elements, or what there is of it, is to be purely relative—a mere subjective unity!—Is there no disciple of Auguste Comte living, who could solve for us the great puzzle thus bequeathed to us by the founder of the Positive Philosophy.

Modern thought has fully succeeded in establishing unity, real, demonstrable unity, between “widely varying phenomena.” The doctrine of the Correlation of Physical Forces, or, as some would call it, the Convertibility of Physical Forces, teaches in a most positive manner, that however widely phenomena may vary in their mode of manifestation, there is an equivalence in quantity between them which, in the case of the various physical forces, can actually be expressed in numbers. The phenomena standing widest apart from each other, are the physical on the one side, and the mental on the other. But although their mutual convertibility into each other is still a mystery to us; and although we are

unable to express in numbers the equivalence between the one and the other ; yet we know enough to enable us to say, that they are correlated with each other. We know that mental operations go hand in hand with physiological and chemical processes, and cannot be carried on without them. It is, then, in the spirit of modern thought, and not in that of Positivism, that we may reasonably hold the existing order of things to be "the result of the whole combination of the laws of Nature."

And in this difference between correlation, and mere relation, of phenomena, lies the whole distinction of the rational philosophy of modern times as compared with the untenable doctrines of Auguste Comte. It is the same difference, again, although otherwise expressed, that distinguishes the teaching of Gautama Buddha from the doctrines of the founder of Positivism. Comte invariably speaks of the cause of phenomena, while Buddha speaks of cause and effect. There is a duality in causation, the object representing the effect bearing as important a share in the achievement of the process as the cause itself. Take the case of mechanical causation—the most prominent in the physical universe, and, at the same time, the best understood by man. Without the resistance of body to motion, no moving body could ever impart motion to another. In a similar manner it can be shown that there is duality in effect. The effect in the above example makes itself felt both in the body that receives an impulse to move, and in the body that imparted the impulse ; in the first by actual motion, in the second by the loss of as much motion as is imparted. In most cases, moreover, there is not only duality, but plurality in causation. The growth and development of the plant is caused by the seed, by the soil, by rain and sunshine. The fertility of the soil, again, is caused by multifarious circumstances, partly known, partly reaching so far back as to be entirely beyond our ken. Sunshine is, of course, caused by the sun, and such being the case we apparently deal here with causation in a form simple enough. When we, however, come to the cause of the shining sun, or to the cause of the sun shining, then we are again confronted with events of so wide a bearing as the solar system itself. The sunshine conveys to us rays of different nature—caloric rays, luminous rays and actinic rays ; and they, each of them in its own way, may become, under certain circumstances, the leading elements of causation in the process of vegetative growth and development. There is yet mention to be made of the receptivity of the seed for the influences of the before-mentioned factors of growth and development.

Enough has been said, by way of example, to show that causation is in no case a one-sided affair. For convenience sake we may point to one or another fact as the cause of a certain event, ignoring, for the time being, the other factor or factors as of secondary importance, or losing sight of them altogether, as we often do in matters understood by themselves; but a proper understanding of causation will in each case readily bring before our mind its dual, and frequently even its plural nature. Only those who have never grasped the true meaning of Causation, can ever be tempted to look upon Cause as an entity—as a being in itself, or as a sole factor in the bringing about of a certain event. This was the case with Auguste Comte, and we have seen the confusion he has brought upon his philosophical views through his lamentable short-sightedness and one-sidedness in matters concerning causation. To him the causes were “abstract forces, veritable entities, that is personified abstractions inherent in all beings.” If the mind of man refuses to nurture abstract ideas, or to entertain notions about entities that are to be nothing more than personified abstractions, then the idea of causation must be given up altogether. Not otherwise can man arrive at the final, the positive state!

Were I called upon, to enumerate the various phases the human mind has to pass on its way to the final, positive state, my list would have to be made up of four stages. Auguste Comte's third, final and positive state had to be cut down to the third, transitional and negative stage; the final, positive state being the state where the human mind looks no longer upon Cause as an entity, as a sole factor, but merely as one of the co-operators, in bringing about a subsequent event. Causation in this sense is identical with correlation between the antecedent and the consequent event, whereby equivalent changes are effected in both. Surely there is nothing metaphysical in all this, inconsistent with the final, positive state of the human mind. Neither is there any danger, that causality thus understood, although realistic enough in its way, and free from all metaphysical taint, might lead us to the unfathomable First Cause. Whatever the origin of this universe may have been, it was certainly not by primeval causation that it could ever have arisen; seeing that causation implies correlation between the object that constitutes the cause and the object that constitutes the effect; while a First Cause is supposed to be a cause operating in the absence of the object that is to constitute the effect. A First Cause is simply a term that contains a contradiction in itself. The very conception of causation is the best

guarantee against our ever identifying the origination of this world, or, indeed the origination of anything in existence, with a First Cause.

Such was indeed the teaching of Gautama Buddha, when he proclaimed on the one hand, the doctrine of unceasing change in the realm of Nature by means of cause and effect ; while he, on the other hand, could never be brought to speak of a First Cause, in other words, of a process of first causation. He preferred to keep silent in the presence of a mystery, that no man can ever solve, so long as he remains what he is—an organism in mental and physiological correlation with a material world.

From what has gone before, it can be seen that the terms 'cause' and 'phenomenon' play an important role in the household of Positivism. Strange to say, none of these terms have been defined by Auguste Comte before introducing his readers to his philosophy. We have seen how the true meaning of the first term was totally misunderstood by him ; it remains only to be shown that he did not fare any better with regard to the true meaning of the second term. Phenomena falling under our observation—and it is of such that we are to study the invariable relations after having given up their causes—are, as already mentioned, modifications of the inner sense brought about by events occurring in the outer world. Whether, then, we like it or not, causality is always with us ; it is impossible to acquire any knowledge of this world without referring the impressions received to their due source, to their legitimate causes—to the environment.

"Causation" says Dr. McCosh, "has a place in the very steps by which we obtain our knowledge of things. It is involved in the very means by which we acquire our knowledge of external objects. We know them as affecting us. It is much the same with all the knowledge acquired by us. The things have been made known by their having power over us indirectly, or by their exercising a power over some other thing or things affecting us. It is a common saying that we know things by their properties, but what are properties but powers? It is not by induction, that is, a gathered experience, that we know things as having power. We know this in our primary experience, and in all subsequent experiences. Power is thus involved in things known to us. We cannot think of them except as having power." Herbert Spencer says the same. "We are obliged to regard every phenomenon as a manifestation of some power by which we are acted upon." Common sense tells the same tale to every-

one who has eyes to see and ears to hear. Experience may be, and no doubt is, of great importance to us in helping us to appreciate the degree, nature and significance of causality in each particular case at its proper merit; but experience in a general way could not go beyond mere ideas and their relation to each other, without the tacit understanding that the modifications of our inner sense are caused by corresponding impressions coming from the outer world. It is certainly not too much to say, that causality is the unconscious companion of our consciousness of things around us. Causality I, moreover, venture to say, is our sixth sense, partaking both of the physical and the mental, thus filling up the otherwise impassable gulf between the two.

We have seen before that a proper understanding of the nature of Causation, will save us from falling into the error of trying to solve the question as to the origin of the world by supposing a First Cause. It remains now to be seen, that the question itself is not so formidable by far, as the Positivist believes it to be. If the succession of phenomena is to reveal nothing beyond the time-relation of antecedence and sequence, then every phenomenon is but a mere unit within a series of numberless units; and then the enquiry after a first cause, that is to say, after the first number of the series, comes to him quite naturally. A series of numbers must have a beginning, be it ever so far off. Quite otherwise looks the problem in the light of Buddha's teaching, or in the light of the modern doctrine of the Conservation of Energy. The succession of phenomena being supposed to be the expression of a continuous quantity—of energy or change,—of a quantity, moreover, that, like time and space, does not admit of the idea of a beginning or an ending; the problem becomes to a large extent meaningless; and the narrow sense in which there may still be a meaning attached to it, shows the question to partake more of idle curiosity than of the formidable and unanswerable. For it would be as idle to enquire after the beginning of a change, that by its very nature is supposed to be one link in the chain of cause and effect, as it would be to set up an enquiry about the beginning of a certain section of time or space. The conception of continuous change brings us at once face to face with eternity. And the relationship between change on the one side, and time and space on the other, becomes the more manifest, if we remember that the quantities just mentioned are mutually measurable—time being a measure for change, space a measure for motion, while time and space themselves are best measured by change and motion. It is true that the notions of time and space

are so intimately interwoven with the very fundamental structure of our mind, that we cannot dismiss them from our mind, even if we wanted ; while we can very well imagine a period when this world with all its unceasing changes might not have existed. Something similar is the case with regard to matter—the substratum of those perpetual changes. But all these considerations do not necessarily lead us, step by step, back to a beginning, as is the case with the Positivist who deals with a numerical succession of events. On the contrary, they lead us ever back to periods which could as little be marked off as the beginning, as the very period we live in. A beginning being then out of the question, the whole enquiry resolves itself into a problem surpassing our experience, transcending our understanding, but in no wise in contradiction with either. It is only when an attempt is made to evade the problem altogether, as has been done in positivist quarters, that it reveals itself as a formidable question beset with contradictions of all sorts. By far the greatest of the difficulties besetting the enquiry concerning the origin of the universe are of the Positivist's own making. Need we then wonder, that nothing but the wisdom of the ostrich can ever save him from all his troubles. Causation is a dangerous affair ; it leads either to the conception of a first cause which is a fiction, or to the conception of a cause which is an abstraction ; therefore hide your face altogether from so dangerous a sight ; do not look behind you, observe only what is coming—the succession of phenomena—and you will never be tempted to think of such a mischievous thing as a cause !

Positivism having been proclaimed to the world, partly as a philosophical, partly as a religious system, it would be but natural to expect that its founder should have had a clear idea of the various theological doctrines that have played a foremost part in the religious history of the world. When we however follow Auguste Comte in his study of the various phases the theological stage of human development has pursued, we find that he knows of but three such phases : Feticism, Polytheism, and Monotheism. Not a word of Pantheism !

That Pantheism could not enter into a Positivism as construed by Auguste Comte has been shown before. Bereft of all bonds of causation, the universe of Auguste Comte was far from being a united All. At any rate “the world could exist without man, as is perhaps the case with many stars which are not fit for man to live in.” And again “though man is dependent on the world, he is in no sense its necessary result.” Nevertheless we might have expected to see Pantheism introduced as a phase of

the theological stage. Was then Auguste Comte altogether ignorant of the pantheistic doctrine, both in its philosophical and religious aspect?—No, he was not ignorant. Something worse than ignorance had befallen him; he was blind to the philosophical merits of a system that he could not understand, because the whole bent of his mental organisation ran against it. To him, strange to say, Pantheism and Positivism are the two extremes of human development—Pantheism being the lowest, Positivism the highest stage of development. Here is what we read in the second volume of the *Positive Philosophy*, page 189. "The conception among the ancients of the soul of the universe, the modern notion that the earth is a vast living animal, and, in our own time, the obscure pantheism which is so rife among German metaphysicians, is only fetichism generalised and made systematic, and throwing a cloud of learned words as dust into the eyes of the vulgar."

We have done with Auguste Comte and his Positive Philosophy. The next article will be devoted to the arguments of the late John Stuart Mill on the same subject. In his "*System of Logic*" he, throughout seven editions held the same view as Auguste Comte as to the nature of causation. Meanwhile, the doctrine of Conservation of Energy had made itself felt even in quarters not particularly addicted to studies in Natural Philosophy. We find then at the end of the preface to the eighth edition the following words: "The longest of the additions belongs to the chapter on causation, and is a discussion of the question, how far, if at all, the ordinary mode of stating the law of cause and effect requires modification to adapt it to the new doctrine of the Conservation of Force."

L. SALZER.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

[An Address delivered by Hon'ble Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, M.D., C.I.E., at the Hare Anniversary Meeting held on the 1st of June 1889 in the Hall of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.]

This day it is exactly forty-seven years that Bengal lost one of her truest friends in the death of one who, though a foreigner by birth, so thoroughly identified himself with us and by such sympathy and affection, that up to this day we have not seen his like, and I fear, we may not see his like again. It is my firm conviction that if we had at least one like David Hare after his call from this world, nay, one with half his sympathy and affection for us, the cause of education in this country would have progressed far beyond what it has done, and the relationship between the ruler and the ruled would not only have been less strained, but would have been as cordial as could be desired. Example is better than precept. Example is infinitely better than legislation. And example such as that of David Hare is a mighty leveller of all invidious and unholy distinctions. Oh! for such an example in these hard and troublous times! I do not for a moment deny that we have friends true and sincere amongst our European brethren. Had it not been so, our existence would have been intolerable. But I must be permitted to say that we have not had, since Hare's death, a single individual who has acquainted himself with our wants and our condition in the way Hare did, in the only way by which our wants and our condition can be truly and properly known, namely, by identifying himself with us. Hare was to our children more than a father, and to their fathers and elders more than a brother.

It is, therefore, a part of our national duty that we should keep the memory of such a man green in the heart of the nation. I therefore rejoice that we have at last awakened to a proper sense of our responsibility in this matter, and taken steps to-day that we may not fail in the performance of that duty. One of the means of doing this is to hold anniversary meetings in his honour. We have been doing this ever since his death, but latterly, I must say, we have not been doing it with that regularity and

zeal which the sacred character of the duty imperatively demands. With proper management it would not be difficult to find topics of discourse at these anniversary meetings. Hare was an educationist in the genuine sense of the term, and the subject of education is inexhaustible.

Yes, Gentlemen, it is my conviction that so long as our race shall last, the subject of education must be one of the most important topics which shall never cease to engross its attention. With the growth of the race by virtue of education and other factors, new developments, individual, national and international, will arise which will from time to time necessitate a revision of the schemes of education that have become current. And besides, the share which individuals, communities and the State have to bear in forwarding the cause of education will ever be a problem which shall receive different solutions at different times and according to the points of view from which it may be looked at. So even if we have to confine ourselves to the subject of education at these anniversary meetings there will be no lack of topics to discourse upon, and I hope and trust there will be no lack of persons able and worthy to discourse upon them.

The subject I have chosen for to-day's meeting is Technical Education, a subject which is not only an absorbing topic here in India, but which is engaging the attention of all classes of men from the helms-men of the state downwards throughout the civilized world. The agitation about technical education demonstrates the point I have just enunciated, namely, the necessity of revision, from time to time, of systems of education in vogue. This necessity is traceable immediately to the rivalry of the European nationalities in the matter of trades and productive industries, and this again is traceable to discoveries in science which have a tendency to dispense with human labour.

.Notwithstanding the diversities in the mode of imparting or conducting it in different ages and in different countries, the object of education has been the same, namely, to store the mind with knowledge. A great deal now-a-days is said in condemnation of this being taken to be the object of education, and etymology is invoked to show that the object of education should be to draw out the mind, rather than to store it with knowledge. As if the mind can be drawn out or developed except by supplying it with its proper pabulum, which is knowledge. Even if it can be drawn out without knowledge, or with scanty knowledge, it will certainly not be a healthy development. The mind under such a process will be a mere wind-bag capable of making much noise, but

incapable of doing real, useful work. While the main object of education, however, is and must be the supply of knowledge to the mind, it must not be forgotten that the quantity, the quality and the season of that supply should be regulated according to the constitution, capacity and the future career of the mind which has to be so supplied with. If this simple and obvious principle is kept in view the function of education will be easily understood, and will be found to include the training or disciplining of the mind so as to enable it to be self-reliant in adding to its knowledge and practical in applying its acquired knowledge to useful purposes.

It is thus that with the advance of education, its function has assumed a twofold character, a general and a special training of the mind; the general applicable to all individuals, and the special adapted for those who are to pursue a particular vocation in life. Up to a very recent period the general had the predominance and the special was confined to a few subjects, such as, divinity, law, medicine, and engineering. It is only in the most advanced countries that these special subjects have found a place in the curriculum of educational institutions. In less advanced countries one or more or all of these subjects are left to chance and haphazard. Wherever these subjects have formed part of regular education, they are by common consent allowed to come only after a preliminary general training more or less complete. In other words, general education is made the basis of special education in these subjects. In the case of divinity and law the general education is required to be of a higher standard than in the case of medicine and engineering, thereby tacitly placing the latter in a lower position, though it is questionable if the highest general training is not absolutely necessary for the attainment of the highest special knowledge and training in medicine and engineering.

But the circumstances of society demand a larger supply of men with special knowledge in medicine and engineering than is possible to have if attainment of that special knowledge were made to follow the highest general knowledge. Hence the necessity of the lowering of the general standard in order to enable men to pass on quickly to the study of the special subjects. In this fact we have the initial divergence as it were of technical (as understood in the present day) from general education. It was from this fact that practical men were led to recognize the difference between the two kinds of training, and to see the necessity of multiplying the subjects of special training.

The word technical is deprived from the Greek *techné*, which means art. Now art may have a restricted as well as a comprehensive signification. In its restricted sense it may mean the application of some particular kind of knowledge to some useful purpose in which the body, the hands in particular, is the applying agency. In this sense art deals with material things, by an alteration and new disposition of which some object, not existing in nature as such, is produced. The knowledge applied is the knowledge of the properties of these material things, and the instruments employed are primarily the external parts of the body. Art may have a more comprehensive signification than the above, and may mean the application of knowledge to some purpose, whether that purpose be useful or not in the utilitarian sense. In this sense the work of the priest, of the lawyer, may be looked upon as art, in as much as in the one case it is the application of the knowledge of theology for the purpose of controlling and regulating the consciences of men, and in the other the application of the knowledge of law for the purpose of maintaining justice between man and man. And education itself becomes an art, the art of teaching, or the application of knowledge of the human mind and of the laws of its development and growth, for the purpose of enabling it to attain its maturity in order to fulfil its destiny in creation.

Technical, in accordance with the comprehensive signification of art, has now come to mean special. And in this sense technical education must mean special as distinguished from general education, and embraces education in the four special branches of knowledge mentioned above. And therefore technical education in its higher sense has been going on for centuries before the modern agitation about technical education in its lower sense had begun. The birth of technical education must have been simultaneous with the perception of difference of occupations to be pursued by different individuals. Technical education is, therefore, no new thing under the sun. Indeed, as Mr. Payne has rightly observed in his *Contributions to the Science of Education*, that "the prevailing type of education during the whole of the historic period 'was technical or professional,' its purpose being to equip men for service as agents or instruments." In Greece the object of education was "to train the mind with a view to its conducing to a man's conception of the highest good, and to his ability to discharge the highest functions of the State." In Rome it was to train an accomplished orator. In both these instances the object aimed at was eminently practical.

I look upon the present agitation about technical education as the outcome of the organic growth of education in general, and as such it is not only legitimate but will prove a necessary factor in the progress of education as a whole. Technical education is no bugbear which need frighten statesmen out of their wits, or drive patriots and philanthropists into the frenzy of despair. It is easily understood, though I must say that writers about it not only here but even in England do not seem to grasp fully its scope and its requirements. "Considerable misapprehension," says Sir Philip Magnus, "still exists in the public mind as to the aims and possibilities of technical education. Some persons look to technical education to remedy all our industrial shortcomings; others fail to see its advantages or its necessity. Some, again, regard all science-teaching as technical; others restrict the word 'technical' to the teaching of an actual trade. The majority of people take a very narrow view of the extension of this term; and very few seem to understand the different kinds of training to which it is properly applicable. I often wonder," continues he, "what kind of idea those persons can have formed who speak, and even write, of teaching 'technical education,' and of placing it in a school curriculum, side by side with history and geography, as if it were some newly discovered branch of knowledge."

Technical education is no other than "the education which makes a man expert in his calling" whatever that may be, and as such must necessarily have "its allotted place in that wider education which makes him a worthy member of a civilized commonwealth." It is a mistake on the part of the advocates of technical education to believe and to make others believe that in the circumstances of modern society it must, if not altogether, at least to a very a large extent, supersede general education. My own impression is that the result of this agitation will be, as it has already begun to be, to render general education more general, more comprehensive than it has hitherto been. General education up to a very recent period has been running in a very narrow groove of language, literature and philosophy, unenlightened by the advanced and advancing knowledge which has carried and is every day carrying man into the arcana of nature in all her departments.

"I am fully persuaded," as I said, when presiding at the distribution of prizes to the students of the City College in 1885, "I am fully persuaded that if, instead of the attempt to stuff the mind with mere words whose signification could only be understood with difficulty in after-life, an attempt which must necessarily be,

and positively is, disagreeable to both teacher and taught, and attended with the minimum of result, if instead of this the attempt were made to promote the contact of the mind with the external world so that the mind could form its own ideas of things and events, and have its perceptive, intellectual and emotional faculties thus awakened and stimulated,—I am fully persuaded that if education could be thus imparted and by competent teachers, our students by the time that they now matriculate in the University, would have their minds stored with all the knowledge that any University requires of such of its candidates, and that that knowledge would be in better order and readier for use under any emergency without any great strain upon the memory, than is under the present system." The same idea finds vent from every one who has the interests of the race at heart. Mr. J. H. Gladstone, one of the leading scientists of England has thus expressed it in a recent article in *Nature*. "It seems most desirable," says he, "that every little child who enters our schools should be led to observe and inquire; its curiosity and activity should be encouraged and directed; only when its senses have been made acquainted with things should it be introduced to the words by which they are called, first orally, then in writing or print. It should proceed from the concrete to the abstract. The works of the Creator are as worthy to be studied as the words of men, and should hold as high a place in any school curriculum."

Science has already forced its way into the higher curriculum of the old educational establishments of the civilized nations of the world, and if this agitation about technical education is carried on in a proper spirit and by persons competent to deal with it, the teaching of science will be found to be appropriately begun with the dawn of intelligence, and then and then only will education cease to be the aimless affair it very often now is, and adjust itself to the actual needs and practical ends of life, for then science and art, theory and practice, will be harmoniously blended in all our educational institutions from the highest to the lowest. But "we must again and again repeat," in the words of Mr. Montague, "that neither elementary education nor technical education can be perfected apart from education in general." Mr. Montague has very properly observed that "the strength of Germany lies in the culture of every class of Germans, in the real love of learning which animates the people and their rulers, in the patient, inquiring and scientific spirit which has transformed almost every branch of human activity from metaphysics to the art of war."

So that, Gentlemen, it is the ¹most cultured, the most generally educated nation in Europe which excels all others in technical education. And indeed it is the fact, that the success of special or technical education for the higher professions depends upon its being based upon a high standard of general education, that has led to the present demand for systematic technical education for the lower professions or trades. These lower professions or trades, however necessary, nay, absolutely necessary, to the very existence of society, were looked down upon in ancient times, and till within a recent period, as degrading occupations, unworthy of being followed by the higher ranks, by the favoured, the *educated* few. Hence they were not deemed to be fit subjects of instruction in schools which impart general instruction as well as special instruction in the higher professions. Nevertheless they were not, and could not be, allowed to be learned at haphazard. They were taught practically by men who were carrying them on, that is, by men who had themselves become experts in them. How far the value of technical education for such trades was appreciated in our own country in ancient times will be seen from the fact of our caste system, by which particular arts were not only specialized but confined to hereditary classes, so as to ensure training in those arts from the earliest years of life. But the fact that the hereditary classes or castes which followed these professions or trades were looked upon as being in the lowest scale of society, shows the estimation in which the trades were held, and shows also what mean ideas of education were entertained by the enlightened men of olden times, and what unworthy conceptions they had of the dignity of human labour.

This primitive mode of technical education, in the lower trades and arts did suffice so long as things remained in *statu quo*, so long as human labour was the sole factor in the carrying on of the trade and in the execution of the art. But man is a progressive animal pre-eminently in Europe, though unfortunately not so in our part of the world. While in Asia, therefore, things have remained in *statu quo* for centuries, in Europe they have been continually changing, thanks to the continual advance of knowledge penetrating the secrets of nature. One discovery was made which completely altered the aspect of the trades and the industries. This was the discovery of the properties of steam which has led to the invention of labour-saving machinery and which in its turn has effected a revolution in the mode of production, called into existence new industries, and given rise to marvellous facilities in locomotion unknown before. "Nearly all the differences,"

says Sir Philip, "that distinguish productive industry and mercantile business as pursued to-day and a century ago, are referable to these two causes. The arts both of production and distribution have become more scientific, and dependent to a great extent upon acquired knowledge and skill than upon unaided native intelligence. One feature of these changed conditions is, that the knowledge, and, in some cases, the skill, which are now needed for industrial purposes, can no longer be adequately obtained in the actual practice of a trade, but require, as in the cases of law and medicine, a preliminary training, or specialised school instruction." "We might, if time served, trace back to the steam-engine many of the changes, which during the last thirty years, have been creeping over our educational system, changes which mark only the beginning of a revolution that promises to sweep away much that is time-honoured in our methods of instruction. The wave that is pushing forward technical education will not subside until our primary and middle schools, our higher secondary schools as well as our ancient universities shall have felt its influence."

From the preliminary observations that have been already made it will be evident that the whole problem of technical education, in the restricted or lower sense in which it is now used, resolves itself into the question,—Whether the mass of human beings, the majority of our fellow-creatures, who are engaged in the production of the necessities and the luxuries of life, are to remain in ignorance or are to be educated, and if educated whether the education that they receive is to be an unmeaning and aimless one as hitherto, or to be adapted to their future career; in other words, whether the old barbarism which has become stereotyped in the caste system of our country, and which is continuing in the present day throughout the world in some form or other, by which the community is divided into two classes, a favoured, cultured, educated class and a degraded, uncultured, illiterate class, whether this barbarism is to be perpetuated, or whether a better, a purer, a holier state of things is to take its place, by which every man that is born, in whatever rank of life, is to be allowed every opportunity and facility for developing his faculties so as to fulfil his destiny in creation. The proper solution of the problem has long since been arrived at on the continent of Europe, and conservative England has at last awakened from its slumber of delusive security. Originating in the lower plane of the interests of the trading classes, the demand for technical education has passed to the higher plane of the interests of the state. For it is no longer a question, whether for want of

proper technical education a few individuals, or a few trading and mercantile firms will suffer, but it is a question, in view of the keen competition that has necessarily followed new discoveries and new inventions, whether a nation can now safely neglect technical education as part of national education without detriment to its trades, industries and manufactures. And this demand has to pass on to the highest plane, the plane of philanthropy, in order to receive its due and complete answer.

I have made this last remark advisedly. For however easy of understanding the meaning of technical education is, as I have said before, the organisation of technical education into a system is far from easy, indeed, is the most difficult task which can engage the attention of the educationist, of the community and of the state. Technical education, we have seen to be that education which has reference to the future career of the person who receives it, which, in other words, would enable him to be expert in the calling he is to follow. Now think for a moment of the future careers of the rising generation, think of the number of callings which await the individuals of a community, and you will at once realize the difficulty, the intricacy and the magnitude of the task set before you of organising a system which will be suitable for all careers, for all callings, that already exist, and that are multiplying every day by fresh discoveries in science leading to fresh inventions in art. No wonder that some people should have denounced the demand for technical education as a vague one. "The cry for technical education is 'vague,'" says the authority already quoted, "because it has a different significance according to the source from which it emanates. It means one thing to the workman and another thing to the ~~freeman~~ ^{manager}, and, again, something different to the manager or manufacturer. It is not the same in reference to hand work as to machine work, and it changes again when considered in connection with scientific invention or artistic design. Those who think of technical education in relation to any single industry fail to understand the meaning of the cry that is raised by those who are engaged in other trades."

To give you an idea of the vastness and complexity of technical education I will give you a bare statement of the results arrived at by the Royal Commission:—

Technical education falls into two great divisions, the education of those who will be engaged in manufactures, mining, building, and similar occupations; and the education of those who will be engaged in agriculture. Each of these principal divisions may again be subdivided into three grades: the primary, the intermedi-

ate, and the advanced. In each of these grades the instruction must be varied according to the nature of the particular branch of industry which is taught. By primary instruction is understood such technical instruction as is required by the ordinary artisan.

"The intermediate technical instruction is an instruction for students of many descriptions, for that minority of gifted workmen whose talents claim more than elementary training, for managers of departments in large works, for heads of establishment who lack time, means, and inclination for an elaborate culture, and for merchants and distributors who find their advantage in having some theoretical knowledge of the goods in which they traffic. Schools for imparting such instruction may be roughly classified as I. Schools giving general technical instruction, ranking above the apprenticeship schools and below the high schools such as the German Polytechnics. II. Schools giving instruction in particular industries, as building, mining, weaving. III. Schools of industrial art.

"The highest grade of technical education, differs widely in its circumstances from the lower grades. The object is two-fold; first to supply the national industries with the needful staff of experts in applied science, and secondly to supply competent teachers to intermediate technical schools. In providing for advanced technical instruction, the essential thing is to have a high standard. To try to make instruction altogether practical, to be too impatient for results, to exclude the spirit of research and the love of science—this is the certain means to make it poor, shallow, unfruitful, and, in the strictest sense, useless. The noblest type of such a school is to be found in the Polytechnics of Germany and Switzerland.

Technical education in agriculture, especially of the advanced kind, is of the utmost importance, inasmuch as on agriculture depends the life of man. Failure in agriculture means famine, desolation and death to thousands and millions, and the noblest work of science consists in rendering agriculture the most successful pursuit, rendering it as much as possible independent of the freaks and caprices of Nature.

If, Gentlemen, you have realized what the intricacy and the magnitude of a system of technical education must be, you will not fail to realize at the same time what the cost of such an organization is likely to be. A few figures collected by the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction will give you an idea of the enormous cost at which technical schools and colleges are being maintained in Germany and other countries on the continent of Europe.

"The Munich Technical High School cost 157,000*l.*, the apparatus alone being worth 36,000*l.*, and the annual expenses amounting to 20,000*l.* The Zurich Polytechnic spends 20,000*l.* annually, 13,800*l.* being derived from Federal taxes, and 3,794*l.* only from fees. There are forty-five professors on the lecturing staff. 50,000*l.* have just been spent on laboratory extension. The Stuttgart Polytechnic has a state sub-vention of 12,000*l.*, that of Dresden 12,200*l.* The Hanover Polytechnic cost 350,000*l.*; its collection of models (chiefly engineering), 36,000*l.*, and 1,250*l.* is spent every year in adding to the collection. * * The Berlin Polytechnic, now nearly completed, has cost 450,000*l.*; that of Moscow 496,000*l.* The Chemical laboratory of the Polytechnic of Aachen alone cost 45,000*l.* The Bernouillianum of Berne cost that little town more than 1*l.* per inhabitant ! * * In the Ecole Polytechnique, salaries alone amount 22,000*l.* per annum. A new addition to the laboratories is costing 96,000*l.* All this is found by the Government. On the other hand, the Ecole Centrale, which spends 17,836*l.* per annum, is self-supporting, the fees being very high."—*Nature*, August 14, 1884.

You will now understand why I said that the demand for technical education must pass on to the highest plane, the plane of philanthropy, in order to receive its complete realization. Where is this enormous cost to come from ? If from Government it will mean additional taxation, and all taxation means grinding of the poor, for whose benefit chiefly, the demand for technical education is made. The money ought, in my humble opinion, to come from the rich for whose benefit the poor labour with the sweat of their brow. Ours is a poor country, but there is in it still a large amount of hoarded wealth. "And a most urgent need in India, therefore," as Mr. Cotton well observed in his Address on Technical Education at the Bethune Society, "a most urgent need in India, therefore, is the better disposition of hoarded wealth. India is in need of wealthy men who have wisdom and experience, who will not fritter away their money on *tamasha* and ceremonies, and who are not unwilling to lay out capital on undertakings which will bring them neither titles nor official smiles. We do not want capital to be buried, we do not want it to be wasted on marriage expenses, nor do we want it to be squandered in syco-phantic subscriptions or in the reception and entertainment of officials. Some expenditure of this kind will always be unavoidable, but the waste which now runs rampant must be checked. No spectacle is more deplorable in the eyes of the well-wishers of this poor country than the lavish squandering outlay which

fashion demands and public opinion sanctions on these occasions."

Vast and intricate as must be a complete system of technical education, it has been shewn by all authorities competent to judge on the subject, that the existing system of education may be so modified as to avoid the necessity of creating separate schools, and thus considerably reduce the initial cost. All that is necessary for this purpose is to introduce drawing and science teaching into all primary schools, not as optional but as compulsory subjects. The difficulty experienced by school authorities even in England is in the procuring of competent science-teachers. But with the demand the supply will come. In our country the difficulty is infinitely greater than in England, and it was to overcome this difficulty that the Science Association was established. If the institution had been duly patronized and supported, the cause of technical education would have been greatly advanced by it. But the country has not yet realized its importance and its requirements, and it is barely keeping up its existence by the utmost economy of the scanty funds placed at its disposal. Imagine what must be the enlightenment of a country which is never tired of boasting of its high education, when with the paltry sum of a lac and a quarter rupees the Science Association was expected to do what Europe has done with its rich endowments for Science and technology.

Messrs. Eliot and Pedler, in their Memorandum on Technical Education for Bengal, have very properly observed that of the two classes of instruction, higher and lower, the higher must necessarily be commenced first in order to provide teachers for the lower course. In no country, in fact, can technical education be properly, efficiently, and permanently carried on by indigenous efforts, without a previous supply of indigenous scientific teachers. Thus, apart from all other considerations, we have in the very requirements of technical education, a powerful argument for the necessity of a pure science institution, where it would be well to leave the cultivation of Science unhampered with thoughts of immediate practical utility. For as Helmholtz has wisely said, "whoever, in the pursuit of Science, seeks after immediate practical utility, may generally rest assured that he will seek in vain." It is enough that "we are convinced that whatever contributes to the knowledge of the forces of nature or the powers of the human mind is worth cherishing, and may in its own due time, bear practical fruit, very often where we should least have expected it."

But, Gentlemen, with adequate funds, of which I have given you some idea, it would be easy to convert this institution into a polytechnic like what we have in Germany and Switzerland. And, indeed, it would be cheaper to so convert it, to give it a practical side so to say, than to have a separate Technical College, as, I hear, it is in the contemplation of Government to have. Government interference is not liked even in England. In a recent article on Technical Education from the Handicraftsman's point of view, there occurs this remarkable paragraph. "In what direction is this technical education leading? It is to be feared that, unless an effort be made to check it, it will result in the creation of a new, or the extension of an existing government department, with an army of instructors and examiners and a policy of cram and payment by results, such results being decided by unpractical men."

For the cause of technical education I would much rather appeal to the country than to the Government; and I believe with Mr. Tawney that the University, as the controller and regulator of Education, has largely in its power to make technical education possible without Government interference, though I am aware that our good friend, Mr. Cotton denounced it as "a proposal emanating from a learned scholar in the seclusion of his study, and is deficient in practical applicability and common sense." The fact is, Mr. Tawney's proposal is the quintessence of the recommendations of the highest practical authorities on the subject.

For the cause of Technical education, and of Scientific education, which must be the natural foundation of the former, I appeal to my countrymen in the name of David Hare. Hare, a practical man himself, having been a first class watch and clock maker, devoted his life to the furtherance of General Education, and, as at the thirty-fourth anniversary of his death, I showed, laboured no less in the cause of Scientific education. We best cherish the memory of those we long to cherish, if we carry on or continue or supplement the work they had begun, or had it in the heart of their hearts. If then we have genuine respect and sincere gratitude for David Hare, we cannot demonstrate that genuineness and that sincerity better than by helping all educational efforts and especially those that aim at thorough Scientific and technical education.

OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.

YUDHISTHIRA.

YUDHISTHIRA was born at Satasinga, on the southern slope of the Himalayas, towards the end of the Dwapar Yuga, or about the beginning of the 15th century before Christ. He was the eldest son of Pandu, Raja of Hastinapur. Raja Pandu was a great warrior, who carried on many wars, and conquered many countries. But being extremely fond of hunting he retired from his Raj, leaving it in charge of his brother Dhritarastra, to indulge in his favourite sport among the Himalayas, which abounded with game. Here, his wife Kunti gave birth to Yudhisthira, Bhima, and Arjuna; and his wife Madri to Nakula and Sahadeva. On the death of Pandu, the young princes came down from the hills, and took up their abode with their uncle Dhritarastra, in his palace at Hastinapur. This memorable capital of the Lunar princes was a great city in its day, of which no trace now remains—the Ganges, upon the right bank of which it was situated, forty miles south of Haridwara, having swept it away in shifting its channel. The date of this event is about 1200 B.C.

Raja Dhritarastra brought up his sons (the Kauravas) and his nephews (the Pandavas) with equal care. The learned Gautama initiated them in their studies in the accustomed form. They were placed also under the tutorship of Drona Acharya, who was greatly versed in Dhanurveda, or the knowledge of archery, in which then largely consisted the education of heirs to royalty. Each of the young princes was taught the skilful use of a particular weapon as his specialty. Yudhisthira was trained in throwing the spear, Bhima in fighting with the club, Arjuna in archery, Nakula in managing horses, and Sahadeva in the use of the sword. The Kauravas were similarly instructed. But Drona took especial delight in teaching the Pandavas, who showed a greater aptitude than the other princes. This fondness sowed the first seed of dissension between the two families, and occasioned a great rivalry to break out from their early youth. It was next aggra-

vated by the brilliant success with which the Pandavas came out from a public exhibition of their feats. The feeling at last grew into the most bitter enmity on the part of the Kauravas, when Raja Dhritarashtra, marking the great wisdom and virtue of Yudhishthira, installed him as Yuvaraja, or heir-apparent, and associated him in ruling the Raj. This appointment proved gall and worm-wood to Duryodhana, who chafed, and fretted, and worried his father until he brought about the exile of the Pandavas from the court of Hastinapur.

Leaving their ancestral abode Yudhishthira and his brothers proceeded to Varanavata, a city erroneously identified by Wheeler with ancient Allahabad. Later researches have thrown light on the subject of its site near modern Bulandsahar. In Varnavata, the Pandavas narrowly escaped from being burnt to death through a wicked plot of Duryodhana. They then passed in disguise along the western bank of the Ganges, travelling southwards through countries occupied by aboriginal tribes, until they arrived at Ekachakra. Instead of Arah, as supposed by Wheeler, we would rather infer it, from the repetition of the story of Vaka Rakhasa by Hwen Thsang, to have been the earliest town at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna. The Chinese traveller visited Prayag by the middle of the 7th century of the Christian era. He saw "there a Brahmanical temple, to which the presentation of a single piece of money procured as much merit as that of one thousand pieces elsewhere. Before the principal room of the temple there was a large tree with wide spreading branches (the celebrated Akshay Bat or banian tree), which was said to be the dwelling of an anthropophagous demon. The tree was surrounded with human bones, the remains of pilgrims who had sacrificed their lives before the temple—a custom which had been observed from time immemorial." This is evidently the story of Vaka "coming every night to the banyan tree to devour his waggon load of khichri, a huge jar of ghee, and a human victim," in plainer language.

In Ekachakra, the Pandavas heard of the approaching Swamyavara of Draupadi, daughter of Raja Drapada, whose kingdom of Panchala is mentioned by Manu as one of the five countries of ancient India the people of which were remarkable for their martial characteristics. The capital of Raja Drapada was Kampilanagara, or Kanauj of later days. Thither the Pandavas directed their journey to become candidates at the Swayamvara. It was held in a large plain outside the city, at one end of which "was a tall

pole, and on the top of the pole was a golden fish, and below the golden fish was a *chakra* ever whirling round; and the rule of the Swayamvara was, that whoever discharged an arrow through the *chakra* at the first shot, and struck the eye of the golden fish," was to be the winner of the prize. Many a prince had come as suitor for the hand of Draupadi. But success attended the superior archery of Arjuna, who led the princess home from the scene of contest. She became the common wife of the five brothers under that system of polyandry which still lingers in the Himalayas.

The Pandavas threw off their disguise on their marriage with Draupadi. It became a powerful alliance producing a happy effect upon their fortunes, and causing a great alarm at the court of Hastinapur. Old Dhritrashtra summoned a Council to meet the crisis. There were the elders who spoke in favour of peace, and the young men who clamoured for war. But the council of the sagacious Bhishma urging the partition of the Raj prevailed. Agreeably to this decision, Vidura was deputed to Kampila to bring back the Pandavas to Hastinapur. Their return was greeted with great rejoicings by the people.

The Raj allotted to Yudhishthira and his brothers consisted of five *prasthas* of land in Khandava Prastha, along the Jamna, distant sixty miles from Hastinapur. "The five pats, which still exist, were Panipat, Sonpat, Indrapat, Tilpat, and Bhagpat, of which all but the last were situated on the right or western bank of the Jamna. The term *prastha*, according to H. H. Wilson, means any thing 'spread out or extended,' and is commonly applied to any level piece of ground including also table-land on the top of a hill. But its more literal or restricted meaning would appear to be that particular extent of land which would require a *prastha* of seed, that is, 48 double handful, or about 48 imperial pints, or two-thirds of a bushel. This was, no doubt, its original meaning, but in the lapse of time it most gradually have acquired the meaning, which it still has, of any good-sized piece of open plain. Indraprastha would, therefore, mean the plain of Indra, which was, I presume, the name of the person who first settled there. Popular tradition assigns the five *pats* to the five Pandu brothers." Khandava-prastha was a wild uncultivated region which the Pandavas cleared by burning the forests and jungles growing there. The spot they pitched upon for their capital was Indraprastha, or Indrapat, which is some two miles from modern Delhi. There does "not exist a single carved stone of the original city of Yudhishthira"—it is principally covered in our day by the

buildings called Purana-Killa erected by Humayun. The only other spot by which the ancient city can be traced, is the small village, lying a mile off, in the south-west direction, from Humayun's tomb, which is still known by the name of Indrapat, and traditionally believed to have been the Pandava capital. The Negumbod-ghat is also a landmark of the ancient city. The brothers "built a fortified town, entrenched on all sides, and surrounded by towering walls." They erected separate palatial buildings with gardens for their respective residence. Next, according to the *Raj Tarangini*, they were engaged in "reducing to obedience the surrounding nations, and compelling their princes to sign tributary engagements." Their Raj thus became enlarged, their "infant city gradually attained to eminence and grew in affluence," till the seat of Pandu sovereignty rivalled that of Kaurava sovereignty.

To signalize his aggrandizement Raja Yudhishtira undertook the celebration of the Rajsuya. It was a royal ceremony of the ancient Kshatriyas, invested with the political significance of supreme sovereignty. The Pandavas invited to it all their kinsmen, and most of the Rajas and Chieftains of ancient Aryaverta. The sacrifice was presided by Vyasa, who in the presence of the august assembly, inaugurated Yudhishtira as the first monarch of his time. The Rajsuya was an imposing and solemn ceremony generally attended with disaster. It was ventured upon by no other Raja after the Pandavas, until its celebration was undertaken by Jayachand, the last monarch of Kanouj, who ruined himself by its consequences, and hastened the downfall of the Hindu empire. In modern times, it was proposed by a certain prince of Rajputana, but abandoned.

The heart of the Kauravas burnt with envy at the elevation of the Pandavas. Their old rivalry burst forth afresh. Open force being out of the question, Duryodhana plotted to avail himself of the national propensity for play to dispossess Yudhishtira of his Raj. He proclaimed a gambling match to which the Pandava Raja was invited at Hastinapur. No true Kshatriya could refuse a challenge for war or play. So Yudhishtira accepted the invitation, and, falling into the snare prepared for him, betted away his valuables, his kingdom, and the persons of himself, his brothers, and his wife, till the last throw of the dice made them destitute exiles from the plains of the Jamna for the long period of twelve years, and an additional year of living under disguise without detection. More than one Hindu Raja had thus played away all their substances.

Leaving his aged mother, Kunti with Vidura, Yudhisthira and his brothers went into exile. Towards the close of their wanderings they arrived at Virata, the capital of ancient Matsya, near modern Ajmir, where they lived in disguise, and afterwards became strengthened with the alliance of its Raja by the marriage of his daughter Uttara with Abhimanya, the son of Arjuna, by Suvadhara, the sister of Krishna. On fulfilment of the terms agreed upon in the game, Yudhisthira turned his attention towards the recovery of his Raj. His brothers Bhima and Arjuna were for immediate war. But he first tried to bring the matter about by means of negotiations. Embassies were interchanged without coming to any fruit. Duryodhana would not part with an inch of ground. The parties then prepared for war. They called in the aid of the Chieftans friendly to them respectively. The great ally of the Pandavas was Krishna—the first warrior, statesman, and diplomatist of his age. He became the charioteer of his brother-in-law Arjuna—"his guide, philosopher, and friend."

The hostile armies met on the plain of Kurukshetra—a plain now identified with the field of Panipat, north of Delhi, and famous alike in Hindu, Patan, Mogul, and Mahratta history. In Manu's geography, Kurukshetra commences with the eastern bank of the Sarasvati. It was inhabited by a warlike population, which always formed "the van of an army." The Mahabharata describes Kurukshetra as all that *Dirgha Kshetra*, or long plain, which is comprised between the Sarasvati and Jamna. The Puranas derive it from Raja Kuru—Kurukshetra literally signifying "the field of Kuru." The Mahabharata otherwise calls Kurukshetra *Dharma Kshetra*, or Holy Land, in which those who dwelt "dwelt in Paradise." Kalidas, in his *Megha Duta*, thus alludes to the plain :—

"Hence to the land of Brahma's favored sons,
O'er Kuru's fatal field thy journey runs ;
With deepest gloom hang o'er the sadly plain,
Dewed with the blood of mighty warrior's slain ;
There Arjuna's wrath opposing armies felt,
And countless arrows strong Gandiva dealt,
Thick as the drops that in the pelting shower,
Incessant hurtle round the shrinking flower."

DR. WILSON.

The actual, *bona fide* battle-field of the heroes of the Mahabharata, spreads immediately behind, and below, Thaneswara. According to one account this battle-field has a circuit of 40 miles, according to another of 80. The memorable landmark which

points out, identifies, and confirms the scene of the great conflict, is a small, lovely lake set in the centre of the plain, extending east and west three-quarters of a mile, and half a mile broad. Fed by percolation from the neighbouring annually-flooded Sarasvati, this old lake yet exists, though much shrunken in size. In spite of its being unknown by name, and unmarked on the map, it is not a little hallowed by associations extending from the remote Vedic period. Brahma performed sacrifices on its banks. Parasrama slaughtered the Kshatriyas by its side. Kuru sat here in ascetic devotion. The two armies were encamped on the two opposite sides of the lake. The Kaurava camp was pitched on the eastern bank—it was the site which an army marching west from Hastinapura was most likely to occupy. The Pandava camp was pitched on the western bank—it was the site which an army marching northwards from Virata, by Delhi, was most likely to occupy. Each party made his position strong by works planned on the entrenchment-system of that day. The Kauravas dug on their flank a deep trench, fortified with towers, on which were “placed pots full of snakes and scorpions, and pans of burning sand and boiling oil”—missiles, which were but the germs of the future “ordnance,” that says Bacon, “was known for certain in the city of the Oxydraces, in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder, and lightning, and magic.”* The Pandavas “had the river Sarasvati on one side of them, and on the other, they dug a deep trench for security.” The lake lay between the two hosts. “Their numbers,” says the Rev. K. M. Banerji, in his “*Encyclopædia Bengalis*,” “covered the battle-field. The neighing of horses, the solemn marching of elephants, the rattling of cars, the blowing of shells, the flourish of trumpets, the war-cry of the chieftains, the marshalling of the infantry, the glittering of arms, and the diversified colours of waving flags, heightened the grandeur and awfulness of the scene.” It was when “men,” says Bacon, “rested extremely upon number; and did put the wars upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles.” The encampment was followed by the appointment of Generalissimos. The veteran Bhishma, who had not his match, was elected to com-

* The Essay on “Vicissitude of Things.” Bacon’s contemporary, Sir Walter Raleigh, in his “History of the World,” mentions the very same thing. Bacon’s “memory was not at fault,” as Abbott says in his edition of the Essays. See also “Antiquity of cannon in the East” in Dr. Spry’s “Modern India.”

mand the allied army of the Kauravas. Dhristadyumna, the son of Raja Drapada, was placed at the head of the Pandava forces. The preliminary of the exchange of challenges being gone through, the battle commenced in right earnest. It extended over eighteen days, being the longest battle recorded in history. There was the usual mode of fighting along the whole line, and there were also many single combats between equals, like those of Homer's heroes, or those between the Horatii and Curatii, which sometimes decided the fortunes of war among the ancient Aryan races. The first day went against the Pandavas. The second was without any appreciable success on either side. But on the third day, the Pandavas had recourse to the ingeniously conceived tactics of disposing their troops in the form of a half-moon, and making a fierce onset with the flower of their army.

See how in warlike muster they appear,
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.

PARADISE REGAINED.

Their manœuvre proved eminently successful, with all the circumstances incidental to warfare—with the most heroic deeds, the shock of armies, the meeting of war-chariots, the crashing of armour, the swift flight, the hot pursuit, amidst the beatings of drums, the blowings of trumpets and war-shells, the shouts of victors, the cries of the wounded, and the groans of the dying. There was fearful slaughter on that day—the "plain being strewed with heaps of dead, and weapons of every description, and bodies without heads, and horses without riders, and the dust was laid with rivers of blood." Bhishma fought with his wonted vigour up to the tenth day, on which he was mortally wounded by Arjuna and carried behind the Kaurava intrenchments, where he lay dying for several days. His post was taken up by Drona, who was very skilful in the art of war, and had nearly taken Yudhisthira prisoner. He drew up his army in the form of a spider's web, into which young Achimanya rushing headlong was caught and slain. Drona fought for five days and fell. He was succeeded by Karna, who fought bravely and wounded Yudhisthira, but was killed by Arjuna on the second day of his command. Shalya, Raja of Madra, near Lahor, in the Panjab, was elected to the command of the Kaurava army on the eighteenth, or last, day of the battle. He was engaged with Yudhisthira, who slew him after much fighting. The great warriors on his side having all fallen, his cause having gone to ruin, Duryodhana secretly retired from the battle-field, and concealed himself in a

lake at Pinjor, in the Sub-Himalayas. The Pandavas pursued him to his retreat. They provoked him to come out from the lake, and enter into a combat with Bhîma with the mace, in which he fell down with his thigh-bones broken. The great war was now over. The cause of the Pandavas had triumphed. Krishna sounded his horn proclaiming the Raj of Yudhisthira.

Hwen Thsang, the Chinese traveller, records that close by to the west of Thanesswara is a spot called Ashtipur, where he was shown the bones of the heroes of the Mahabharata—"bones of very large size," that is to say, bones not of ordinary, but of heroic men. He records this fact in right earnest and seriousness—the date of his writing being about 640 A.D.

From the field of Kurukshetra Yudhisthira proceeded in a grand procession to Hastinapur. The streets were decorated with flags and garlands. Throngs of people waited at the palace-gate to welcome his approach. Draupadi was welcomed by the ladies of the palace. On his inauguration Yudhisthira commenced his rule in the ancient Raj of Bharata—old Dhritarashtra having retired to a jungle on the Ganges. In a few years, he celebrated the Ashwa-medha, or Horse-sacrifice—the greatest rite that a Hindu Raja could perform, and assert his sovereignty over a wide circle of tributary Chiefs. He proclaimed a new era. But in the midst of his prosperity, news arrived of the awful death of Dhritarashtra and all his household, with Kunti, from the conflagration of the jungle into which they had retired. Shortly after this melancholy event, tidings came of the dreadful slaughter among the Yadavas, and of the death of Krishna, with the destruction of his city of Dwarka. In his disconsolation, sovereignty lost all its charms, and gave place to considerations of eternity. Yudhisthira resolved upon retiring from the cares of royalty, and carried out his intention after reigning for thirty-six years by relinquishing the throne in favour of Parikshit, the grandson of his brother, Arjuna,—an example that has its parallel in the abdications of Diocletian and Charles the Vth. After making over the reins of government, he withdrew from the world to the Himalayas, where he perished among the snows—dying probably a frozen death in one of the snow-storms.

Lord Bacon thought Julius Cæsar the most complete character of all antiquity. But Raja Yudhisthira of Hindu history furnishes the noblest instance of a moral prince in all history. He belonged to the Antonines—Harunal Raschid—Alfred—and Akbar class of monarchs, whose "minds were modelled in a less terrestrial mould," and with whom the happiness of the people

was the paramount object of government. His spirit of wisdom and virtue was the outcome of nature directed by lessons of philosophy. Not that he was weak-minded, but that his military powers paled before the genius of the greater heroes of his age. He was an amiable and good prince, the benevolence of whose soul always disclosed itself in a cheerful serenity of temper. He had that "goodness of nature, which of all virtues and dignities of the mind," says Bacon, "is the greatest, being the character of the Deity. His heart was like the noble tree that was wounded itself when it gave the balm. If he easily pardoned and remitted offences, it shows that his mind was planted above injuries, so that he could not be shot." In the words of Gibbon, "he was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfections of others, just and beneficent to all mankind. War he detested, as the disgrace and calamity of human nature; but when the necessity of a just defence called upon him to take up arms, he readily exposed his person" in the battle field.

The age of Yudhishthira is one of the brightest in Hindu history—an age of eminent warriors and scholars. The Hindu was then strong, and noble, and illustrious. True, the empire was governed by absolute power; but wisdom and virtue sat at the helm. The royal tax was one-sixth of the crop. Men of letters graced the court. The Vedas were compiled in this age by Vyasa. Gautama flourished in this period. Narada invented the *vina*, or the great Indian harp, about this time. The proofs of an advanced civilization and enlarged experience are afforded by the instances of furs, brocades, silks, weapons, articles made of iron and ivory, jewels, and horses, that were brought for presents at the Rajsuya from various regions. The Koh-i-nur was worn upon the Pandu crown.

KRISHNA.

The traditions of Krishna present him in two aspects—the historical and the religious. There is Krishna the hero, and Krishna the god. He is described as a purely human personality in works of remote date. "We first," says Prof. Weber, "find Krishna, son of Devaki, mentioned in the Chhandogya Upanishad, as receiving instructions from Ghora Angirasa, which made him indifferent to other knowledge." In the old poem of the Mahabharata, as originally composed by Vyasa, "he is," says Prof. Holtzmann, "a mere man; and indeed a man who does not stand high, either by birth, or by nobility of sentiment. He is the charioteer, and, no doubt, also the brother-in-law of Arjuna,

his best friend, and crafty adviser. All the schemes which, according to the ancient doctrine of warfare, were held to be dishonourable or faithless, were planned by Krishna, and were, after some resistance, either carried out by Arjuna himself, or permitted to take effect." Krishna in his religious character is spoken of as early as the time of Patanjali in his *Mahabhasya*, a work written in the middle of the second century before Christ. In the *Bhagavada Gita*, he appears mainly in his divine aspect. To quote the opinion of the above Professor "there must have been powerful political, as well as religious, revolutions which brought about his elevation into an incarnation of the Supreme Deity. The old Krishna of the *Mahabharata* must have been fused with a quite different Krishna, such as he is represented in the *Harivansa*, the deified tribal hero of a brave and victorious population, to whose mythological conceptions the old Indian pantheon had to adjust itself."

It is our purpose to represent Krishna in his historical character. He was born on the *ashtami*, or eighth day of the moon, in its dark side, in the month of Bhadra, towards the close of the Dwapar Yuga. Twenty-five years of that Yuga remained to expire when his birth is said to have taken place. Being contemporary with Yudhisthira, his age must be fixed in the 15th century B. C. Krishna was born at Mathura, the Greek Methora, modern Matra, on the Yamuna, or Jamna. His father Vasudeva was the son of Sura, the Chieftain of the Surasenas—the Surseni of Arrian, one of the fifty-six tribes of the Yadavas, or descendants of Yadu, originally a nomadic people, who had taken up their settlement along the banks of the Jamna, in the neighbourhood of Matra. Much about in the same-region as people similar to them—the Jats, founded a similar kingdom under their leader Suraji Mal, in modern times. His mother Devaki, was the cousin sister of Raja Kansa, who had deposed his father Ugrasena, and usurped the throne of Mathura. Krishna was the eighth born child of his parents. To keep his birth a secret from Kansa, he was no sooner born than carried away by his father to Gokul, on the other side of the Jamna, where he was made over to the care of Nanda and Yasoda, who were to bring him up as their own son. Krishna had an elder brother, Balarama, similarly placed at Gokul, with Rohini, who was another wife of Vasudeva.

Nanda was a well-to-do cowherd, who owned a large flock of kine. Having no child of his own, he took a great pleasure in bringing up Krishna. To be safe from the hands of Kansa, he removed with his waggons and cattle to the further distance of

Vrindavana and Goverdhana. Nandā's rich dairy was the groundwork upon which Krishna's future robustness was founded. Fed with unadulterated fresh-drawn milk and newly churned butter, he passed a healthful infancy. In the exercise of pasturing cattle in the bracing open air of forest glades, he grew to a vigorous boyhood. Illiterate shepherd-boys were his associates and playmates. The pursuit of any intellectual knowledge was scarcely in vogue among them. They delighted chiefly in athletic sports. Balarama signalled himself by his skill in fighting with the mace. Krishna became an adept in throwing the *chakra*, or quoit. But he was gifted with great powers of mind, which "to him a kingdom was." In a pastoral, or agricultural, community the females are not given to *pardanashin* habits. They have often to associate with the men. Now, Krishna had a comeliness of person which was the admiration of the young Gopinis, or cowherdresses. They cherished a tender passion for him, and followed him into sylvan retreats to hear the music of his flute, and romped with him on the banks of the Jamna on moonlit nights. Thus the best part of his youth was passed in rustication, or in amours with young damsels, until he was called away to scenes to which he had been destined for his career.

The reign of an usurper is commonly a reign of terror. The wrong with which he starts is persisted in for his safeguard, until it becomes its own avenger. Kansa was no exception to the rule. He projected the celebration of a festival to which the neighbouring people went in numbers. The *tamasha* attracted Krishna and Balarama to Mathura. It was held in the palace of Kansa. If there is any truth in local tradition, then the vestiges of that palace may be seen in the huge and high pile of rubbish called Kansa-tila at the entrance of the modern town. There was a variety of entertainments along with the favourite Indian amusement of wrestling. The arena thronged with *palwans*, or professional wrestlers. But a row breaking out at the outset marred the festivities. The warders would not allow Krishna and Balarama to pass through the gate reserved for the Raja. They forced in their way by overcoming all opposition. In the arena, the two brothers worsted all the fighting men set against them. Raja Kansa was in great alarm. He stood up trembling for his fate, when Krishna dashing forward seized him by the hair, and in a little while made him bite the dust, and dragged his corpse for funeral to the Visram-ghat on the Jamna. It is not told whether this was a pre-concerted deliberate measure for the riddance of a monster, or the effect of provocation under

the immediate circumstances; but at any rate, Kansa died the common death of a detested tyrant, and the audacious bravery of the act proved Krishna a heaven-born hero. He placed old Ugrasena upon the throne of Mathura, and released his parents Vasudeva and Devaki from "the durance vile" in which they were held. Krishna did not go back to his old scenes and friends, but remained at the helm of government at Mathura. He turned a new leaf, and from a shepherd of cattle became a "shepherd of people." Ere this he had "fiddled," but now he set himself to "make a small state great." The new sphere in which he now moved made him a new man altogether. In the exercise of power his latent talents being called into play, he grew to be the most consummate warrior and politician of his age. Mathura was invaded with vast hordes of men by Jarasindhu, the Raja of Maghada, and father-in-law of Kansa. Finding it impossible to oppose the formidable host, Krishna wisely shifted his ground by emigrating with his tribe to Guzerat, where he acquired new territories, and on the seaboard of modern Kattywar, founded his capital of Dwarka. In the act of planting this city, he showed a considerable foresight as to the commercial advantages of its site, and its command over the sea-borne trade pouring an inexhaustible tide of wealth into the port.

The emigration of Krishna into Guzerat, was the great turning-point of his life. His history from this period is the history of progress—progress from its embryo to mature development. Unfortunately, the history of that progress has not been bequeathed to us in all its parts as a regular drama, but as a rude striking piece without any unity of action: full of gaps, omissions, and incongruities; and redeemed only by noble passages. There is no account of how ~~for~~ ~~for~~ step by step he rose to power, raised the prestige of the Yadava tribe, spread his dominion, founded his capital, and exalted himself into a Raja of the first importance. Suffice it to say that with all the odds against him, but with all the elements of greatness in him, he ennobled himself into a hero adored by his tribe, and admired by all India. His power and glory were enhanced by high royal connexions. Raja Raivata gave his daughter Revati in marriage to Balarama. He himself married a celebrated princess named Rukmini, who was able to read and write, and carry on correspondence like an accomplished lady. Rukmini was the daughter of Rikhamaka, Raja of Vidervha, or modern Berar. She had been betrothed to Simpala, the aboriginal Chief of Chedi, or modern Rewa and Mundla. But against this union Rukmini was

prejudiced with all the unwillingness of a female mind. She had heard of the great comeliness and heroic adventures of Krishna, and her set heart upon him with a secret passion. To save herself from the hands of the man whom she loathed, Rukmini made a romantic appeal to Krishna as her guardian angel, by privately addressing him an impassioned letter representing her condition, and praying him to come to her rescue from a life-long wretchedness. Krishna set out upon the errand with all the ardour of his soul. In the meantime, the nuptial day had been fixed, and Rukmini had gone with all her companions and maidens to worship in the temple of the household goddess. There, according to appointment, Krishna arrived, and taking her by the hand lifted her into his chariot, and drove for Dwarka. He was hotly pursued by Rukmin, the brother of the damsel, and Sisupala, to whom she had been betrothed. They were both defeated, and Rukmini was brought away to Dwarka, and married as the principal Rani. This was a feat of romantic heroism, which, in after ages, was imitated by Pirthiraj in carrying off Sanjogta from the court of Kanouj. Krishna married seven other wives, among whom Janibuvati was the daughter of an aboriginal chief. He had, besides, a large haram.

With the Pandavas, Krishna had a close intimacy. He was their near relation by the marriage of Kunti, his father's sister, with Raja Pandu. He was their warm friend with whom they always held an affectionate intercourse. He was "wondrous kind" to Arjuna, to whom he gave his sister Suvadhara in marriage. He was their ardent well-wisher who advised Yudhishthira to celebrate the Rajsuya. To that royal festival he came with a large army to act the champion in case of need. They proposed to honor him with the *Asvmedha* as the greatest and strongest of all the Rajas. But Sisupala, the Raja of Chedi, being present in the assembly, indignantly refused his assent. Ever since his deprivation of the hand of Rukmini, he had been brooding over the wrong, and watching for an opportunity of revenge. He abused Krishna in the most opprobrious terms, and threatened to spoil the sacrifice, when Krishna furiously whirled his *chakra* at him, and severed his head from his body.

Krishna was invited to the council held by the Pandavas in the court of Virata for the recovery of their Raj. He tried his best to avert the tremendous conflict by friendly intervention, and proceeded to Hastinapur to bring the Kauravas to terms by negotiation. But he found Duryodhana deaf to all proposals he would—"bear no brother near the throne." Failing in his

mission, he returned to Yudhishthira, and advised him to prepare for war. In that war he became Arjuna's charioteer, and turned its fortunes in favour of the Pandavas by his intelligent directions. He it was who suggested the prevarication that brought about Drona's death, advised Arjuna to take advantage of Karna's difficulty, and hinted the signal to Bhima to strike Duryodhana below the waist. The ungenerous use of these expedients prohibited by the law of war, is condemned as disreputable and Machiavellian. But to a masterspirit, with important political consequences at stake, the 'chief business of war is to get the better of the enemy, and he scruples not to employ means the shortest and speediest to a decisive conclusion—means redeemed by success and forgotten in the blaze of glory. The history of British conquests in India, in which the most potent weapons have been gold and the art of negotiation, is the best answer to that charge. On the Pandavas coming out victorious, Krishna proclaimed their Raj by sounding his shell on the battle-field. He next accompanied them to Hastinapur, where he smoothed affairs for the installation of Yudhishthira.

The celebration of the Ashwamedha was undertaken by the Pandava monarch. His brother Bhima was despatched to Dwarka for inviting Krishna. The Yadava monarch set out with his favourite wives, and sons, at the head of a large party. He travelled by Mathura, encamping on the bank of the Jamna below that city. Many people here remembered him and came out to receive him with their humble presents. Krishna was glad to recognise some of the old faces, whom he received with kindness, and sent away with gifts of fine cloths and money. Leaving his camp to be brought up by Bhima, Krishna hastened forward to Hastinapur. Shortly ^{after} ~~on~~ his arrival, the horse for the Ashwamedha was loosened to enter upon its wanderings, and was followed by Arjuna with an army.

Along the mead the hallowed steed
Still wanders whereso'er he will.
O'er hill, or dale, or plain ;
No human hand hath trick'd that mane
From which he shakes the morning dew ;
His mouth has never felt the rein,
His bus have never froth'd the chain ;
For pure of blemish and of stain,
His neck unbroke to mortal yoke,
Like nature free the steed must be
Fit offering for the Immortals he.

Twelve months after, the 'force' returned from its adventures. It was then sacrificed with due ceremony. The festivities being over, Krishna returned with his family to Dwarka from his last interview with the Pandavas. His career then closed very unhappily. In the last days of his rule, his capital had become the scene of frequent mirth and feasting indulged in by his sons, grandsons, and clansmen. The Yadavas were greatly addicted to drinking. Their extreme demoralization had become ominous of their ruin. Krishna took the precaution of issuing a proclamation prohibiting the use of wine. The people suffered from its abstention. They were also "harried with fear and wonder" at

"Disasters in the sun, and the moist star
Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands,
Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse."

The abnormal increase of rats, like that in the Dekhan some half a dozen years ago, boded evil. Krishna proposed a pilgrimage to the adjacent *tirtha* of Prabhasa to offer up prayers to Heaven. The day was next to be spent in picnics and a great drinking-bout. The people obeyed his order, and went with their wives and families to holy rendezvous. There were gathered all the Chieftains of the Yadavas—Ugrasena, Balarama, Satyaki, Kritavarmana, and the sons of Krishna, with the best manhood of the tribe. Now, Balarama was a great drinker, who ordered vessels of wine to be brought and placed before the Chieftains. In the midst of their carousals, a brawl breaking out, Satyaki drew his sword and cut off Kritavarmana's head. On this, a great uproar ensued between the parties of the murdered and the murderer. Krishna endeavoured to quell their tumult. But frantic with wine and rage nobody heeded his authority. The friends of Kritavarmana fell upon Satyaki and slew him. They also cut down Pradyumna, the son of Krishna, who had sided with Satyaki. Krishna revenged his son's death by killing all who had a hand in it. The slaughter then became general. Each man appealed to the sword, and fell foul of the other in utter bewilderment, until the *melée* ended in the extermination of the assembled multitude. It was an awful catastrophe. Finding the flower of his race thus perish, Krishna was in an agony of grief. But he forgot not to look to the safety of his women and capital by sending an urgent message to the court of Hastinapur for the despatch of Arjuna to protect them. Meanwhile, he went in search of Balarama, who had gone out at the

beginning of the tumult. He was found to have given up the ghost under the shade of a banyan tree, probably under an attack of apoplexy. In a fit of desponding melancholy, Krishna straggled into a neighbouring thicket, where he fell in with a Bheel robber who killed him by the shot of an arrow. His body, with that of his brother, being found after a strict search, was brought in for funeral. Thus terminated the career of one of the greatest characters of Hindu history. Krishna left behind him no heir capable of firmly sitting on his throne, and holding his dominions. The surrounding savage tribes whom his mighty arm held in check now raised their heads, and struck for freedom. They issued from their fastnesses and committed devastation. The Yadavas tribe had no Chieftain who could make head against them. Under the escort of Arjuna, the wives and other women of Krishna, together with the survivors of his kinsmen and dependants left Dwarka, and proceeded along the road towards Indraprastha. The way lay through countries inhabited by fierce predatory tribes, who fell in large numbers upon the caravan of women accompanied by few men. They carried off many women and much valuable spoil. Arjuna saved only a remnant of the race whom he conducted to, and settled at, Indraprastha. Strangely enough, the city of Dwarka too was destroyed shortly after its abandonment—the sea bottom sank, and a great sea wave swallowed it up. In the opinion of Wheeler, this disaster proceeded from a cyclone such as happened at Calcutta, on the 5th of October, 1864. But cyclones of the kind known in the Bay of Bengal, are unknown in the Arabian sea. Moreover, if it were a storm-wave, the recession of the waters would have left the place high and dry again. The engulfment of Dwarka should proper, *forse* ascribed to submergence of land under the agitations of an earthquake. In the neighbouring Cutch-portion of the Delta of the Indus, such calamities have been frequent, and one of them occurred so recently as 1819. Dwarka, one of the proudest cities of ancient India, lies buried in the sea, and is a celebrated pilgrimage in honour of its founder.

There survived a grandson of Krishna, called Bajra, who was one of the sons of Pradyumna, the prince born by Rukmini, the senior wife. Bajra was at Mathura at the time of the conflict at Prabhasa. He was on his way to Dwarka to see his father, but receiving intelligence of the extermination of his kindred, he keenly felt the loss, and died in the first transports of grief. He left two sons, Naba and Khira. Naba was compelled to fly from

Dwarka, and became prince of Marusthali, or the Indian Desert. His descendants survive in the Bhatti branch of the Yadu race now reigning at Jesselmer. There is another line of Krishna descended from Samba, the son by Jambuvati, who "obtained possession of the tracts on both sides of the Indus, and founded the *Sind-Samma* dynasty,* from which the Jharejas are descended. There is every probability that Sambus, of Samba-nagari (Minagara), the opponent of Alexander, was a descendant of Samba, son of Krishna."*

The foregoing is but a bare outline of one of the greatest of Indian characters. In the silence of legitimate history, we are left wholly uninformed as to the details calculated to make the narrative of his story amusing and instructive. We catch no hint in the Mahabharata or the Bhagavad, and are very imperfectly acquainted with the organizations and policies by which he aggrandized himself. He is painted in colours which present him not in a clear tangible point of view. Thus much we are told that from an obscure condition he became the ruler of a great kingdom; that he emerged from an ignorant cowherd into a famous prince; that his success made him the wonder of his age. According to the received accounts, he was a singular man with singular fortunes, who carried his enterprises into effect with profound sagacity and judgment, who was characterised by great and little qualities, who strongly impressed his nation by his outshining superiority, and was elevated in after ages into an incarnation of the Godhead. Indeed, his greatness is emphatically summed up in his deification.

Krishna as a god, will be the subject of review in our lives of Jayadeva and Chaitanya.

AN IDLER.

* *Tods Rajasthan.*

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OPEN QUESTIONS IN MORALITY.

I.—POLITICAL MORALITY

THERE was a time when Patriotism and Piety led people into International antipathy and Religious intolerance. The sons of Abraham looked down upon the gentiles long before the word *Jew* came to be employed as a term of abuse by impecunious people in England or orthodox Christians in all Christendom. The Greeks and Romans have expressed by the word *barbarian* the same political antipathy for outside nations, which the people of Brahmandom still do by the term *Misceha*, if not also by *Yavana* or *Ionian*. And we English-reading foreigners take time to realize why the word "civilization" as opposed to "barbarism," or "Christian" as distinguished from "heathenish," may not be fully understood by us, except with reference to diverse facts of social and domestic life peculiar only to certain of the European nations. The word European might fairly include the Americans of European descent, but it is singular that the proud name may be shared with Maories and Zulus, whereas the Arab, the Chinaman, and the Bengali Babu have to be jealously scared away. There should not be, however, any heart-burning on this account. It is after all but a joke that the countrymen of Jesus Christ have to be distinguished from members of the Armenian Church, so that phrases like "Christian and Jew," or "European and Native" may not lose their full verbal significance. We should not quarrel with facts of this kind. They are beyond the sphere of social or political

action. When words get incorporated in any language, the foreigner who chooses to learn it may not justly resent at how they are employed by anybody correctly using that language. The sting lies in the heart of man, not in the words he has to use. The question is neither literary nor political; it is ethical. For instance, the contemptuous meaning now attached to the word Babu by any Anglo-Indian discloses at best only a history of that word in the English language, which certainly is not ours. And it would be preposterous to hold, as some of my own countrymen seem to do, that the sense and usage of that same Bengali word in Bengali language or by Bengali people must be governed by authority of the Anglo-Indian tongue.

I have said that Patriotism and Piety have led in the past to immoralities of international hatred and religious intolerance. But my illustrations of the truth from history of words will, I hope, have suggested to the reader's mind that events of the kind are not altogether things of the past. And thus, even patriots and pious men have to submit to checks of moral kind.

A religion cannot be any man's own religion, if he does not take exception to part at least of every one of the other creeds of the world. Nevertheless, it has come to be our bounden duty both in law and morality, to treat with respect religious doctrines of the most antagonistic kind. So, on the other hand, howsoever we may have been trying to unlearn international hatred in politics, it would be too much to expect even of the noblest philanthropist that he will eschew national partialities in action as well as in thought,—nay in *all* thoughts which pass through his mind. Respect for one's country and religion must needs lead to some measure of exclusive thought and feeling. He that does not love his own countrymen more than he loves other people would ill-deserve any respect even from those outside people whom he might pretend to hold so dear. But however obvious this truth may be, it does not fail to lead us into political dissensions of an acrimonious kind.

It is necessary to push into these unhappy questions in order to arrive at adequate remedies. Only we must understand that the remedies are ethical. The old political and pious exclusiveness of which the foul spots are still preserved in language has to be endured. And, on the other hand, a foreigner may not always be so fortified with long and obscure histories of words as to take no provocation when he finds applying to himself words like—heathen, freethinker, infidel, anti-Christian, half-civilized or Bengali Babu. The struggle between creeds and nationalities, as labelled by language, becomes a matter of practical difficulty.

when, as in British India, people have to use foreign tongues from the very exigencies of living, and have still to avoid provocation of the kind alluded to. Law cannot prevent the evil. Political rights cannot abolish it. And yet something has to be done to get out of the difficulty. Language is but a product of human art, and, as such, must stand in need of constant effort in order to regulate the passage, from heart to heart and mind to mind, of thoughts and feelings only of the worthiest kind. What can be more painful, for instance, than to observe that because India happens to be divided by various national divergences, therefore some people cannot see the immorality of denying that fact; and some also must seek to foment those differences in the name of freedom of speech or that of conservation of the past, forgetting that the policy may be wrong in morality. The burning political questions of the day in British India have in fact an important moral aspect. And to find an adequate remedy, it is necessary to understand what are really but open questions of morality with the different sections of people in India,—peoples who live under the same Government but have to use some foreign language or languages. It is strange that many do not recognize this truth. But the opinion is as well verified as accounted for by the cognate fact that Englishmen and Indians are equally averse to seeking a common moral test for their political and social conduct in British India.

It is needless to deny the political and religious antagonism which occurs here between Indian and Anglo-Indian. There is no chance of its being forgotten in the course of time by natural growth of society. On the contrary, the disease cannot fail to arrest social growth even if it did not lead to destruction. Unless care is taken to cure the evil, the Indian will go on trying to make as much as he can for his political, if not also personal, interests; and the European, too, will sink deeper into political recantation and moral back-sliding as compared to the standard of—say—the Queen's Proclamation. Without some good understanding, some indubitable moral test, the struggle for existence—the uncertain question of who is fit to survive—cannot fail to torment the lives of all those who shall be selected and who needs must die. The sense of assuredness as to any ultimate selection of Nature is equally foolish on both sides.

The question before us has a double bearing. I have mentioned the political divergence which exists between different sections of the Indian community, and I have suggested in that connection the want of definite moral test fit to remove that divergence. I am concerned, however, only to establish the need of a common moral

standard; and I have adduced only as evidence or argument the other fact of political divergence, and its relation to uncertainty of the moral principle. I have nothing to do in this essay with the burning political questions of the day.

There are some I know who would ignore our political divergences, and while so doing, magnify either the loyalty of Indian peoples or the excellence of the British rule. But those who speak highly of Indian character are most apt to find fault with the conduct of our Anglo-Indian fellow citizens. So, again, it seems that the noblest of the latter section have to tread upon the corns of the other, even by proclaiming that the East lags behind the West, or that Western Leadership is needed to regenerate the East. Now these opposing sections of men may unite in praising the political condition of British India. In their respective self-satisfaction they may also say that their principles of morality are sufficiently well fortified. But I would only point out to them that such things have never occurred in the history of man, as human language itself testifies; and that contemporary experience also points exactly on the opposite way. When different nationalities live under the same government, their respective politics and loyalty will vary as a matter of course. And so long as these different sections honestly find fault with one another's political conduct and principles, there must be radical difference in their guiding principle of morality. It may not be sufficient remedy for the existing political unrest to recommend a searching of the heart and seek to arouse moral compunction. But it would be some remedy certainly. And it is my conviction that the world has advanced so far that the moral sense may be appealed to in order to ward off the consequences even of political disorder.

The great importance of morality is recognised by members of widely divergent religions. And if there be any eminent men in this country who are perfectly impervious to the claims of morality in politics, it is all the more necessary to establish those claims on the platform of Public Opinion. The liberty which we enjoy is not for self-destruction. The competition which is characteristic of western modes of life is not meant for a struggle *à outrance*,—a combat to kill the opponent. Neither can the old ascetic exclusiveness of the East be retained, now that the industry-loving European has become our fellow-citizen; and foreign English and Hindustani have to be spoken by subjects of the same Government in their daily avocations. Nor, again, is it feasible to establish the mastery of headship suited to Saxon isolation in the midst of what seems to be an ultra-Celtic communism and effusiveness

peculiar to the East. Also, the attachment of the Christian and the Musalman, the Vaishnab and the Sakta for their respective religion, is too deep to be effaced by Anglo-Indian masterdom, conjoined as it has become to accidental liberty of conscience in the Indian. And yet we have to live and let live. We must act, think and feel in common with our neighbours and fellow-subjects in some matters at least. Political rivalry must not be a struggle for existence. Natural selection is not the law of human rectitude. We may not escape either from British Indian Politics or the Laws of Nature, albeit the nature be Native, Oriental, or Half-civilized. It is of course only the question of adaptation which concerns us. But do what we may to turn our surroundings to our own purposes, we must not forget the more fundamental question of adapting ourselves to our convictions. And therein is disclosed the need of ethical principle to regulate our Individual life in this Polity of British India for Englishmen no less than for Indians.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE EUROPEAN UNCOVENANTED SERVICE AND THE QUESTION OF EXCHANGE.

A NOTE.

THE question of exchange affects India most vitally. The depreciation of silver and the appreciation of gold in a country like India, which has only a single currency of silver, have disturbed the finances and budgets very materially. From her intimate relation to England which has a gold currency, India has to pay all the charges incurred at Home in sterling. The Home charges consist of various items of expenditure, including pensions to all retired Civil and Military Officers who are paid in pound sterling. This Pension List is increasing every year and will prove a great drain on the financial resources of India if the rate of exchange continue low. But faith must be kept with all Civil Servants and Military Officers who, on or before entering service, had their pensions guaranteed in sterling. As the Government finds it hard to recoup the great losses for Exchange, it should be very careful not to incur fresh responsibilities and to make promises or give guarantees for paying a new class of servants in sterling. The Uncovenanted Servants who now draw their pension in rupees have been agitating for payment in sterling. A recent telegram announced that Sir John Gorst, the Under-Secretary of State for India, promised a Parliamentary enquiry into the grievances of the European Uncovenanted Service as regards pension. This announcement has been received with great joy by the European members of the Uncovenanted Service in the hope that it will grant redress to their special grievance. Civil and Military Servants of the Crown enter the service under special covenants and distinct promises guaranteeing the payment of their pensions in sterling. But Uncovenanted Servants cannot point to any such promises and guarantees. The great majority of the Uncovenanted Servants are engaged or appointed in India, and only a few Europeans are brought out from England. These few never made any stipula-

tion about the payment of their pensions in sterling on retirement. If so, why should they claim special and exceptional treatment? We feel a sympathy for all who are affected by the diminishing rupee, but we must regard it as a public question which affects India most vitally. She feels the burden of the Home charges which are increasing every year. Large surpluses in the Indian budget are swallowed up by a trifling fall in the rate of Exchange.

This Parliamentary enquiry will do good to India, inasmuch as it will compel Government to devise some measure for remedying the great evil of a low rate of Exchange. The Home charges should be hauled up and critically examined with a view to reduction and a more impartial and just re-adjustment between the War and the India offices. And if the falling Exchange could not be remedied by the adoption of some fixed rates in the value of gold and silver, it will be for the Government of India and its servants to consider whether it would not be wiser for both to come to a compromise about the payment of salaries and pensions in England in rupees instead of sterling. For that course would be preferable to bringing the Government to the verge of bankruptcy by adding fresh burdens and responsibilities in consequence of promises and pledges about paying the European Uncovenanted Servants in sterling. A half loaf is better than no loaf. It is better to receive a pension in rupees than none.

A low Exchange is regarded by merchants as favourable to the development of the trade and commerce of India with Europe and America, as Mr. Keswick in his speech once declared in the local chambers of commerce a few years ago. The soundness of this theory has been questioned, and the late Mr. Knight adduced many facts to disprove the popular fallacy that a low Exchange favors Indian trade and commerce. If low Exchange were favorable to the growth of trade and commerce, the Indian ryot and cultivator would be a gainer by it. But all rate and tax-payers, together with Europeans who have all to make remittances Home for the support of their families, are great losers and sufferers by a low Exchange.

Since the last two months the Exchange has been improving; two months ago we could get only 1s. 4d. to the rupee. The rate now is 1s. 6d. This improvement is apparently due to the Silver Coinage Bill in America which has been under consideration for some time, and which is most likely to be passed before long. This will help the Exchange to rise still more, and the Conference on silver between the different countries using silver currency has held many sittings and adjourned, apparently

sine die. It will resume its sittings some time or other and further discuss the matter or matters of mono-metallism and bi-metallism. The battle between Mono-metallists and Bi-metallists has been raging fiercely for some time, and while the ranks of the latter are gaining fresh accessions and supporters, the question does not seem any nearer solution. While great financiers like Mr. Goschen, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, declare that the State ought not to interfere with the money market, the hope of an early or any settlement of the question by artificial methods becomes more and more faint. But a settlement of the question has become imperative one way or the other. If the low rate of Exchange could not be remedied by some steps recommended either by the Silver Conference in Parliamentary commission, the Government of India will be forced to consider whether it should not frankly and fairly face the difficulty and tell its Covenanted Servants and Commissioned Officers whether they would not absolve Government of its promises to pay their pension in sterling and be content to be paid in rupees. When Government is likely to be reduced to such a strait and dilemma, is it wise or politic to incur greater responsibility and to make fresh promises and to give unnecessary pledges to pay the European Uncovenanted Servants in sterling? If the case were fairly and frankly put, would the Uncovenanted Servants like to see the Government reduced to the verge of ruin and bankruptcy by carrying their selfish and interested agitation in the face of such grave difficulties?

AN INDIAN TAX-PAYER.

THE INDIAN MUSEUM AND INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE study of archæology serves a threefold purpose. *Firstly*, it appeals to the natural curiosity possessed by all men; *secondly*, it furnishes an incentive to the learned to enquire into the origin and history of all old things; *thirdly* it discovers to us the state and progress of archaic art. Thus all antiquities, being relics of bygone times, are interesting from three stand-points, *viz.*, those of the curious, the savant, and the artist. The human mind is so very curiously constituted that it cannot but feel an impulse of the faculty known as curiosity at the sight of things which do not pertain to times in which mankind at present live, and with which are associated "memories of the past." To the average curious man, these old things, or antiquities, only serve to conjure up memories of times long gone by, without exciting in his mind any sort of inclination to inquire into their origin and history or to speculate on the state of man as he lived in those times. To the savants or the learned, however, these objects of archaic origin appear replete with associations of man in past times, and serve to stimulate them to prosecute researches into the origin and history of those objects, and to speculate on the social state of the human species of those old, old times. To the artist or the student of ancient art, the study of antiquities discovers the state and progress of architecture and the plastic arts in general amongst the men of those olden times. The study of Indian archæology dates from the foundation by Sir William Jones of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. Previous to the foundation of this famous Society, which is, however, the parent of all existing Oriental societies throughout the world, nobody cared anything at all about the numerous remains of antiquity which are to be met with all over the Continent of India. Many learned men there were, no doubt, in the service of the East India Company but they were too much engrossed with their own factory concerns and commercial pursuits to direct

any attention whatever to the study of oriental antiquities. The study of Indian archæology received another and a stronger impetus from the earnestness with which Sanskrit and other oriental languages began to be studied by the European officers in the service of the Company. The Europeans of the last century were not all to be blamed for this utter apathy on their part to the study of these languages. There were many obstacles in the way of their betaking to the study of them. The Pundits of those days durst not teach Sanskrit to the Europeans because they thought it highly impious to do so. As regards the people themselves of India, the study of the Vedas were prohibited to all but the Brahmans, let alone Europeans, who were regarded as *Mlecchas*. It was with great difficulty, therefore, that Sir William Jones found a Pundit that consented to teach him Sanskrit. These languages had till then been as Hebrew to Europeans, and the literature of those languages were as books sealed with the seven seals of secrecy. But the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal gave an impetus to the study of Sanskrit and other oriental languages. The little band of scholars headed by Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, and Henry Thomas Colebrooke laid the foundations of that study of such Indian archæology which has been productive of such valuable results in the elucidation of the history of Ancient India. Previous to the invasion of India by the Mahomedans, there is scarcely any history of India worth the name. Indeed, there are one or two works which may rank with modern histories, in point of faithful delineation of past times, narration of past events, and accurate enumeration of successive dynasties of rulers in chronological sequence. But the accounts contained in these "abstracts and brief chronicles of the times" are to be received with a great deal of caution. The works alluded to are the *Raj Tarangini* of Kashmir and the *Mahavansa* of Ceylon. But the existence of even these two works came to the notice of orientalists a long time after the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The history of India, previous to the Mahomedan period, consists of a number of traditions, legends, and myths, which are scarcely to be accepted and believed as historical facts. The art of writing history in the modern sense of the term was unknown to the ancient Indians. History and fiction appeared to them to be synonymous with each other. Hence the enormous quantity of fables and myths found jumbled together with historical facts in works professedly dealing with the narration of historical matters. There are the *Shastras*, the

Purans, and the great epics—the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*—all professedly dealing with historical facts, but the few scraps of history they contain are overlaid with such an amount of fiction that it is very difficult, at this distance of time, to separate the historical matter from the fictitious. Historical personages have been described in such exaggerated language that the modern reader cannot but disbelieve in their very existence; while, on the other hand, facts which had no existence in the history of Ancient India have been described and invested with such a semblance of truth as to warrant us in believing them to be “truth severe by fairy fiction drest.” Dynasties of fabulous kings have been described and their pedigree has been traced to the gods, to the sun and the moon, while the periods during which they have been described as having reigned are of such incalculably long duration that Hindu chronology, like Hindu history, becomes positively incredible. The length of the ages into which time has been divided by Hindu chronologers casts into the shade the duration of such geological periods as the Miocene, Pliocene, Eocene Ages, &c., calculated by modern geologists, and the length of such astronomical distances as those of the Nebulae. But it is to be borne in mind that the history of Ancient India has already been written. The curious reader may very pertinently ask—“What are the materials out of which this history has been constructed?” The reply to this is that the study of Indian archæology has afforded ample materials for the drawing up of an actual history of Ancient India. The researches of learned antiquarians like Jones, Colebrooke, Prinsep, Thomas, Cunningham, Mitra, and a host of others too numerous to be mentioned here, have laid the foundations of a true history of Ancient India. There are numerous lithic remains of antiquity scattered all over the country, from the study of which many interesting historical facts have been gleaned. There are numerous inscriptions carved on rocks and on buildings, the deciphering of which has led to the discovery of the names of many dynasties of kings who would otherwise have remained unknown to us. Hoards of coins have been discovered all over the country, the deciphering of the legends on which has thrown considerable light on the state of things in Ancient India. It is by a study of Indian antiquities that the fact of the influence of Hellenic culture on the religion, poetry, science, philosophy, and the arts of the Ancient Indians has been discovered. Greek ideas, working on Indian soil, exercised a marked influence on and modified the arts of the Ancient Indians, and this fact is nowhere more patent than in the lithic evidence of antique

sculptures that have from time to time been unearthed all over India. It is by a study of the Arabic and the Persian inscriptions found all over Northern India, and especially in Bengal, that Professor Blochmann was able to construct a trustworthy history of the latter province under the Mahomedan *regime*. Thus it will be seen that the construction of a history of Ancient India has been rendered possible by the existence of the sculptured evidence of ancient monuments and inscriptions and by the numismatic testimony of ancient coins found in coin-troves unearthed in various parts of India. Mr. Colebrooke very truly observed:—"In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern, history of the Hindu race, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments, and especially inscriptions on stone and metal, which are occasionally discovered through various accidents. If these be carefully preserved and diligently examined, and the facts ascertained from them be judiciously employed towards elucidating the scattered information which can yet be collected from the remains of Indian literature, a satisfactory progress may be finally made in investigating the history of the Hindus." The discoveries of Assyrian sculptures in the mounds of Nineveh and Babylon by M. Botta and Mr. Layard have laid the foundation of the science of Assyriology or the science of Assyrian antiquities. The researches of Dr. Oppert, Sayce, Birch, and others have led to the discovery of the key to the cuneiform or the arrow-shaped inscriptions found carved on Assyrian sculptures and on the wondrous remains of Persepolis. From the successful deciphering of these inscriptions many important facts regarding the past history of Assyria—one of the greatest monarchies of the ancient world—have been elicited. Thus the construction of a history of Assyria in the absence of written chronicles has been rendered possible by the study of Assyrian antiquities. Collections of bricks, cylinders, coins, inscriptions, sculptures and other Assyrian antiquities have been formed in the great museums of Paris and London, *viz.*, the Louvre and the British Museum. These collections afford ample materials for study to students of Assyriology. The discovery of the Rosetta stone at the place of that name in Upper Egypt by a French archæologist, and the deciphering of the bi-lingual inscription carved thereon by Dr. Young, furnished a key to the Hieroglyphic characters of the ancient Egyptians. These Hieroglyphics or sacred writings had for a long time puzzled the European archæologists and baffled all their attempts at deciphering them. When the key to these mysterious picture-writings, which were found

inscribed on the ancient monuments of Egypt, was discovered in the Rosetta stone, and, by means of which these sacred picture-writings were deciphered, a flood of light was thrown on the ancient history of Egypt. This at once led to the foundation of a distinct branch of archæological study, namely, Egyptology, or, the science of Egyptian antiquities. Thus the construction of a history of ancient Egypt has been rendered possible by the study of Egyptian antiquities. Collections of papyri, coins, inscriptions, sculptures and other Egyptian antiquities exist in the Louvre at Paris, in the British Museum at London, and in the Royal Museum at Berlin. From the study of the antiquities in these national collections, English and continental savants have been able to contribute much towards the elucidation of many dark problems in the history of Ancient Egypt. The museum at Boulaq, near Cairo, is particularly rich in Egyptian "memories of the past," and is the great centre of Egyptological researches. A French archæological school has been founded there, on the model of the French archæological school at Athens, for furthering the cause of Egyptological researches. Under the leadership of such accomplished French Egyptologists as MM Maspero and Bouriant, the French have already done much in throwing light on the past history of the Ancient Egyptians, which was formerly enveloped in the mists and haze of antiquity. Both Assyriological and Egyptological researches have thrown considerable light on the solution of many dark problems in Scriptural history. Many of the events narrated in the Bible have been strangely enough confirmed by the evidence derived from the decipherment of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions, and thus the foundation of a distinct branch of archæological study, namely, Biblical Archaeology, has been laid. Besides the elucidation of historical questions, the study of archæology is interesting to the student of archaic art. The study of antique sculptures has thrown a flood of light on the state and progress of art in ancient times. It is by a study of these sculptures that it has come to be discovered that the ancient Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Hindus, the Greeks, and the Romans had made considerable progress in, and had carried to great perfection, the art of carving. The delicacy of finish and the elaboration of details in many of the antique sculptures shew to what a point of perfection the ancients had carried the art of sculpture. It is by a study of archæology that it has been discovered that the great nations of antiquity had attained to a considerable knowledge of the builder's art or architecture. The Parthenon at Athens, the Pantheon at Rome, the

Pyramids of Egypt, the great palaces of Nineveh, the cave-temples and other religious structures of India, excite the admiration and the wonder of the whole world ; while the temples of Luxor and Thebes and the Stupas or topes of India abundantly prove the perfect knowledge of the principles of architecture to which the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Indians had attained. It is by a study of archæology that it has come to be discovered that the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Indians had considerable skill in engineering science. Modern engineers cannot explain how the huge menoliths of Egypt and the stupendous stones of which the temple of Juggernath is constructed, could have been transported from the places where they were quarried to the places of building, by these ancient nations, with their deficient engineering appliances. The ancient Indians were also adepts in painting, specimens of which still exist in the cave-temples of Western India and of Ajanta and also at Bâgh in Malwa. But the delineations of the human form in these paintings shew the utter ignorance of the ancient Indians of the elementary principles of anatomy of the human frame. From the above it will be abundantly evident that the study of archæology is fraught with interest in more ways than one. It will also be abundantly evident that national archæological collections, are of great importance for the study of the history and the art of ancient times. Thus it will be seen that as a preliminary condition of the successful study of Indian archæology, a collection of objects illustrative of archæology in all its branches, is necessary. The nucleus of such a study-collection already exists in Calcutta in the archæological department of the Indian Museum. Now, the object of this essay is to show what deficiencies exist in these collections, and what objects should be acquired and exhibited in order to render the archæological department of this Museum a completely representative study-collection worthy of the metropolis of British India. The archæological department of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, includes specimens illustrative only of the following branches of Indian archæology, viz., general archæology, prehistoric archæology and epigraphy, while the other and the most important branch of archæology, namely numismatics, is totally unrepresented. This utter absence of numismatic objects from the exhibition galleries of the archæological department of the Museum detracts from the merits of the Indian Museum of Calcutta as the finest and the richest museum in the whole of Asia. It enjoys an European reputation. But it is a pity that the Trustees of our national Museum should have overlooked such an important point as the addition and exhibition of a thoroughly representative

numismatic collection from all parts of India. This institution was established in 1886, under Act XVII of that year, for the purpose of being devoted, to quote the words of the Act, "to collections illustrative of Indian archæology and of the several branches of natural history, and, in part, to the preservation and exhibition of other objects of interest, whether historical or physical, &c." From the above extract, it will be perceived that the Government of India intended the archæological department of the Museum to be thoroughly illustrative of all the branches of Indian archæology including numismatics. How far all these branches have been illustrated in the Museum can be best inferred from the entire neglect of the claim which numismatics, which is by far the most important branch of Indian archæology, has for illustration in it. That numismatics is an important branch of archæology goes without saying. But this important branch is not at all represented. Indeed, the visitor to the Museum, in walking through the four great galleries, to wit, the Asoka, the Indo-Saythian, the Gupta and the Mahomedan and inscription galleries into which the archæological collections in the Museum have been divided, will be agreeably surprised to find the gate-way of the famous *stupa* of Bharat, discovered by General Cunningham, and which is inscribed with scenes illustrative of the Buddhist *yatakas* or birth-stories, the friezes of the rock-cut temples of Orissa described by Dr. Mitra in his *magnum opus* the "Antiquities of Orissa," the capitals of the pillars from Mathura, the antique statues from Patna or Palibothra of the ancients, the Yusufzai Sculptures from the Punjab, the Buddha-Gaya sculptures described by Dr. R. Mitra in his truly magnificent work on "Buddha-Gaya or the Hermitage of Sakya Muni," architectural remains from Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal under the Pál and the Sena Kings, and numerous other sculptures of great beauty and interest too numerous to be mentioned here. But the visitor is doomed to disappointment if he expects to find coins exhibited here. Coins are closely related to books, the only difference being that the former are made of metal, while the latter are written upon paper. But, nevertheless, coins are as interesting as written histories. The inscriptions on the coins are as valuable for fixing the dates of events, for throwing light on the little-known periods in the history of a country, as are the chronicles handed down to posterity by historians. In fact, they are far more authentic than written chronicles, because the records inscribed on them remain unaltered by the lapse of ages, while written histories may be altered by the writers to suit their own class prejudice or party-bias. In short,

coins may be designated as fragments of history written on metal. It is by a study of these that the names of princes unknown to history have been brought to light. It is from the finds of Roman coins in Southern India that historians have come to the conclusion that there must have existed commercial intercourse between Ancient India and Ancient Rome in the days of yore. The study of coins also discovers to us the state of the art of coinage among the ancient Indians. The coins of early Indian mintage display very slight pretensions to artistic merit, being more blanks of metal inscribed with legends in rude and cramped characters and often bearing a rude caricature of the human face divine and other symbols. From this it would appear that the ancient Indian die-cutters never attained to any great degree of perfection in the art of coining. They always failed to produce a true likeness of the human form. From these facts it will be evident what importance is to be attached to these interesting relics of bygone days. The researches of eminent numismatists like Wilson, Prinsep, Mackenzie, Cunningham, Mitra, &c., are too well known to be repeated here. It is true the Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses one of the finest cabinets of coins in existence, but it is to be remembered that it is not accessible to the public at large. Even some of the provincial museums of India possess good collections of coins which we exhibited to the public. The Government Central Museum at Madras possesses a fairly representative collection of coins from all parts of India. This collection is especially rich in gold coins of the Roman Cæsars, silver coins of the Mamelukes of Egypt, and the coins of the Bactrian Kings. Large additions are being constantly made to the collection. Last year this collection received large additions "including a gold coin of Taj-ud-din Yildiz; coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, Lysias, Rajnabala, Spativises and Azes, Abdaguses, Orthagues, Lionises, Kadphises, I. and Kadaphes; several new types of Mysore coins, and a collection of copper coins found at Kilakarai on the Madura coast." Even the small Provincial Museum at Lucknow has a good collection of coins, "which received a large number of additions last year, viz., 24 gold including Gupta and Deva coins; 148 silver including pieces of the earliest Hindu period and of the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Sassandan period, and the rest of Mahomedan mintages; and 879 copper coins comprising 257 Buddhist and 41 of the Mitra Dynasty, 378 of the Indo-Bactrian Kings, and the rest miscellaneous coins. From the foregoing facts, it would appear that the interests of numismatics—that important branch of Indian archæology—are not neglected even in the Provincial Museums

while it is to be regretted that our national museum, endowed as it is with the richest collection of specimens available in India, is without any coin collections among its archæological treasures. The Treasure-Trove Act (being Act VI of 1878) was no doubt passed for the purpose of providing for the examination of coins found in coin-troves discovered all over India by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and for their ultimate distribution to the principal museums of India. No doubt, under the provisions of the above-mentioned Act, many coins have been presented to the Indian Museum. The Archæological Survey of India has, from time to time, presented coins to the Museum: 506 specimens of coins belonging to 20 different classes, comprising among them several coins of great interest, were presented to it by the Survey last year. From these it would appear that the nucleus of a numismatic collection already exists in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, but it is more than we can tell why this collection is not exhibited to the public at large. It is high time that a coin-room, similar to the one existing in the British Museum at London, should be opened in this Museum for the purpose of exhibiting the coin-collections possessed by it. Several valuable collections of coins have been in the market lately, as, for instance, the Gibbs Collection, which was allowed to leave this country because no purchaser could be found for it. The Trustees of the Indian Museum could very well have removed the reproach from the Metropolis by buying it for the Museum under their charge. It behoves the Government of India, as well as the Trustees of the Indian Museum, to secure a good collection for our national Museum, which will complete its archæological department, and at the same time add to its attraction and interest.

The next branch of archæology which the visitor will find represented in its galleries is Prehistoric Archæology. The visitor who takes any interest in such things will find that, in the middle of the great Gupta Gallery, there are some cases filled with fragments of pottery, bones, flint, weapons and other relics of the prehistoric ages. The fragments of pottery, bones, and stone implements; the study of this mass of prehistoric relics now in the Indian Museum has thrown a flood of light on the history of India during the prehistoric ages. The results of researches into this small collection of prehistoric materials have been embodied in a paper by Mr. J. Wood-Mason, the well-known Superintendent of the Indian Museum, which was read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, last year.

We next come to the third branch of Indian Archæology, namely, Epigraphy or Inscriptions. This branch is also ably well

represented in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The visitor will be agreeably surprised to find a gallery in the Museum specially devoted to the exhibition of inscriptions from all parts of India, among which he will find two slabs of stone inscribed with the famous edicts of Asoka, prohibiting the slaughter of animals throughout his dominions. He will also find many slabs of marble inscribed with Persian and Arabic inscriptions and several inscriptions in the Kawi character of Singapore. This portion of the archaeological collection cannot very easily be increased because most of the inscriptions that have been and are still being discovered are carved on rocks and on buildings and on stones not easily removable. Hence they cannot be removed at all and *have to be left in situ*. Those that are carved on sculptures and on small slabs of stone or marble are easily removable and hence the majority of inscriptions in this Museum are found carved on statues, bas-reliefs, medallions and pillars. Notwithstanding this difficulty, many inscriptions were added to the Lucknow Museum last year; and a very interesting inscription of the time of the Mahārājāh Toramāna Shāh, which was discovered by Mr. O'Dwyer in the Salt Range, has been sent to the Lahore Central Museum. All these inscriptions should have been sent to the imperial collection at Calcutta and only plastercasts of them should have been retained in those provincial museums. It is high time that both the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum and the Government of India should issue orders for the transmission of all inscriptions discovered throughout India to the Indian Museum at Calcutta, so that the nucleus of the collection of epigraphic specimens possessed by it may be increased. These inscriptions have been of great use in elucidating many of the dark problems in Indian history. In the absence of written histories, these inscriptions have been the means whereby many breaks in the history of this country have been filled up. Lastly, it is by the decipherment of these inscriptions that many of the brilliant discoveries in the history of India and of the surrounding countries have been made. Some of the most brilliant discoveries in Indian Philology also have been made by the study of these inscriptions. It was through the researches of that famous antiquarian Mr. James Prinsep that the discoveries of the Arian and the Indian Pali alphabets were made. The Indian Pali alphabet, in its several stages of development, namely, the Kutila, the Gupta and the Asoka characters, is the parent of the modern Devanagari alphabet. Indeed, upon these two discoveries is based all our knowledge of the art of archaic writing, the language and the history of India.

Next we come to antiquities in general. The visitor's attention is especially directed to the series of Hindu sculptures from Java which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Hindus had at one time visited even the inmost parts of Java. The collection of general antiquities in the Indian Museum may be considerably increased if all the specimens which are unearthed in all parts of India are transferred to it. But some of these specimens are coined off from India for sale in Europe or for presentation to European Museums. The rest are all sent to the Provincial Museums of India to be stored there in obscure nooks and corners. But some remedy for the former evil has been already devised. All students of Indian archæology will be glad to learn that the attention of the Government of India has at last been drawn to the shameful way in which objects of antiquarian interest have been taken away from this country. They should all be grateful to Colonel Keith, the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India, for having been instrumental in drawing the Government's attention to this scandalous practice. It is a well known fact that discoveries of treasure-troves, coins, Buddhist, Jain and other antique sculptures, copper-plate grants, inscriptions on stones, and prehistoric weapons are being frequently made all over India. The majority of these objects find their way into the hands of private collectors who either dispose of or present them to European cabinets of antiquities, or if they happen to be coins and fall into the hands of natives, they are, invariably, sent to the melting-pot to be made up into ornaments. But few of them, at times, find their resting-place in some Museum in India. The Archaeological Survey of India was organized, I believe, for the purpose of preserving the ancient monuments of India, for the purpose of exploring the ruins of ancient towns, and for collecting all objects of antiquarian interest that might be discovered in the course of making excavations and for depositing them in some Museum in India. It would appear that the objects discovered by the Archaeological Survey of India in the course of its operations are not always deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, for to this effect is the complaint made by Dr. J. Anderson, late Superintendent of that Museum. In complaining that many of the important objects, including the copper-plate discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at Indore Khera in the Goruckpore district, have not been deposited by him in the said Museum, Dr. Anderson says: "It would have been as well had Mr. Carlleyle stated in Vol. XII, where the copper-plate and other discoveries have been deposited, so that they might have become accessible to students of archæology, and this remark is applicable

to a very large proportion of the objects described in the reports of the Archaeological Survey. It would be an advantage to Archaeology were the Survey to publish a list of the objects incidentally mentioned, described and figured in the Fifteen Volumes of Reports stating whether the specimens, sculptures, coins, &c., mentioned in the reports, and in some instances figured, were left *in situ*, or if removed where they were deposited." (Anderson's Hand-Book to the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Vol. p. 123, foot-note). To this effect also are the observations made in 1887 by E. T. Atkinsons, Esq. C.S., in his presidential address delivered before the Asiatic Society of Bengal: "It is understood that all coins, sculptures, and other antiquarian objects collected by the staff (of the Archaeological Survey) shall be strictly considered as State property, and shall belong to the principal Museum of the circle; but arrangements may be made for certain exceptions (including duplicates) in favour of the Indian Imperial Museum and also for exchanges and costs. I can only hope that these arrangements may have a liberal tendency in so far as they affect the Indian Museum." Again, in speaking of the antiquities discovered by Mr. Harris in excavating the ruins of Sultangunge in the Bhagulpore district, Dr. Anderson complains that a large copper statue of Buddha discovered there had been carried off from India and presented to the Aston Park Museum where it remained for several years, but was removed in 1886 to the Central Free Library, Birmingham, where it still remains. It is to be regretted that objects of antiquarian interest discovered in India should be rendered inaccessible to Indian students of archaeology by being thus taken out of the country. The Government of India should promulgate orders calling upon the several Provincial Governments and Administrations to direct the attention of the district officers under them to the necessity of taking some sort of precaution whereby such objects, wherever discovered in India, may be secured for some Museum in India. All coins discovered in Northern India are, under the provisions of the Act No VI of 1888 (Treasure-trove Act), forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for examination and distribution to the principal Museums of India, so some such law should be enacted providing for the transmission of all sculptures and other antiquarian objects discovered in India to the abovementioned Society for examination, and, should they be of great historical interest, for deposit in the Indian Imperial Museum at Calcutta. It is, I believe, the practice in England to deposit all important Zoological and other Scientific collections acquired by the English nation in the Natural History Museum at

South Kensington, all important 'archæological collections in the British Museum in Great Bloomsbury Square, and all important art collections in the South Kensington Museum. As the nucleus of an Imperial archæological collection has been formed in the archæological department of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, all important archæological objects discovered throughout India should be deposited in the said collection. In this connection it will not be out of place to draw the Government of India's attention to another fact. At present the Lahore Museum contains a very important collection of antiquities discovered by the late Dr. Bellew in the Punjab, while the important Buddhist and Jain sculptures, lately unearthed at Mathura, have been deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. All these collections are of great value to the student of Indian archæology, and it is a pity that they should have been deposited in these insignificant Provincial Museums only to satisfy the curiosity of sight-seers, instead of being sent to the imperial collection at Calcutta where they might have formed an interesting subject of study to some student of archæology. It behoves the Government of India to remove all these original sculptures, if practicable, and plaster-cast models of all these sculptures, the originals of which cannot be easily removed, now stored away in the Museums at Lahore, Lucknow, Madras, Bombay, Agra, Delhi and Nagpore, to the National Indian Museum at Calcutta, in order to complete its archæological department, and also to make them easily accessible for study purposes.

S. C. MITRA, M.A., B.L.



.BUDDHISM, POSITIVISM AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

III.

IN order to do justice to the line of reasoning pursued by the late John Stuart Mill in the matter of causation, it is but fair that his ideas on the subject should, as far as possible, be laid before the reader in his own words. He begins, by premising that—

When in the course of this inquiry I speak of the cause of any phenomenon, I do not mean a cause which is not itself a phenomenon; I make no research into the ultimate or ontological cause of anything. To adopt a distinction familiar in the writings of the Scotch metaphysicians, and especially of Reid, the causes with which I concern myself are not *efficient*, but *physical* causes. They are causes in that sense alone, in which one physical fact is said to be the cause of another. Of the efficient causes of phenomena, or whether any such causes exist at all, I am not called upon to give an opinion. The notion of causation is deemed, by the schools of metaphysics most in vogue at the present moment, to imply a mysterious and most powerful tie, such as cannot, or at least does not, exist between any physical fact and that other physical fact on which it is invariably consequent, and which is popularly termed its cause: and thence is deduced the supposed necessity of ascending higher, into the essences and inherent constitution of things, to find the true cause, the cause which is not only followed by, but actually produces, the effect. No such necessity exists for the purposes of the present inquiry, nor will any such doctrine be found in the following pages. The only notion of a cause, which the theory of induction requires, is such a notion as can be gained from experience. The Law of Causation, the recognition of which is the main pillar of inductive science, is but the familiar truth, that invariability of succession is found by observation to obtain between every fact in nature and some other fact which has preceded it; independently of all considerations respecting the ultimate mode of production of phenomena, and of every other question regarding the nature of "Things in themselves."

There are some passages in the above quotation which deserve particular notice.

The contrast between efficient and physical causes looks rather strange in the light of the modern doctrine of the Conservation of Energy. We are here given to understand beforehand, and as a

matter of course, that the fact of a cause being known as physical is quite sufficient to stamp it as inefficient, the virtue of causal efficiency being exclusively reserved for causes which take their origin in the human will. Not less strange is the statement that "the notion of causation is deemed, by the schools of metaphysics most in vogue at the present moment, to imply a mysterious and most powerful tie, such as cannot, or at least does not, exist between any physical fact and that other physical fact which is popularly termed its cause." Having been assured by the author in a paragraph preceding the above that he does not feel called upon to give an opinion of the efficient causes of phenomena, or whether any such causes exist at all, we cannot wonder enough at being told, almost in the same breath, that there cannot, or at least there does not, exist any tie between antecedent and consequent phenomena. The tie between two such phenomena, we know by this time, to exist, and to consist moreover in the transmutation of the one physical force constituting the cause into another physical force, or rather into another form of physical force, constituting the effect. There is nothing occult, neither anything powerful beyond measure in this tie; the power revealing itself in the Cause being in each and every case the exact equivalent of the power revealing itself in the Effect.

Never before in the history of mankind have the schools of metaphysics so fully triumphed over their adversaries, the empirics, as in this our generation, when the doctrine of the Convertibility of physical Forces has become firmly and empirically established. The tie that had been derided by many as being metaphysical has been proved to be physical in its nature from beginning to end. Altogether it has proved to be a case confirming once more the law presiding over the march of human progress, as enunciated by one of the greatest teachers of men; the law namely, that there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and hid, that shall not be known.

And John Stuart Mill who, by the time the eighth edition of his *System of Logic* appeared (in the year 1872), was fully aware of what was going on in the domain of Natural Philosophy—John Stuart Mill has nothing but a pitiful smile for the school of metaphysics of his time and for the mysterious tie their doctrine of causation implies!—Of course he did not choose to accept the modern doctrine of Conservation of Energy in the sense as it was, and still is, understood in the scientific world, and he gave us, in this very same edition of his book, his reasons for it. His arguments on the subject shall be given in full, in the further course of these articles.

Meanwhile it is worth noticing that he did not seem to entirely rely on those arguments of his; for he took at the same time a second line of defence. And it is this second defence which shall occupy first our attention, for it is a defence easily disposed of, for the simple reason, that it is a defence that defeats itself. Here are his words, as they stand at page 406 :

It is proper to consider whether the adoption of this theory (of Conservation of Physical Energy) as a scientific truth, involving as it does a change in the conception hitherto entertained of the most general physical agencies, requires any modification in the view I have taken of Causation as a law of nature. As it appears to me, none whatever. The manifestations which the theory regards as modes of motion, are as much distinct and separate phenomena when referred to a single force, as when attributed to several. Whether the phenomenon is called a transformation of force or the generation of one, it has its own set or sets of antecedents, with which it is connected by invariable and unconditional sequence; and that set, or those sets, of antecedents, are its cause.

Now it appears to me that the contents of these lines are totally incompatible with what has gone before concerning the powerful and mysterious tie. The question between the school of John Stuart Mill on the one side, and of the metaphysicians of old and the modern physicists on the other, is not, nor ever was, whether the cause is really antecedent to the effect or not; neither was there ever any dispute whether or not cause and effect are distinct and separate phenomena; nor was there any difference of opinion as to whether or not cause and effect are connected with each other by invariable and unconditional sequence. All this was taken for granted by the contending parties; most of it is even self-understood to such a degree that it is not worth while making mention of it. The question in dispute was, whether sequence was the only connection, say the only tie, between cause and effect; or whether there is some other tie, called mysterious and powerful, between two such adjacent phenomena. A transformation of force would most decidedly establish the existence of such a tie or connection; while a generation of a phenomenon—well I must confess, generation of a phenomenon is a term I do not distinctly understand, and I doubt very much, whether John Stuart Mill used the term with a distinct understanding of its meaning. If the term is to express the fact of one phenomenon rising out of another—its antecedent; then the existence of a tie between cause and effect would be conceded—conceded in favor of the metaphysical and modern schools, and there would be an end of the whole dispute. If, on the other hand, the term is merely to convey the

meaning of rising into existence, or becoming, irrespective of the source from, or the mode by which the rising into existence or the becoming has taken place; then the difference between the theory of transformation and that of generation of phenomena is as wide as ever; the one insisting upon a causal tie or connection of the efficient type between adjacent phenomena, while the other insists as forcibly upon ignoring or even denying any connection beyond that of adjacency. But then, what becomes of the assertion that the adoption of one theory, of the theory of the Conservation of Energy, does not require, any modification in the view taken on the subject of Causation by the Positivist school.

Let it then be understood once for all, that compromise between the two antagonistic views regarding causation is out of the question. Either the theory of Conservation of Energy must be abandoned, or the followers and defenders of Auguste Comte and John Stuart Mill must be looked upon as so many living antiquities.

Before examining the only line of defence left to the positivist in the matter of causation, it is worth while to enquire first, in what manner John Stuart Mill tried to meet some of the arguments urged in the previous paper against Auguste Comte and his doctrines. Like the latter, John Stuart Mill does not believe in a Unity of Nature, nor in a unity in Nature. For he tells us that, "The uniformity in the succession of events, otherwise called the law of causation, must be received not as the law of the universe, but of that portion of it only which is within the range of our means of sure observation, with a reasonable degree of extension to adjacent cases." And again, "A man accustomed to abstraction and analysis, who will fairly exert his faculties for the purpose, will, when his imagination has once learned to entertain the notion, find no difficulty in conceiving that in some one, for instance, of the many firmaments into which sidereal astronomy now divides the universe, events may succeed one another at random without any fixed law." On the other hand we had occasion to see, that, unlike Auguste Comte, J. S. Mill held fast to the law of causation, as far it can be made to go; but, even within its prescribed limits, the law was to be made harmless by a reducing process of definition. "The law of Causation," we are told in one place, "is but the familiar truth, that invariability of succession is found by observation to obtain between every fact in nature and some other fact which has preceded it." In another place the author defines it, "As the truth that, every fact which has a beginning has a cause"—that is to say an antecedent. The difficulty, so much dreaded by Auguste Comte,

concerning the First Cause, has thus been done away with, in the hands of J. S. Mill by one stroke of the pen. The law of Causation as can be seen from the above definition, does not exclude the possibility of a First Cause. Altogether we must make up our minds, if we want to stand by the law, to have it shorn of any connotation of necessity, to have its general validity curtailed besides. Of course, it is all done for the sake of truth; it would be of no use, in fact it would be mischievous, to proclaim a general law that is to be broader than empirical truth would allow.

Not only is the law of Causation as understood by John Stuart Mill compatible with the existence of a First Cause, but even with the existence of Primeval Causes, or, as he sometimes calls them, Permanent Causes.

The sun, the earth, and planets, with their various constituents, air, water, and other distinguishable substances, whether simple or compound, of which nature is made up, are such Permanent Causes. These have existed, and the effects or consequences which they were fitted to produce have taken place (as often as the other conditions of the production met,) from the very beginning of our experience. But we can give no account of the origin of the Permanent Causes themselves. Why these particular natural agents existed originally and no others, or why they are commingled in such and such proportions, and distributed in such and such a manner throughout space, is a question we cannot answer. More than this; we can discover nothing regular in the distribution itself; we can reduce it to no uniformity, to no law. There are no means by which, from the distribution of those causes or agents in one part of space, we could conjecture whether a similar distribution prevails in another. The coexistence, therefore, of Primeval Causes, ranks, to us, among merely casual concurrences.

When we come closely to inspect the law of Causation as expounded by Mill, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that a law so clipped and trimmed and hedged in, hardly deserves the attribute of a generalisation; it may be even doubtful whether the truth it is supposed to contain deserves the name of a law?

Mill himself was not quite unmindful that there was something in his mode of presenting causation which is not the right thing. In fact he says, "this generalisation (of the law of Causation) may appear to some minds not to amount to much, since after all it asserts only this, 'it is a law that every event depends on some law;' 'it is a law that there is a law for everything that has yet come under our observation.'" But he nevertheless tells us, that "We must not conclude that the generality of the principle is merely verbal;" he assures us moreover that "it will be found on inspection to be no vague or unmeaning assertion, but a most important and really fundamental truth." A fundamental truth no doubt it is. Is it a

fundamental law? That is the question. A law, according to John Stuart Mill's own definition, is to express the nature of a regularity—not the mere fact of the existence of a regularity. And yet this very same John Stuart Mill insists upon speaking of Causation as a law, though he knows no more of it, than the mere fact that phenomena observe regularity in their succession. Neither can such a truth ever deserve the name of a generalisation. A general truth no doubt it is; even in its curtailed form; ceased, as it has to be universal, it is still as broad as our observation goes—a vast area indeed. But by the term generalisation we understand more than a mere truth capable of expansion, or even proved to be co-extensive with all phenomena; what we understand by the term is a *law* that has been proved to be such, that other laws of less extensive a character may be resolved into it. A generalisation must then before all be a law; and since causation as understood by Mill, is not expressive of a law, but of a mere truth, it is evident that it can never aspire to the title of a generalisation, nor can there ever be a law that might be resolved into, or subsumed under it. In a word, Causation as understood by Mill has all the elements of generality in the truth it proposes, but none of a generalisation.

At first sight it might appear that the whole question, as to whether causation is to represent a law or a mere truth, a generalisation or a mere generality, is but a question that turns more upon words than upon the essential issue of the subject under discussion. On a close examination it can however be shown that such is not the case.

And before all, let us do justice to Auguste Comte where justice and homage is due to him. Although he, like John Stuart Mill, took the reality of phenomena, and the invariable relations of their succession for granted, he did not commit the mistake of proclaiming this very invariability of relations as a law, far less as a generalisation. This is the more remarkable as he understood full well, that without a generalisation capable of including all known phenomena, his cherished system of the Positive Philosophy could not be pronounced perfect. It was clear to him that a generalisation must before all be expressive of a fact—such as gravitation for instance—and not of a mere regularity of facts, such as the invariable relations of phenomena with regard to their succession and resemblance presents us with.

We have seen before how difficult it is to believe in the uniformity of Nature without a belief in some sort of unity between the varied phenomena. If causality is to be abandoned, there remains but one other way in which to account for the invariableness of the

relations between phenomena, and that is, by supposing that they, without the one being caused by the other, represent in their various aspects, one and the same fact—the fact designed by the name of a generalisation. Generalisation, said Sir William Hamilton, is the apprehension of the one in the many. Buddha's generalisation of Continuous Change and Tendency to Change is a generalisation in this sense. The continuous change being, moreover, understood, according to the law of *Karma*, to operate in such a manner, that the effect, in all cases, is adequate to the cause, we have here a generalisation in every sense of the term. Causation as understood by Mill, on the other hand, not only fails to express the nature of a general regularity; it is even defective as a generalisation in the Hamiltonian sense of the term, for the simple reason that it is, at best, a generalisation that carries its own restriction, not to say its own negation. A law, if law it be, that tells us "that there is a law for everything," tells us at the same time, that everything has its own law, and that there is, so far, no generalisation possible.—Some such ideas were undoubtedly present in the mind of Auguste Comte, when he declared the Positive Philosophy to be imperfect, as long as it could not be shown that the various phenomena were merely particular aspects of a single general fact. By the time he had published his Catechism he had, as we have seen before, come to learn that there is no chance of ever establishing a generalisation of the kind wanted for the perfection of his system of Philosophy; in consistence with himself he gave up all belief in a real, objective unity in Nature. How his Positivism fared after that, with its fundamental dogma "of the subjection of all phenomena of whatever order to invariable relations"—we have had occasion to see in the previous article.

And it is just here that John Stuart Mill appears to have stolen a march, first upon himself, then upon his readers, adherents and pupils. Having like Comte, given up the conception of causality in the only sense in which it could account for uniformity in Nature; having denied the existence of unity in Nature, he still made himself and others believe that there is a generalisation that holds the universe as far as is known to us, in good order—the generalisation of what he called the law of Causation.

There remains yet to be noticed what must be considered the most vulnerable point of Positivism, be it the Positivism of an Auguste Comte or the Positivism of a John Stuart Mill. Both agree in denying, or at least in ignoring, efficient causation; both have renounced the belief in the unity of Nature; yet, both

believe, as a matter of course, in the reality of the surrounding world, and in the uniformity of the course of Nature. On the other hand neither of them has ever given a satisfactory explanation, as to how they came to their belief, or how the belief did come to them. We have seen in the preceding article what Comte had to say on the subject. As to Mill, "The associations, naturally and even necessarily generated by the regular order of our sensations and our reminiscences of our sensations" account for our belief in an external world. Necessarily generated! We have seen before how Mill played upon the ambiguous term of "generation," and we are here presented with a second, similar specimen of the same play. Necessarily generated—is this not as much as efficiently caused?—Well, of course it is not; and so let us pass on. We are then to derive our belief in the (reality of the external world, and especially our belief in the) uniformity in the course of Nature from the regularity of the association of our ideas, as generated by the regular order of our sensations and our reminiscences thereof. Such associations of ideas are no doubt as real as our consciousness; but unfortunately, sensations as such and the consciousness of such sensations, are mere mental realities. We are then, after all, still as far as ever, from a rational belief in the reality of a physical world; unless there is yet another "generation" to come—the necessary generation of sensations by objects of the outer world. But this would put an end to the positivist conception of causation altogether. Rather than admit this, the Positivist prefers to build his belief in the objective reality of the cosmos, on the sure foundation of his subjective sensations and his consciousness thereof. That consciousness is the only source of our knowledge, is true enough. But the question is, How far does our consciousness extend? Causation, rightly understood, expands our inner consciousness over as large a portion of the universe as is accessible to our direct observation. We are conscious of the sun, the moon and the stars, because we are conscious of the modification of our inner sense, whenever we are struck by the sight of their lights in the firmament. The consciousness of the Positivist is, at its best, a shrunken thing, beginning and ending with his subjectivity. He believes, it is true, that there is, besides himself, a world around him; he believes this, however, not because he feels that he and the world around him are one; he believes it, on the strength of a conclusion, derived from his subjective sensations—a conclusion which he believes to be correct.—There has never been a philosophical system proclaimed to man, where the beginning has been so unlike the

end-conclusions, as in Positivism. Starting with the principle that experience is the only safe guide of man, it is driven by its own conclusions to admit, that all our experience is, after all, derived from second-hand conclusions.

Who can help, after this, admiring the great, prophetic wisdom of Gautama Buddha. "For man who moves in an earthly sphere, and has his place and finds his enjoyment in an earthly sphere, it will be very difficult to grasp this matter, the law of causality, the chain of causes and effects." Such are the thoughts the sage is said to have cogitated in his mind before he was about to proclaim the truth of deliverance from ignorance and error to the world at large.

L. SALZER.

HOPE.

(*From the German of Geibel.*)

Tho' ruthless winter threatens keen,
Wide scattering ice and snow,
Despite his wild and angry mien,
Spring-flowers will bud and blow.
And tho' thick mists their curtain rear,
Athwart the sun's bright eye,
A moment,—and its glances clear,
The earth will vivify. °
Blow on, O freezing gale, blow on,—
I do not care for thee,
The spring will come ere night be gone,
With lightsome steps and free.
The earth will wake all clad in green,
—She so depress'd erewhile,—
And wonder at her beauty's sheen,
And smile a winsome smile.
Her hair engarlanded will gleam,
With roses fresh and gay;
And, full with tears of joy, the stream
In music speed away.
Therefore, my heart, tho' storms may bring
Thick darkness,—be thou strong!
The promised glorious morn of spring,
Will dawn on us ere long.
Tho' doubts now make thee sore afraid,
And, panting for release,
Thou droop'st,—be thou undismay'd,
My God will send thee Peace.

O. C. DUTT.

THE NATIONAL DEBT OF ENGLAND.

As Mr. Goschen's budget has excited a good deal of interest in India, and adverse criticism has been provoked, I have thought that a survey of the question would not be uninteresting to many of your readers; though the subject is a dry one. Looked at as an abstract theory, it seems evident that it is just as beneficial for a nation to be out of debt as it is for an individual; but if we look at it as a question of fact it does not appear so clear. As a question of fact it presents many sides to view.

Voltaire once, a long time ago, wrote upon economy, about which some people say he knew little, he then took occasion to sneer at the Patriarch Abraham. This is not at all wonderful. Out of the many hundred articles in his *Philosophical Dictionary* there are very few, in which he does not gird at revealed religion; and he thought it all fair and reasonable at all times and in all places to question the ways and workings of the Almighty. He is very much against Abraham and his domestic economy. He shows with his usual sarcasm that Esau and Jacob left that miserable Holy Land, probably because they could not be fed by the domestic economy; and he is exceedingly witty when contrasting Abraham and the patriarchs who grew rich in that infertile desert with a French farmer of Auvergne. The life of Abraham, or the life of Jacob, by no means agrees with that of a rich Auvergne, with his fine house, his vast granges and no less vast stables, his hundreds of acres of wheat, his acres of green food, his acres of vines, his hives of bees, his woods, his plantations of mulberry-trees for silk worms, and other matters. Poor Abraham and Jacob, who lived in tents and drove their flocks a field, melt into insignificance before the substantial French farmer. "Pish!" cries a Voltairean, as he throws Jacob and Abraham to the winds. But as it happens the very engine by which Voltaire sought to demolish the truth establishes it. We know that the Bedouins exist now as did Jacob, and that Jacob's domestic economy could not have "run on all fours" with what M. de Voltaire conceived a comfortable farmer with flocks and herds should establish. It is


best to take the Bible as it is ; its domestic economy is perfectly true. It is possible that Cræsus or the great King Solomon with all their treasures could not have sustained such a national debt as that under which Queen Victoria, feels very comfortable.

I have referred to Voltaire's writings, because in the same article, he has something to say, to his own satisfaction, of England's National Debt. He says, that in 1770, one-hundred and seventeen years ago, twenty-three years before '93 and the tremendous Revolution, France was farmed better than England, and that its people could bear their burdens more easily ; adding, " the immense debts of England and France promise for these nations not a total ruin or long decay, but continued evils, and very likely a grand overthrow." There were, he said, twenty millions of people in France, and eight millions in England. What with paper money and funded debt, France owed two-hundred and fifty-four millions of *louis d' or's*—which say is equivalent to English guineas ; England owed one-hundred and thirty millions of pounds sterling : but, compared to France, England was so backward in agriculture and commerce that progress would bring her great advantages. In England, too, the people were so free that every Englishman could prove—and did prove—that his King and country were going to be ruined every day ; but in France such a wild proceeding brought the assenter to the Bastille, where he proved it to the governor. The article seems fair and just ; but notwithstanding the advantages of France as enumerated, she has been outstripped in the race. In one-hundred and seventeen years England has more than quadrupled her population, made America, Canada, Australia what they are, has added India to her territories, and has raised and started her on the road to progress, has populated New Zealand and a few dozen islands, has paid off more than she then owed of her National Debt, still owes several hundred millions and is richer than ever. England is in a position to pay, for instance, by a tax equal to the money wasted on drink, the whole debt in five or six years. And she would have criminals and lunatics the less at the end of that time, and nobody the worse ; only she abhors paternal despotism. France has also done wonders—for an idea. That great and chivalrous nation is no longer first in commerce, nor in agriculture, nor in invention ; she has settled no colonies but she has destroyed millions of young lives in war ; she has reclaimed no deserts, but she has flooded the world with the barren results of scepticism ; she has not two young giants like Canada and Australia to look at and admire, but she believes in Mr. Malthus, and that children are not the gift of the Lord.

Which nation has done best? Only one knows that persons who believe in that curious old book which somebody every year tries to prove wrong will say meekly—It is the Lord's doing, and wonderful in our eyes.

But for all this advancement a debt is a debt; and England owes a great deal; but then there are thinkers who think it good for her to be in this position, such men say that the National Debt is the ballast of the ship, the bond of union, the fund-holder of much wealth that else would go abroad, and of incalculable benefit to England; where capital is already too powerful, and which holds back so many hundred millions from being spent abroad in wild speculations, or to the hurt of her workmen of small capital. There are others who look upon the debt as an evil that should be got rid of, but not as incalculable or desperate evil—by no means a millstone round the neck of the nation, but still as ballast, they can well carry, but had better do without. Certainly a great number of ladies, clergymen, honest and timid persons of modest expectations, the very backbone of the country, are benefited by it; they save money and are content with perfect safety, and as Lord Eldon phrased it, "the sweet security of the Three per Cents." For three and three and a half per cent. is what John Bull can borrow any amount of money at—and his word is his bond. It really appears that England cannot wipe away the debt if she would. It is not indeed, so much a debt as a redeemable annuity that the nation grants to Mrs. Somebody who invests her three thousand pounds to get over ninety pounds a year which she spends in the country. If she has a slightly larger income she is taxed directly; but, whether so or not, she is indirectly taxed as to her beer, wine, and tea, to pay part of her own interest—infinite-simal possibly, but still a part.

Some one asks, what right has John Bull, a rich fellow to be in debt? Simply because he is rich and industrious, and because he has been obliged to bury his money in harbours, roads, local improvements, parish work and defence. No; because he is so quarrelsome and warlike, if he was peaceable he would have no debt. Well war is a cause but not the whole cause. Let us take the Spanish Armada as an instance; the Pope blessed that devilish invasion, and set Spain and the Catholic powers upon England, and the money it cost her to meet it the nation was obliged to pay, but it is remarkable how wonderfully cheap that little work was done. The wars against the great Napoleon were undertaken to keep Europe open for England, for trade is the life-blood of her people, and Napoleon was always threatening that



nation of shop-keepers, and did close almost every port against them. The Crimean War her people would rush into, driving Lord Aberdeen out of office because he would not declare war.

"No more words—try it with our swords"—was what the people shouted in 1852. Perhaps, therefore, half of the debt was incurred by the people, half from quarrels forced on them, but, howsoever caused; war has generally been popular; and war is expensive. And as the world goes a race to preserve itself must keep up its fighting strength; and this police of England is also expensive, especially when they are dressed in the British red or in the Navy blue. England's best writers say that few nations have had fewer conscientious wars.

Although there is mention made of a National Debt in the days of Henry VI, England may be said to have been free from debt till the reign of William III, when in 1689 she owed what Mr. Mantalini would call the "ridiculously small sum" of £ 664,293. But after Dutch William's continental wars, undertaken by that sagacious monarch to protect the Protestant powers and to cripple the overwhelming power of France as well as to defend England from the return of James II, England's debt came to be five millions and the nation was alarmed. This sum Queen Anne increased to sixteen millions, and, though the nation stood higher and felt its power more, it became more and more indebted. At the close of the American war England owed nearly two hundred and fifty millions, which by '93 she had reduced by five millions. Then came the time when all Europe was startled by the uprising of France; and there can be little doubt that the English people were hurried into opposing first the Revolution and then Buonaparte from popular fear and a desire of self-preservation. The debt, which stood at two hundred and forty-four millions in 1793, at the end of the French War (1802) had reached five hundred and seventy-one millions. Then came the Napoleonic Wars; and in 1817, after Nelson's Battles, the Peninsular Campaigns, and Waterloo, the accounts when added up reached the high figure of £848,282,477. How the nation with its small population bore the strain, and yet increased in wealth and population history can tell. Great efforts were made by succeeding ministers to reduce the debt, yet in 1830 England had paid off only eight millions. The nation was quite alive to its burden and to its duty towards posterity, for which it had fought, but which it had burdened with debt. Two ways have been adopted of paying the debt—the first is by a Sinking Fund, in which any surplus of national income goes to pay off part of the debt; the

Second by Terminable Annuities. In 1860 some long Annuities fell in, and Mr. Gladstone found himself with two millions a year additional, the interest of the debt being reduced from twenty-eight to twenty-six millions. Now had the nation not been, as Pitt has it, "ignorantly impatient of taxation," and had it submitted to the imports of 1860 up to 1885 it follows that, with compound interest, nearly one hundred and twenty millions of the debt might have been paid off.

Whether the English people have ever faced the debt with a distinct intention of paying it is a question. The general feeling is that as their failure and they have paid interest, so their sons are bound to pay it. Others, as has been stated, regard the debt as not wholly evil. In fact, it seems accepted that there is actually no debt at all in the sense of having at any given time to pay it off. "The public debt," says Lord Granville, "consists not in Capital but in Annuities, and all reductions of it are not reductions of Capital but of Annuities". * * * "The annual income which the holders of stock derive from the debt, is all which is in any sense, his right—but that right is inviolable. The State has not borrowed his money at interest, under any obligation of repayment, but has sold him an Annuity." This is really the fact. Some one having saved £1,000 and, fearing to live on the capital, purchases, on the security of the state, at the price of Consols, or the consolidated funded debt, a perpetual annuity of some £35 per year, such a one, can enjoy, will away, or sell that annuity. It may have been bought at £90 per £100, and may be sold at £93 and thus the first holder having enjoyed an income for years may retire with a profit. It is plain that this security is good. The interest is spent in the country, a number of fund-holders are kept in secure but genteel poverty, those who are ailing or cautious are relieved when they choose to quit trade or business, and there are other benefits. That the tax-payer has to furnish such a large sum of money a year, for the interest is little hardship, speaking collectively, why he throws away nearly three times the amount upon drink, and he feels it no hardship. Doubtless some may be surprised to hear that England's debt is no debt at all, but an engagement to pay annuities; but then nothing is exactly what it pretends to be in this Protean world. Who is right, Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Goschen? Or, may it not be probable since England has thriven so well under her burden of debt, that Mr. Goschen would act yet more wisely if he could hit upon some means of doubling the national debt?

VICARIOUS.

GHIASUDDIN AND THE KAZI.

Ghiasuddin was an independent king of Bengal who reigned in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Though he waded through blood to the throne, still while on it he ruled with great justice and moderation. Being a wise well-educated man, he paid particular attention to the administration of law. His conduct in the matter of the widow whose son he had accidentally wounded is a striking instance of this. The king, it would seem was, very fond of manly sports. One day while he was amusing himself in the practice of archery, an arrow from his bow chanced to hit a boy, the only son of a poor old widow. The woman immediately repaired to the Court of the Kazi Serajuddin, and lodged a complaint against the King. The Judge was for a while confounded and knew not what to do. He said to himself, "if I summon the sovereign to my Court, I shall run the risk of being disobeyed; and if I pass over his transgression, I shall one day be called before the tribunal of God to answer for my neglect of duty." After much deliberation he decided to follow the right course, difficult and dangerous as it was. He accordingly ordered one of his officers to go and summon the king to answer the complaint of the woman. The officer, dreading to enter abruptly the palace with such an unprecedented order considered some means to be introduced to the royal presence. At length he ascended the minaret of the mosque adjoining the palace, and at an unusual hour called the people to prayers. This expedient had its desired effect. No sooner the king heard the strange *muizzen* than he ordered some of his guards to bring him to his presence that he might punish such mockery of religion.

The officer on being brought before the king, briefly related the circumstances which had led him to adopt such an unusual course, and concluded by summoning His Majesty to the Kazi's tribunal. The king at once rose up, and concealing a short dagger under his garment proceeded to the Kazi's office. When he arrived there, the Judge, far from paying him any mark of respect, due to royalty, said to him in a tone of authority, "You have wounded the

son of this widow, you must therefore immediately make her an adequate compensation, or suffer the sentence of the law." The king made a bow, and turning to the injured woman, gave her such a sum of money as satisfied her: after which looking up to the Kazi he said, "Worthy Judge! the complainant has forgiven me." The Kazi asked the woman if such was the fact, and if she was satisfied; and on being answered in the affirmative dismissed her. He then came down from his tribunal, and made his obeisance to the king. The latter, drawing the sword from under his robe, thus addressed the Judge: "Kazi, in obedience to your commands as the expounder of the Holy Law, I came instantly to your Court, but if I had found that you deviated in the least from its ordinances, I swear that with this sword I would have taken off your head! I thank God that matters have thus happily terminated, and that I have in my dominion a judge who acknowledges no authority superior to the law." The judge was equal to the occasion. He like an actor in a drama taking up the scourge which was there answered the king in equally strong language. Brandishing the scourge he said, "I also swear by the same Almighty God that if you had not complied with the injunction of the *law*, this scourge should have made your back black and blue! It has been a day of trial for us both." The king was highly pleased and handsomely rewarded the fearless and upright Kazi.

About three or four decades after, a similar occurrence took place in England. The "mad-cap Harry," as the eldest son of Henry IV was called, lived a very fast life. One of his dissolute comrades, having committed robbery, was brought up for trial before the Chief Justice Gascoigne. The latter, refusing to release the offender, the Prince in a fit of passion drew his sword, and behaved in a very violent manner, on which the Chief Justice ordered him to be taken to the King's Bench prison. The Prince now came to his senses and being conscious of the impropriety of his own conduct submitted to the punishment. When this strange incident was related to the king, he in a transport of joy exclaimed "Happy the monarch who possesses a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to submit to the laws." On comparing the two cases one should give greater credit to the Mahommedan Kazi who had to deal with an absolute sovereign than to the English Judge who had only to deal with a Prince, not perhaps in good grace with his father, the king. Ghiasuddin could have cut off the head of the Kazi without subjecting himself to the punishment of the law; whereas even king Henry himself could not have laid violent hands on Gascoigne without losing his own

head. The Mahomedan Judge thus proves himself the bolder of the two. Indeed, a Judge should administer law without fear or favour. One who is found fault with, in either respect is a disgrace to the ermine he wears: The glorious and sacred name of Judge does not at all become him.

S. C. D

SONNET.

(*On Peer Pahar,—Monghyr, 1884.*)

" My eyes make pictures when they're shut,"—to-day
I close them,—and my gentle wife I see,
With my fair girls in her sweet company,
And by them my two boys in noisy play.—
So near they seem,—and I so far away !
For one glad moment, Time and space, for me
Have lost their power.—And O, will it thus be,
When the soul quits its prison house of clay ?
Again my eyes uncloze.—The sun has set,
The landscape into deeper shade is thrown,
The dark and rugged hills grow darker yet ;—
And as I think of home and stand alone,
O Peer Pahar, upon thy airy brow,
My heart yearns fondly for my lov'd ones now !

O. C. DUTT.

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THE CALCUTTA PUBLIC LIBRARY.

THE Calcutta Public Library was founded in 1835. The initiative appears to have been taken by Mr. Joachim Hayward Stocqueler the Editor of the *Englishman* and a man of literary ability and varied experience. It is said that, like that distinguished scholar the late Professor Blochmann, Mr. Stocqueler first came out to India as a private soldier. Among other books, he wrote a "Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage through Khuzistan, Persia, &c., and a "Hand Book of India" which can still be recommended as containing much curious information. Mr. Stocqueler issued in August, 1835, a circular containing some needlessly florid language, but which opened with the practical announcement that—

"As considerable inconvenience is sustained by almost all classes of the community of Calcutta, owing to the absence of anything like a General Library combining the advantages of a Library of Reference and Resort with those of a Circulating Library, it is proposed to take measures for immediately establishing such an institution, upon a scale commensurate with the interests and wants of the reading population."

Gold mohurs and rupees were apparently more plentiful in Calcutta than they are now, for one of the last sentences of the circular said that—

"To ensure the most complete success to the proposed institution, and to render it acceptable to all persons of whatever stations, it is intended to

establish two rates of admission, viz., four and three rupees per month charging also a small entrance of two goldmohurs to the former, in order to create a fund at the commencement, and granting to the first class subscribers sundry privileges that may be not desired by the second."

A hundred and forty-six gentlemen responded to the appeal, and on 31st August, 1835, a public meeting was held at the Town Hall under the presidency of Sir John Peter Grant. Sir John, the wild elephant of Lord Ellenborough, observed in his speech that he believed that Calcutta was the only society of the same extent which had not a library of some description. "At the Cape, and Bombay they are better provided, and Madras has its Literary Society, but here in Calcutta we are without the means of reading, except by purchasing books, from Humphrey Clinker up to Hume's History of England." With reference to Sir John's allusion to the Cape it is interesting to note that only a few days before he was speaking, Capetown celebrated (on 18th August, 1835) the first anniversary of its Library by a meeting held under the chairmanship of Sir John Herschell.

The result of the Town-Hall meeting was that the establishment of a Library was determined on, and that shares were issued and sold to persons who became proprietors. In the list of original or early proprietors we find the names of Lord Auckland, Lord Metcalfe, Sir William Macnaghten, Mr. Cameron, Macaulay, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Mr. Marshman, Dwarka Nath Tagore and Prosunnag Coomar Tagore. The nucleus of the Library was formed by donations of books from private individuals, and by the transfer to the Library of 4,675 volumes belonging to the College of Fort William. This transfer was made by the Governor-General Sir Charles Metcalfe and was accompanied by the following conditions.

1.—"That the Society shall provide a place and establishment fitting for the reception, care and preservation of the books lent them by Government; and if at any time from want of funds or any other cause, the Society shall neglect or be unable to do so, that they will redeliver the books to any person whom the Governor may depute to receive them.

2.—That the assignment shall be subject to the approbation of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors and the books be reclaimable by the Government, if this appropriation be disapproved by that authority.

3.—That they shall at all times be open to the examination of any person the Government of Bengal may depute to examine them in order to see that the books are preserved with due care."

The second condition was fulfilled by the Court of Directors ratifying the transaction on 14th August 1839.

The Library was declared open on 21st March 1836. At this time however and for several years afterwards there was no Metcalfe

Hall. The Library was kept up to July 1841 in the house of Dr. F. P. Strong in Esplanade Row, that gentleman having generously allowed his lower rooms to be used for this purpose. After July 1841 the books were kept till June 1844 in the College of Fort William in Writers' Buildings, which for many of them must have been a return journey. In June 1844 the Library was removed to the upper story of the Metcalfe Hall, and there it has remained ever since. The foundation of the Metcalfe Hall was laid on 19th December 1840 with Masonic honours. An inscription placed on the foundation stone recorded that the building was erected as a testimony of respect to Sir Charles Metcalfe for his having on 15th September 1835 given liberty to the Press of India. It was added that the building would not merely commemorate Sir Charles Metcalfe's name, but would receive and preserve a Public Library and the Museum of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India. Finally it was mentioned that the funds for erecting the building had been chiefly raised by public subscription, and that the site had been granted by the Earl of Auckland.

The building was designed by Mr. Robison,* the Magistrate of Calcutta, and was erected by Burn & Co. The cost was about Rs. 68,000, of which only Rs. 16,308 were contributed by the Public Library. The remainder was the contribution of the Agricultural Society and of other bodies and individuals who were desirous of doing honour to Sir Charles Metcalfe. There were giants in those days among European residents in the matter of liberality, for it appears that when the funds for the erection of the building fell short by a large sum, Sir Lawrence Peel, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, paid off one fourth of the debt, his contribution for that purpose being over Rs. 4000, and that another gentleman, a Mr. W. P. Grant, paid Rs. 1000 towards the railing of the Hall.

I take the following account of the building and of the circumstances which led to its erection from Mr. Stocqueler's Handbook. Poor man, the laying of the foundation stone was hardly a proud day for him, for at that time or very shortly before it he was in prison for debt, and had, like Hicky in the last century, been carrying on his paper from within Jail walls.

"When Sir Charles Metcalfe, the present governor of the Canadas, (1844) was about to return from India to reside permanently in Europe, the numerous members of the Calcutta community, who had long benefited by his boundless liberality, his munificent hospitality, and the wisdom and mildness of his rule as

* Mr. Robison (Charles Knowles) was also the architect of the Ochterlony Monument.

temporary Governor-General of India, determined to pay a tribute of gratitude to their benefactor, by raising a monument that should perpetuate the recollection of his many public and private virtues, and more particularly signalise the last great act of his Indo-political life--the emancipation of the Indian Press. Various methods of effecting this great object suggested themselves--the erection of a statue, the foundation of scholarships, the placing a bust, or a picture, with a mural inscription in letters of gold, in some conspicuous public building, &c.; but all gave way to the happier conceit of erecting an edifice which, while it subserved purposes of great utility, should, by its title, commemorate the worth of the excellent Sir Charles. A public library had been for some time in existence, but it had no better local habitation than the lower rooms of the private residence of a friend to the institution. The Agricultural and Horticultural Society was equally destitute of a building adapted to the purposes of official meetings, and the depository of agricultural implements, seeds, specimens of produce, &c. To combine the objects of these institutions under one edifice, and to give to it the name of the statesman who had long patronised both, appeared to be a rational proceeding, acceptable alike to the public who were interested in them, and to Sir Charles Metcalfe himself. A larger sum was however necessary for the erection of a building of fitting dimensions and external beauty, than that subscribed exclusively for commemoration purposes. The deficiency was accordingly made up from the funds of the Agricultural Society and the Public Library, and a piece of ground for the Metcalfe Hall having been applied for, the Government granted a site fronting the Strand Road and river on the west, Hare Street on the north, and a site to the Bankshall, Master Attendant's office and Post office. The foundation stone having been laid with masonic honours in January 1841 (it should be December 1840), the Hall is now (1841) rapidly erecting. The order of architecture is from the portico of the Temple or Tower of the Winds at Athens, which was chosen for its lightness and durability. A broad flight of steps leads to the portico or colonnade on the west or river front, and there is a covered colonnade entrance on the east, with another and similar flight of steps, which leads up to the lobby and internal staircase. The building is raised on a solid but ornamented basement of ten feet in height, in which there are no openings, and the columns, thirty in number and thirty-six feet high, rise from this basement and support the general entablature of the building, giving it externally much the appearance of a Grecian temple of one lofty story. The columns and colonnade nearly surround the whole building. They would have been carried entirely round, and a more temple-like form thereby given to the building, but the funds would not admit of it; indeed the limited amount of the subscriptions, and the necessity for so much internal accommodation rendered curtailment of the ornament and outward decoration necessary. Internally there are two stories; the lower one is to be occupied by the Agricultural Society, and will consist of a Hall, sixty three feet by thirty feet; a seed and specimen-room, thirty-six feet by thirty-four; a museum, or room for agricultural and horticultural implements, thirty-six feet by twenty-four; a Secretary's room, twenty-four feet by twenty-four; and a corridor or passage leading to the main Hall, thirty-six feet by twelve. All these rooms are twenty two feet high in the roof.

The upper floor, to be occupied by the Calcutta Public Library, is reached by a handsome teak wood flight of stairs in a staircase seven feet wide; and

opposite to the Secretary's room there are the same rooms above as below, only they are more thrown into one by arches, and the roof will be twenty-six instead of twenty two feet high, which will admit of galleries, and side lights above.

The lower story, or portion appropriated to the Agricultural Society, will have a colonnaded verandah nearly all round, and the principal hall above will have an iron rail on the river side, inside the pillars.

In the interior of the building there is to be placed a bust of Sir Charles Metcalfe, which, with an appropriate inscription, will intimate the reasons for the erection of the Hall, and perpetuate the recollection of the many noble qualities which distinguished the Indian career of the worthy baronet. (p.p. 286-289)."

Part of the plan here described has never been carried out. The bust of Lord Metcalfe still wants its inscription, and though there is a gallery it has never been properly fitted up, or made use of.

The Metcalfe Hall is a handsome building, but its western front is obscured by the want of an approach. Its aspect would be much improved if Government would add to the premises the piece of land lying to the south which was formerly the site of the Mint, but which is now covered with the debris of Public Works operations. The interior of the Hall is worth seeing. The Agricultural Society's rooms on the ground floor contain many curiosities, and there may also be seen the marble busts of Dr. Cary, the founder of the Society, and of Dwarka Nath Tagore, and portraits of Colonel Kyd, (the founder of the Botanic Gardens) Sir Edward Ryan, and Sir Lawrence Peel.

The Public Library is in the upper story. It contains a noble collection of books, but alas, they are practically uncatalogued and many of them are mutilated, and many more are in want of binding. Among the curiosities or valuable possessions of the Library may be mentioned a volume of apparently the first edition of Bewick's history of British Birds (Newcastle 1797) with his vignettes and tail pieces, and also his general history of quadrupeds (Newcastle 1792), Hobbes De Cive, Amsterdam 1646, and his Leviathan, 1651, the works of George Buchanan, the Travels of the ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein by Olearius, Howell's State Trials in 33 volumes and Mr. Hargrave's, Bradley's Astronomical observations, Russell on Indian Serpents, Modern Painters by a graduate of Oxford, 1846, Williams' account of the Bengal Infantry, Mrs. Fay's Travels, Hicky's Gazette, Meyrick on ancient armour, Purchas's Pilgrims, and Churchill's Voyages, Father Lobo's voyage to Abyssinia, London, 1735 (apparently Johnson's translation and the first work written by him), Merlin's Repertoire de Jurisprudence in 19 vols. quarto, the immense dictionary of

Meninski, many volumes on the trial of Warren Hastings, and many rare pamphlets about Indian affairs, Chabot on the handwriting of Junius, the voluminous works of Dr. Parr, the trial of Sacheverell, the works of St. Augustine in nine folios, and those of St. Chrysostom in thirteen folios,* a translation of *Paradise Lost* into Italian, and another into Dutch, Rousseau's works in 27 volumes, *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* in 24 volumes, Rajah Radha Kanth Deb's *Shabda Kalpa Drum*.

I cannot vouch for all these books being still in the Library, but I know that many of them are, and they are all in the catalogue. The Library flourished for several years. In 1846 it had 15,408 vols, and in 1849 these had increased to 17,931.† Of late years however it has much fallen off. According to Newman's *Handbook to Calcutta* the decline in subscriptions was especially marked after 1872. Unfortunately this was all that the Library had to depend upon, for the proprietors had subscribers' privileges, and yet paid no subscription. A subscriber who contributed by subscriptions and otherwise was rewarded by being made a proprietor, and so henceforth was in the ranks of ineffectives. It is difficult to say to what cause the decadence of the Library is to be mainly ascribed. No doubt want of support has ruined it, but then why have there been this want of support? Perhaps the chief cause is that the Library has never been more than nominally a Public Library, and consequently the public has taken no interest in it. The Curators said in a report of 1849 that although the institution had much of the character of a Circulating Library, yet they had never lost sight of the aim of rendering it also a library for reference and study. They added that they were particularly anxious to render the collection of works on India as complete as possible, in consequence of such publications being likely to be in great demand when the question of the renewal of the Charter comes under discussion (1854). The first rule of the Library stands thus. "The Library is a public Library of reference and circulation, open to all ranks and classes of the community." But this reminds us of Horne Tooke's caustic remark on one of Mr. Justice Ashurst's charges. "The Courts of England, said his Lordship, are open to all, to the rich and the poor alike." Yes, said Tooke, and so is the London Tavern. The large Hall of the building and most of the periodicals have always been reserved

* Mr. Tawney thinks that this must be the copy which Macaulay brought out with him, and which he read through on the voyage, but would a book-lover part with such a treasure?

† It is believed that the Library now contains about 100,000 volumes.

for the use of members, and all that the general public has got, has been a small segment of a room where they can contemplate the backs of almirahs and see one or two Calcutta newspapers. Even this petty boon however is appreciated by many, and the little room seems to be never empty. It is now proposed that the large Hall be thrown open to the public, and that they get the full advantage of the newspapers, and of all the contents of the shelves of the Library. It cannot be doubted that there will be plenty of readers then, though possibly they may chiefly be readers of newspapers.

Probably the exodus to the Hills is largely answerable for the falling off in the subscriptions. The plan of aestivating at Simla and Darjeeling has introduced a new cycle wherewith to perplex the Indian World. It has added a semestral revolution of the celestial bodies, or Regents of the Indian heavens, to the old-established quinquennial and decennial revolutions. In many cases Englishmen have now three establishments to keep up, one in the hills, another in the plains, and a third in Europe. The result is that they have to curtail their expenses and we have the authority of the Prince of Wales for the statement that when a British householder thinks of retrenchment, he begins by ceasing to spend money on books. In spite however of difficulties from this cause and from the vanishing rupee it is to be hoped that the Public Library will begin to flourish again now that it has been taken up by the corporation of Calcutta. The Municipality, to adopt Sir Alfred Croft's metaphor about another subject, is the Perseus who has come to relieve our Andromeda perishing on the banks of the Ganges. May the quest be successful!

There is, I find, a notion among Anglo-Indians of the upper class that a Calcutta Public Library is chiefly of use to natives, that they therefore should support it, and that it is almost absurd to apply for aid to Europeans. Even if this were true, it would be no reason for not asking help from Europeans, any more than it would be for not asking Europeans to contribute to the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. It may be pointed out too that the institution will be mainly supported by natives for the Municipality is the chief contributor, and the tax-payers are mostly natives. But it is not the case that the Library is solely or even chiefly useful to natives. About a third of the proprietors are Europeans and Eurasians, and the majority of the subscribers belong to the same classes. Last year out of 129 monthly subscribers 103 were Europeans. After all the Library is mainly a library of English books and English periodicals, and as might be expected, it is mainly used by persons of English extraction. Many Anglo-Indians talk

and act as if there were only two classes in India worth regarding, the Englishman on Rs. 500 a month and upwards, and the native. They ignore the large class of Eurasians and poor Europeans. They acknowledge of course Tommy Atkins of whom Mr. Rudyard Kipling is the vates sacer. But with the exception of him they either forget the lower strata of Anglo-Indians or make fantastic proposals about them. As Ali Baba says "A great many wise proposals emanate from Simla as regards some artificial future of the Eurasian. One Ten-thousand-pounder asks creation in a petulant tone of surprise why creation does not make the Eurasian a carpenter; another looks round the windy hills and wonders why somebody does not make the Eurasian a high farmer. The shovel hats are surprised that the Eurasian does not become a missionary, or a schoolmaster, or a policeman or some thing of that sort. The native papers say 'Deport him'; the white prints say 'make him a soldier' and the Eurasian himself says 'make me a Commissioner, or give me a pension.'" The existence and importance of the Eurasian class and of Anglo-Indians who are not carriage-people will not be doubted by any one who has seen them on the rare occasions on which they master in force. For example they were present in crowds on the occasion of Miss Alice Gomes taking part in an Organ Recital at the Cathedral. I am sure that the chaplains who saw that assemblage must have sighed to think that they never had collected so large a congregation. It was composed mainly of persons who are not on the Government House List, or members of the Saturday Club, who ride in trams and take the cool of the evening from terraces in Bentinck Street. But they are educated people for all that, and enjoy the reading of books and newspapers. It is they who use, and who will increasingly use the Public Library, and on their behalf I appeal to Europeans for support to the institution.

NOTE.—I have been lately favoured with a sight of some papers in the Bengal Office bearing on the construction of the Metcalfe Hall. It appears from these that four Associations were connected with the undertaking, namely, the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India; the Public Library Committee; the subscribers to the Metcalfe Testimonial; and the Metcalfe Library Building Fund. These four bodies elected a Joint-Committee, and the Secretary of it was the once well-known Barrister, Mr. Longueville Clarke. The Joint-Committee asked for a site at the South-east corner of what is now the Dalhousie Square Garden. Lord Auckland would not give this site, and his words are worth quoting. After observing that the objects of the Horticultural and Agricultural Society, and the collection of an extensive library for reference and resort are of most evident importance and tend so manifestly to the public good that Government will be justified, if circum-

stances will admit of it, in giving to those who are trustees for these objects a convenient site for the erection of the necessary buildings, his Lordship goes on to say, "The site requested from me has been on the south-east corner of the enclosure of Tank Square. This I will not give and I would with all possible strictness lay it down as a rule from which there shall be under no circumstances any departure, that the Government will not grant away for any purposes of building a single foot of the Esplanade, or of the interior of Squares or of other vacant spaces which in the distribution of the Town have been appropriated to light and to ventilation." These words of wisdom appear to have been forgotten when private clubs like the Calcutta Swimming Bath, and the Dalhousie Institute obtained sites near the High Court and in the Tank Square Garden, and when the Volunteers were allowed to erect their Head Quarters on the vacant space near Bahoo Ghat.

His Lordship went on to say that the only other sites offered to him were the south-east (qu. west ?) corner of Haro Street and the north east corner of Coilah Ghat Street, having a frontage towards the Strand Road. "Upon the former of these, stands a building rapidly falling into decay, which has been temporarily appropriated to the Sailors' Home," and the latter has been only used as a receptacle of rubbish, and of heaps of bricks and stones for the repair of the roads." "I am of opinion that we cannot do better than transfer one of these patches of ground upon safe conditions to those who may be willing to erect upon it a handsome and substantial structure for general objects of literature and of science. The plan proposed to us is handsome and we are promised that it will be substantially executed, and that if the funds of Rs. 45,000 already raised shall be insufficient, more will be raised, and I think that looking to the popular character of such institutions, their permanent maintenance may fairly be relied on." (note of 17th April 1840.)

The amount of land granted for the site appears to have been two bighas and five cottahs. It was valued in the Government books at Rs. 50,000, or Rs. 2,133 a cottah, but it was admitted that this was too high and that the proper valuation was about Rs. 800 a cottah.

H. BEVERIDGE.

OPEN QUESTIONS IN MORALITY.

POLITICS AND MORALITY.

II.

Our best men are often the most averse to admit open questions in morality. They can see no justification, much less do they feel any sympathy for political bias. They look down upon it as evident immorality. But instead of thus ignoring what is only a normal condition of political life, the bias ought rather to be reckoned with in the cause of Political Morality. The bias when analysed will always be found working consciously or unconsciously either in the intellect or in the heart: in the exercise of reasoning or in the indulgence of sentiment. In either case control and criticism become necessary and come within the purview of ethical questions, *i.e.*, within the province of theoreticians who are anxious for moral improvement of the people. Therefore, those who think that moral purity is not to be aimed at in political life, or that, a politician is necessarily wicked at heart, err in no smaller measure, than those who would set morality at open defiance or otherwise decline to subordinate their politics to the test of moral principles.

We have first of all to recognize such a thing as Political Morality: in other words, to hold political life and conduct in common category with all other conduct of man, and in relation to the question of morality. Until this is done, one may not pronounce that a man's moral principles ought to prevail with himself over all other considerations. In fact, political immorality proceeds as often from vicious disposition immoral character or bad heart, as also from mistaken opinion regarding political duties in general, or the ethical standard which he adopts for all his conduct,—political or other. But until this uncertainty lying at the root of political misconduct is recognised, it becomes out of the question to look for and provide radical remedies.

People are liable to be thrown off their guard when they are asked to vote for morality against politics taken in the abstract. I would therefore call to the reader's mind that religious differences may have to do with the uncertainties of a moral standard and consequently with the political morality of the followers of any par-

ticular religion. The supremacy of morality over politics is easily avowed by non-politicians. But they seem to take for granted what is hardly feasible, that politics must be kept apart from polemics. Generally speaking the desire to separate politics from religion proceeds from a comparatively deeper regard for sacred matters. But eventually either religion or politics has to be sacrificed by those who do not stop to reconcile the respective claims of both on their heart. The political dogma of Liberty of the Conscience and the moral principle of Religious Toleration have altogether ceased to be open questions. When therefore politicians do not see their way to some method of reconciliation between divergent religious creeds, they have either to hypocritically conceal their normal religious predilections; or if they have no such partiality, their equal regard for divergent religious creeds, ends in coolness for all of them including their own. Morality forms in fact, the link to connect religion with politics. But the relation between morality and religion is vague, to say the least. Society is thus placed upon the horns of a double dilemma in regard to these three most important questions. In order to accord the supreme place to morality as compared to religion and politics, one would have to accept some system of morality which was independent of both the other matters. When however a man hesitates, as most men would do in such circumstance, to give morality a prior claim against religion, he has still to face the second dilemma—whether his politics should be strictly in accord with his own religion and avowedly opposed to those of his fellow-subjects, or whether he must resign himself to abnegation even of his religious partialities.

Liberty of the conscience and religious toleration necessarily lead to religious neutrality in politics. But the course is much too easy from such neutrality to complete inertness in pious and moral inclinations. Such apathy ought never to be encouraged. There is reason in the interests of man's moral welfare to set up a moral brake in political as well as other forms of activity. But it must be remembered that this controlling agency has to counteract not only the natural gravity of vice but also the motive power of religion. And when a man fails to enunciate a morality which is independent of all religions, his politics often ends in sacrificing religion and morality both.

The question is by no means an academic one. The political bias for instance, of Hindus, Christians and Musalmans is a well-known fact. And it is hard to say if religious wars have become such unlikely events in India that all of us might honestly condemn the immorality of jihads and crusades. But if we cannot expect all

men to be equally enthusiastic about religious toleration, still less can we sacrifice public peace in the interests of religious fanaticism. To say that religion transcends the claims of politics would lead us not only into the crusader's political bias, but it might incline us also to the dominance of Might over Right. The Musalman is more pious than the Hindu or the Christian. And the Hindu is more peacefully disposed than either of his two prominent religious antagonists. The Christian started in India with religious neutrality toleration and liberty of the conscience; but he has sunk into cool contemplation of fanatical antagonism between the Hindu and the Musalman. Religious toleration in India has been drifting into religious indifference, and the chances are that the immorality of fomenting political dissension is growing towards denial of the superiority of right over might. It is not only the scepticism of Europe which is making its way into India, but the peculiar political condition of India itself, conjoined as it is to uncertainties of a moral principle independent of all religions, which has to answer for many of our deplorable evils.

The prevailing disinclination to examine the open questions of morality is really of Western origin; but the evil has become aggravated by a sad confusion of Eastern and Western ideas which occurs especially on this British Indian soil. And immorality thrives here so much because the best minds of the East and the West who ever come into mutual contact, hesitate to have to call in question each other's principles of morality. Men have gradually grown free in their censures in India: the censures not infrequently take a general and sweeping form in order to avoid gross personalities. But all such censures necessarily lose their point when directed against large communities of men. And what are really immoral acts come to be defended from considerations of political partisanship. I maintain therefore, that it would be wiser and safer to recognise the different standards of morality which may be peculiar to any of the different sections of Indian people. This may at first sight seem to stand in the way of subordinating politics to morality. But if there is any truth in true morality, the recognition of divergent ethical standards cannot fail eventually to pave the way for one of universal acceptance.

The growing importance of a universal morality such as might eventually obviate all religious divergence is naturally distasteful to those whose vocation it is to uphold or propagate special creeds of religion. And it is not extraordinary that although they have incurred the charge of craftiness, the priests are most averse to recognise any ethical standard apart from religious dogma. Now

whether or not it be possible to establish any such standard, there can be no question that it is the teachers of religion—*i.e.*, the priests, who have had most to do with teaching practical morality to mankind. And if the priests themselves are found to have contracted such bias against Universal Morality, the temptations of politicians must be still more serious to secure dominance of political interests and temporal power against all sorts of control. The divergence of religious creeds helps to advance the position of politics and politicians respectively over religions and priests. And questions raised against the first principles of universal morality must tend still more to extend the license of politics as related to the control of religion or morality. Thus it happens that politicians scorn to take lesson from priests and moralists both; and honest-minded laymen are content to let politicians range out of the sphere of morality. But because politics as an art yet remains to be connected with the science of ethics it does not follow that politicians should be allowed to set morality at defiance. Common sense revolts at such human degradation. Only the blame must fall upon those who from their peculiar circumstances are given to ignoring the very relation of politics to universal morality. Priests and politicians are also to be blamed no doubt; but the highest censure must fall upon those who know to appreciate moral conduct above piety and religion, and yet would not venture to meddle with political morality.

Bad as the relation of politics to religion appears to be, the awkward position of politicians towards priests and moralists is complicated by another source of confusion. Since public peace has to be maintained at all costs, and neither religion nor personal ambition can be allowed to disturb social order, men in political power have got to seek the numeric support of their party-adherents. The spiritual power of religion first of all gives place to the temporal power of politics. But when politicians have shaken off the control of religious and moral guides they fall at the feet of demagogues and party-adherents. The strength of numbers prevails, not by reason of the aggregate fighting power of the men, but owing to some fiction regarding the superiority of majority over minority. Religion, moral principles and even personal character are then lost sight of. The world bows down before notoriety and success; and the divergences of religious creeds and the uncertainties of an ethical standard furnish the safest cloaks to conceal the enormities of democratic misconduct.

So far the evil is of Western origin. But in India it is heightened still more, though perhaps the climax is yet far off ahead.

It is only in British India that the governing body may be seen to hold to a State religion as one of the conditions of political power, and yet to be bound to strict terms of religious neutrality with their subjects. Moreover with this anomaly in the spiritual relations of the temporal power of British Indian politicians, the subject community have no political control over their government. The sovereign power is bound to Protestantism, but is vowed to ignore its religion in relation to its Indian subjects. If however it swerves from the vow and thus commits an immorality, neither Indian subjects can impose any political restraint nor would the Anglican Church interpose upon moral grounds.

Suppose that the members of the Viceroy's council in open defiance of the constitution determine to put down the Sikh religion in the interests of Christianity, the subject community have no power to prevent the act of tyranny; and churchmen too would have no desire to restrain the immoral stretch of political power. I am not aware that anywhere in the world political power is left so much at the mercy and discretion of individual men. If this power is exercised without graver abuses than we know of, the fact argues perhaps a moral and religious apathy which is of no less serious import.

Observe next, that by the political constitution of this country, the discretionary powers of all executive functionaries take their type from the viceregal prerogative. Laws exist for the adjudication of cases between subject and subject, but departmental punishment for misconduct of officials does not conform to any definite code of rules. Armed with such enormous discretionary powers every one from the viceroy down to the police constable, from the chief justice to the court peon, has to observe strict religious neutrality in his public conduct. It can be no wonder then if the Hindu postman and Musalman constable are driven to forget their *pūja* and their *namaz*, and eventually draw upon their inner consciousness for their principles of moral rectitude. The world is coming to see that the democratic control of a House of Commons does not signify that the ministry and its subordinate executive authorities should have their powers crippled to the extent of making them like machines and irresponsible even to themselves. And the growing discretionary powers of all public functionaries in democratic as well as despotic constitutions are being more and more counter-poised by an unwritten code of public duties for those functionaries as well as for the people at large. In India such standard of dutiful conduct has often to be ignored by Government and can never be cited by its subjects. The political cry raised here in regard

to separation of executive and judicial powers is on one side only an echo of the discussion in more advanced countries. But here as elsewhere, the want actually felt is really indicative of the fact that the commonest men miss moral government in every-day life: a government which everywhere becomes feeble in direct proportion to the decline of spiritual control in the priesthood and political control in the people. In Europe, religious divergence may have reduced the power of the priesthood, but in any case the authority of the Bible remains. Also the people there being free to get up a political revolution have always to be reckoned with whether their judgments be sound or unsound. In India Brahmans, Sannyasis and Mollahs have sunk beneath the sceptre—together with the Vedas, the Pitakas and the Koran,—whereas, the masses are treated with contempt by the Anglo-Indian oligarchy equally with those who might form the Indian aristocracy. Add to this the mockery of party organization which is now being erected on all sides without the cement of an effective popular voice and homogeneous habits of social conduct, and the picture of our misfortune will be complete. The great blessing of religious toleration, owing to absence of an independent moral standard threatens to sink Indian society into a moral depravity which, unless prevented, must exceed the depraved morality of the Roman Empire.

Religious toleration, Liberty of the conscience and Sovereignty of the people are all excellent things in their own way. But their way is that of normal human progress from one stage to another of social life. There is a difference between these dogmas or maxims and the recognised ethical relation between Might and Right. It is a notable fact that the dogma of sovereignty of the people has of late been openly abjured in India, although no other sovereign has been recognised to supplement the accepted liberties of men in religion and morals. I think the anarchical result is quite obvious; either sovereignty of the people will have to be granted and prematurely extended to the village peasantry and day laborers, or the primitive rule of Might will be revived until Right and rectitude can succeed in asserting themselves in the interests of the Human Race. If such a sorry state of public affairs cannot arouse men's attention to establish uniform principles of rectitude and morality for all sections of Indian and Anglo-Indian peoples and for all sorts of political and religious creed, the claims of British prestige in the East will be no more substantial than those of Indian politicians before the British electorate in the West.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

BUDDHISM, POSITIVISM AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

IV.

Let us now consider what John Stuart Mill has to say concerning the modern doctrine of Conservation of Energy, and how far the same can be made to stand side by side with his cherished conception of causation. The quotation which follows is rather a long one ; the importance of the subject under discussion demands however that the one side of the question should be laid before the reader as fully as the other. Great authors are, moreover, never more interesting, I might almost have said, never more instructive, than when they plead in favor of a lost cause. Such, I consider, was the position of John Stuart Mill when he penned what he called the longest of additions to the eighth edition of his *System of Logic*. Here are his words :—

Since the first publication of the present treatise, the sciences of physical nature have made a great advance in generalization, through the doctrine known as the Conservation or Persistence of Force. This imposing edifice of theory, the building and laying out of which has for some time been the principle occupation of the most systematic minds among physical enquirers, consists of two stages : one, of ascertained fact, the other containing a large element of hypothesis.

To begin with the first. It is proved by numerous facts, both natural and of artificial production, that agencies which had been regarded as distinct and independent sources of force—heat, electricity, chemical action, nervous and muscular action, momentum of moving bodies—are interchangeable, in definite and fixed quantities, with one another. It had long been known that these dissimilar phenomena had the power, under certain conditions, of producing one another : what is new in the theory is a more accurate estimation of what this production consists in. What happens is, that the whole or part of the one kind of phenomena disappears, and is replaced by phenomena of one of the other descriptions, and that there is an equivalence in quantity between the phenomena that have disappeared and those which have been produced, inso-much that if the process be reversed, the very same quantity which had disappeared will reappear, without increase or diminution. Thus, the amount of heat which will raise the temperature of a pound of water one degree of the thermometer, will, if expended, say in the expansion of steam, lift a weight of

772 pounds one foot, or a weight of one pound 772 feet : and the same exact quantity of heat can, by certain means, be recovered, through the expenditure of exactly that amount of mechanical motion.

The establishment of this comprehensive law has led to a change in the language in which the scientific world has been accustomed to speak of what are called the Forces of nature. Before this correlation between phenomena most unlike one another had been ascertained, their unlikeness had caused them to be referred to so many distinct forces. Now that they are known to be convertible into one another without loss, they are spoken of as all of them results of one and the same force, manifesting itself in different modes. This force, (it is said) can only produce a limited and definite quantity of effect, but always does produce that definite quantity ; and produces it, according to circumstances, in one or another of the forms, or divides it among several, but so as (according to a scale of numerical equivalents established by experiment) always to make up the same sum : and no one of the manifestations can be produced, save by the disappearance of the equivalent quantity of another, which in its turn, in appropriate circumstances, will reappear undiminished. The mutual interchangeability of the forces of nature, according to fixed numerical equivalents, is the part of the new doctrine which rests on irrefragable fact.

To make the statement true, however, it is necessary to add, that an indefinite and perhaps immense interval of time may elapse between the disappearance of the force in one form and its reappearance in another. A stone thrown up into the air with a given force, and falling back immediately, will, by the time it reaches the earth, recover the exact amount of mechanical momentum which was expended in throwing it up, deduction being made of a small portion of motion which has been communicated to the air. But if the stone has lodged on a height, it may not fall back for years, or perhaps ages, and until it does, the force expended in raising it is temporarily lost, being represented only by what, in the language of the new theory, is called potential energy. The coal imbedded in the earth is considered by the theory as a vast reservoir of force, which has remained dormant for many geological periods, and will so remain until, by being burnt, it gives out the stored-up force in the form of heat. Yet it is not supposed that this force is a material thing which can be confined by bounds, as used to be thought of latent heat when that important phenomenon was first discovered. What is meant is that when the coal does at last, by combustion, generate a quantity of heat (transformable like all other heat into mechanical momentum, and the other forms of force), this extrication of heat is the reappearance of a force derived from the sun's rays, expended myriads of ages ago in the vegetation of the organic substances which were the material of the coal.

Let us now pass to the higher stage of the theory of Conservation of Force ; the part which is no longer a generalization of proved fact, but a combination of fact and hypothesis. Stated in few words, it is as follows : That the Conservation of Force is really the Conservation of Motion ; that in the various interchanges between the forms of force, it is always motion that is transformed into motion. To establish this, it is necessary to assume motions which are hypothetical. The supposition is, that there are motions which manifest themselves to our senses only as heat, electricity, &c., being molecular motions ; oscillations, invisible to us, among the minute particles of bodies ; and that these molecular motions are transmutable into molar motions (motions of

masses), and molar motions into molecular. Now there is a real basis of fact for this supposition: we have positive evidence of the existence of molecular motion in these manifestations of force. In the case of chemical action, for instance, the particles separate and form new combinations, often with a great visible disturbance of the mass. In the case of heat, the evidence is equally conclusive, since heat expands bodies (that is, causes their particles to move from one another); and if of sufficient amount, changes their mode of aggregation from solid to liquid, or from liquid to gaseous. Again, the mechanical actions which produce heat—friction, and the collision of bodies—must from the nature of the case produce a shock, that is, an internal motion of particles, which indeed, we find, is often so violent as to break them permanently asunder. Such facts are thought to warrant the inference, that it is not, as was supposed, heat that causes the motion of particles, but the motion of particles that causes heat; the original cause of both being the previous motion (whether molar or molecular—collision of bodies or combustion of fuel) which formed the heating agency. This inference already contains hypothesis: but at least the supposed cause, the intestine motion of molecules, is a *vera causa*. But in order to reduce the Conservation of Force to Conservation of Motion, it was necessary to attribute to motion the heat propagated, through apparently empty space, from the sun. This required the supposition (already made for the explanation of the laws of light) of a subtle ether pervading space, which, though impalpable to us, must have the property which constitutes matter, that of resistance, since waves are propagated through it, by an impulse from a given point. The ether must be supposed (a supposition not required by the theory of light) to penetrate into the minute interstices of all bodies. The vibratory motion supposed to be taking place in the heated mass of the sun, is considered as imparted from that mass to the particles of the surrounding ether, and through them to the particles of the same ether in the interstices of terrestrial bodies; and this, too, with a sufficient mechanical force to throw the particles of those bodies into a state of similar vibration, producing the expansion of their mass, and the sensation of heat in sentient creatures. All this is hypothesis, though, of its legitimacy as hypothesis, I do not mean to express any doubt. It would seem to follow as a consequence from this theory, that Force may and should be defined, matter in motion. This definition, however, will not stand, for, as has already been seen, the matter needs not be in *actual* motion. It is not necessary to suppose that the motion afterwards manifested, is actually taking place among the molecules of the coal during its sojourn in the earth;* certainly not in the stone which is at rest on the eminence to which it has been raised. The true definition of Force must be, not motion, but Potentiality of Motion: and what the doctrine, if established, amounts to, is, not that there is at all times the same quantity of actual motion in the universe; but that the possibilities of motion are limited to a definite quantity, which cannot be added to but which cannot be exhausted; and that all actual motion which takes place in Nature is a draft upon this limited stock. It needs not all of it have ever existed as actual motion. There is a vast amount of potential motion in the universe in the form of gravitation, which it would be a great abuse of hypothesis to sup-

* I believe, however, the accredited authorities do suppose that molecular motion, equivalent in amount to that which will be manifested in the combustion of the coal is actually taking place during the whole of the long interval, if not in the coal, yet in the oxygen which will then combine with it. But how purely hypothetical this supposition is: need hardly be remarked; I venture to say, unbecomingly and extravagantly hypothetical.

pose to have been stored up by the expenditure of an equal amount of actual motion in some former state of the universe. Nor does the motion produced by gravity take place, so far as we know, at the expense of any other motion, either molar or molecular.

It is proper to consider whether the adoption of this theory as a scientific truth, involving as it does a change in the conception hitherto entertained of the most general physical agencies, requires any modification in the view I have taken of Causation as a law of nature. As it appears to me, none whatever. The manifestations which the theory regards as modes of motion, are as much distinct and separate phenomena when referred to a single force, as when attributed to several. Whether the phenomenon is called a transformation of force or the generation of one, it has its own set or sets of antecedents, with which it is connected by invariable and unconditional sequence; and that set or those sets, of antecedents, are its cause. The relation of the Conservation theory to the principle of Causation is discussed in much detail, and very instructively, by Professor Bain, in the second volume of his *Logic*. The chief practical conclusion drawn by him, bearing on Causation, is, that we must distinguish in the assemblage of conditions which constitutes the Cause of a phenomenon, two elements: one, the presence of a force; the other, the collocation or position of objects which is required in order that the force may undergo the particular transmutation which constitutes the phenomenon. Now, it might always have been said with acknowledged correctness, that a force and a collocation were both of them necessary to produce any phenomenon. The law of causation is, that change can, only be produced by change. Along with any number of stationary antecedents which are collocations, there must be at least one changing antecedent, which is a force. To produce a bonfire, there must not only be fuel, and air, and a spark, which are collocations, but chemical action between the air and the materials, which is a force. To grind corn, there must be a certain collocation of the parts composing a mill, relatively to one another and to the corn; but there must also be the gravitation of water, or the motion of wind, to supply a force. But as the force in these cases was regarded as a property of the objects in which it is embodied, it seemed tautology to say that there must be the collocation *and* the force. As the collocation must be a collocation of objects possessing the force-giving property, the collocation, so understood, included the force.

How, then, shall we have to express these facts, if the theory be finally substantiated that all Force is reducible to a previous Motion? We shall have to say, that one of the conditions of every phenomenon is an antecedent Motion. But it will have to be explained that this needs not be *actual* motion. The coal which supplies the force exerted in combustion is not shown to have been exerting that force in the form of molecular motion in the pit; it was not even exerting pressure. The stone on the eminence is exerting a pressure, but only equivalent to its weight, not to the additional momentum it would acquire by falling. The antecedent, therefore, is not a force in action; and we can still only call it a property of the objects, by which they would exert a force on the occurrence of fresh collocation. The collocation, therefore still includes the force. The force said to be stored up, is simply a particular property which the object has acquired. The cause we are in search of, is a collocation of objects possessing that particular property. When indeed we inquire further into the cause from which they derive that property, the new conception introduced by the Conservation theory comes in: the property is itself an effect, and its cause

according to the theory, is a former motion of exactly equivalent amount, which has been impressed on the particles of the body, perhaps at some very distant period. But the case is simply one of those we have already considered, in which the efficacy of a cause consists in its investing an object with a property. The force said to be laid up, and merely potential, is no more a really existing thing than any other properties of objects are really existing things. The expression is a mere artifice of language, convenient for describing the phenomena: it is unnecessary to suppose that any thing has been in continuous existence except an abstract potentiality. A force suspended in its operation, neither manifesting itself by motion nor by pressure, is not an existing fact, but a name for our conviction that in appropriate circumstances a fact would take place. We know that a pound weight, were it to fall from the earth into the sun, would acquire in falling a momentum equal to millions of pounds; but we do not credit the pound weight with more of actually existing force than is equal to the pressure it is now exerting on the earth, and that is exactly a pound. We might as well say that a force of millions of pounds exists in a pound, as that the force which will manifest itself when the coal is burnt is a real thing existing in the coal. What is fixed in the coal is only a certain property: it has become fit to be the antecedent of an effect called combustion, which partly consists in giving out, under certain conditions, a given definite quantity of heat.

We thus see that no new general conception of Causation is introduced by the Conservation theory. The indestructibility of Force no more interferes with the theory of Causation than the indestructibility of Matter, meaning by matter, the element of resistance in the sensible world. It only enables us to understand better than before the nature and laws of some of the sequences.

This better understanding, however, enables us, with Mr. Bain, to admit, as one of the tests for distinguishing causation from mere concomitance, the expenditure or transfer of energy. If the effect, or any part of the effect, to be accounted for, consists in putting matter in motion, then any of the objects present which has lost motion has contributed to the effect; and this is the true meaning of the proposition that the cause is that one of the antecedents which exerts active force.

We have now before us the double line of defence, spoken of in a previous article. In the first place, it is alleged that the modern doctrine of Conservation of Energy is far from being true in the sense proclaimed by men of science. In the second place, we are given to understand, that the doctrine, even if it could be shown to be based on facts, and to express nothing but a summation of facts from beginning to end, would by no means necessitate any modification in the view of Causation taken all along by the author of a *System of Logic*.

Having shown in a previous article the untenableness of this second line of defence, we shall, without further remark, pass on to the main points of the argument. One of these points—the weakest of all—consists in this, that "There is a vast amount of potential motion in the universe in the form of gravitation, which it would be a great abuse of hypothesis to suppose to

have been stored up by the expenditure of an equal amount of actual motion in some former state of the universe. Nor does the motion produced by gravity take place, so far as we know, at the expense of any other motion, either molar or molecular." Now, with all due deference to the late John Stuart Mill, it appears to me that the above passage has been conceived in error. As to the vast amount of potential motion (or potential energy, as we should say now-a-days) in the universe in the form of gravitation, we need only look at the globe we inhabit, in order to see, whether it is really a great abuse of hypothesis to suppose that the potential energy stored up on its hills and mountains, has been so stored up by the expenditure of an equal amount of actual motion in some former stage of telluric formation. Geology has demonstrated beyond doubt that all the elevations found on the surface of the earth are results of volcanic eruptions; in other words, that the potential energy in the form of gravitation has been stored up there at the expense of some actual motion—at the expense of a quantity of heat within the bowels of the earth. Of course our globe is far from being the universe. Let, however, any reader judge for himself, whether, after what we positively know about the way in which potential gravity comes to be stored up on the earth, it is really a great abuse of hypothesis to suppose that a similar process takes place in regard to celestial bodies in general; to say nothing of a number of astronomical observations which fully corroborate the analogy in this respect between the earth and the other heavenly bodies.

Not less objectionable is the concluding sentence of the above quotation. The motion produced by gravity, we are told, does not take place, so far as we know, at the expense of any other motion, either molar or molecular. When we come, however, to enquire what we really do know about molar motion produced by gravity, we are brought face to face with facts that tell a tale exactly the opposite to what our author would make us believe.

The motion—the molar motion—produced by gravity! How does gravity, as far as we know, come to produce molar motion?—Evidently by the fall of a body; the fall being either allowed to take place without interception, as is the case with a waterfall driving a mill; or, under gradual interception, as is the case with the weight driving clock-work. Anyhow, it is evident, that in no case was it gravity that lifted either the water or the weight above the level of the ground. Yet without such a previous lift, gravity could never have produced molar motion. What happens is this. A force, other than gravity, in direction, moreover, diametrically opposed to gravity,

must first have been set to work to raise the water or the weight above the level of the ground, in order to give space to the action of gravity for the display of molar motion. The force spent in raising the water or the weight is gradually but steadily counteracted by the downward traction of gravity, till it is entirely consumed; then and not before, gravity acquires free play, without opposition, and brings the water or the weight down with a force equivalent to the force that had been spent in raising the objects just mentioned to a certain height above the level. Are we then not entitled to say, that the molar motion produced by gravity does take place, so far as we know, at the expense of another motion? In the economy of Nature the ordinary water power is the result, first, of evaporation of the waters at sea-level; further, of the diffusion and convection of vapor and its subsequent condensation at a higher level—all processes where heat of more or less intensity plays a most important role.

As to the molecular motion produced by gravity we know that it results in a closer approach of the molecules of a body to each other. Now aggregation of matter is invariably known to be associated with a loss on the part of the material particles concerned, of a certain degree of mobility. Carried beyond certain limits, the aggregation of matter will change gases into liquids, and transform the latter into solids, while heat—a mode of molecular motion—is all along being set free. Gravity, in all such cases, produces then molecular motion—molecular aggregation—at the expense of another mode of molecular motion, at the expense of the freedom of motion the molecules enjoyed so long as they have not been tightened to each other by gravitational aggregation. We are here reminded of what has been said before with regard to gravitation. If gravitation had its full sway in this cosmos of ours, without let or hindrance, there would soon be an end of the aggregate of phenomena, and, it may be added, of each phenomenon in particular, for the simple reason that each and all of them would be swallowed up by one huge phenomenon—the conglomeration of all matter into one mass.—The very fact, then, that there is still room left for gravitational action, shows best, that there must have been, all along, a force at work that prevented the conglomeration of the molecules into one mass. This force was a separative molecular motion, called heat, which must be spent, or radiated away before gravitation can manifest any activity.

Let us then throw a veil of charity over the above quotation. The passage is unworthy of a John Stuart Mill. The wonder is, how such sentences have been carried over from one edition of

the book to another, without any one having had, up to date, the good sense to omit them altogether. I have before me the last edition—the "People's Edition"—dated 1889!

Of course the objection raised by Mill against the doctrine of Conservation of Energy does not rest entirely on what he had to say on gravity when producing motion. His main argument, and one which is apparently unanswerable, derives its strength from gravity, or, indeed, any other force, when not in motion, in other words, when in a potential state. Nevertheless as he has chosen to call to his aid certain subsidiary arguments besides, it is but fair that they should be dealt with according to the merit or demerit that there is in them. The main point, as the reader will have observed, consists in this, that in all cases of what, according to the modern doctrine, is called potential energy, there is actually not the slightest sign of any activity, so that "the force said to be laid up, and merely potential, is no more a really existing thing than any other properties of objects are really existing things. The expression is a mere artifice of language. . . . A force suspended in its operation, neither manifesting itself by motion nor by pressure, is not an existing fact, but a name for our conviction that in appropriate circumstances a fact would take place."

I said before that these objections of John Stuart Mill against the modern doctrine of Conservation of Energy are apparently unanswerable. As a matter of fact, they have not, to my knowledge, been met by any answer, up to the present date. Our textbooks on Physics represent the subject of potential energy in the same manner as it has been done by John Stuart Mill, while the objections raised by him are passed over in silence. Professor Tyndall in his *Fragments of Science*, published in the year 1879, [seven years after Mill's eighth edition of a *System of Logic*], in speaking of a body suspended at a height above the earth, says, that such a body has a power of motion though it may not have exercised it. "Energy" he continues, "is possible to such a body; and we agree to call this potential energy."—We agree! That is just what Mill asserts: the existence of potential energy is not a reality, it is a mere product of—an "artifice of language."

After what has been said, it may appear rather bold on my part to affirm that the doctrine of Conservation of Energy, represents on its potential side as concrete and stubborn a fact, as is acknowledged to do on its dynamic side. Nevertheless such is the conclusion I have arrived at after due reflection.

Let us remember that Energy, in its widest sense, includes not only the power to move, but also the power to resist motion; the

power to exercise pressure when motion is impossible on account of want of space, and the power to resist such pressure. This was fully understood by Mill. Speaking of the coal lying in the pit, he says, that the force it exerts in combustion, is not shown to have been exerted in the shape of molecular motion while lying in the pit; "it was not even exerting pressure." Again "The stone on the eminence is exerting pressure, but only equivalent to its weight, not to the additional momentum it would acquire by falling." And further on "A force suspended in its operation, neither manifesting itself by motion nor by pressure is not an existing force. . . ."

Now to begin with the case of the stone lying on an eminence, it can be shown that the stone does exert a pressure; not a pressure downward, as Mill expected, but a pressure upward, against gravity; known as it is that the weight of a body decreases in the inverse ratio of the square of its distance from the centre of gravity. The energy spent in throwing or lifting the stone to a certain height has then produced a permanent effect on the stone, while resting on an eminence.

The loss of weight on the part of the stone may be trifling, compared with the force of projection that had to be set in motion in order to effect the lift of the stone; and it may appear doubtful, at first sight, whether the one could fairly be accepted as a set-off against, or, what comes to the same thing, as an equivalent to the other. Let us however remember that the question as to what manner and amount of effect is to be considered adequate to a certain, definite amount of force, is not of a nature to be settled off-hand by a mere estimate; experience alone can teach us the due equivalents of cause and effect in each and every case. The quantity of heat applied for the purpose of melting a given piece of ice is equivalent to the work done on the ice. The melting point is however known to differ with each solid body. The quantity of heat necessary to convert a given piece of ice into a liquid body would be insufficient by far, to melt a piece of copper of similar size or of similar weight; the same quantity of heat would, on the other hand, suffice to melt a piece of wax, much larger both in size and weight, than the piece of ice which was supposed to serve us as a standard in the present example. Yet we are satisfied that the work of altering the state of molecular aggregation is, in each case, a perfect equivalent to the respective number of calorics spent. We take it for granted, that the molecular cohesion in the different bodies just mentioned, differs, and this accounts for the different degree of heat neces-

sary in each and every case.—Gravitation itself presents us in this respect with a striking example. In order to remove a pound-mass out of the terrestrial sphere of attraction, a lift equal to no less than 21 millions of foot-pounds would be required.

But not only is the force once active, in raising the stone above the level manifest by pressure—by pressure upward, against gravitation ; I am in a position to show that the stone, resting as it does on an eminence, conserves, in a somewhat altered manner, the actual motion imparted to it by the anterior projection.

Let us remember that the earth rotates round her axis ; that the stone lying on an eminence describes a larger circle during its rotation than it could have done when resting on a lower level ; that the stone has consequently acquired an acceleration of rotatory motion, equivalent to the projecting force that has been exerted upon it.

The following consideration will serve to show in a still clearer light how closely the stone under discussion carries out all that is implied in the law of Conservation of Energy. Suppose the stone while lying on a low level should in its course of rotation happen to collide with another body moving in a direction opposite to its own. The consequence would be a partial or total arrest of its molar motion, with a transference of the molar motion, thus arrested or reduced, to its component molecules, whereby heat would be generated, in proportion to the velocity of the colliding bodies. Let us now suppose that a similar event happened to a stone of similar size and weight, after it had been projected to a certain eminence above the ordinary level. There would again be a crash and an evolution of heat. But the crash and the evolution of heat would now be greater, because of the increased velocity of the stone ; and the excess of heat would represent, if converted into its mechanical equivalent, the very number of foot-pounds that were spent in projecting the stone to the higher level.—As far as our telluric relations are concerned, we may then search in vain after a restoration of the power spent in projecting the stone, from the moment the same happens to be suspended at the height of its ascent by some obstacle ; and we may agree to call the energy thus suspended, potential, to all intents and purposes concerning our terrestrial economy. In the household of Nature, however, the energy spent is as active as ever. It is the old story over again : Whenever motion is arrested in one way, it is sure to manifest itself in some other way. Arrested on the earth, the projective force manifests itself in the cosmos at large.

In my next and last article I shall deal with the other portion of Mill's argument—with the potential energy of the coal. Mean-

while there is a lesson to be learnt from the stone resting on the top of the mountain, which may find its place at the close of the present article. The lesson refers to one of the doctrines of Buddha, the doctrine of Nirvana. The literal meaning of the word being extinction, it has been held by many, to be identical with annihilation. The doctrine of Buddha is accordingly branded as a doctrine of despair, having presumably nothing better to hold out to man, as its final goal, than absolute and total annihilation. Considering that Buddha laid so much stress upon the law of Continuous Change as pervading the whole universe, after the order of Cause and Effect, it is rather strange that his doctrine of Nirvana should ever have been construed in the sense just mentioned. The very conception of causation implies, as we have seen before, a perpetual transmutation, without beginning or ending, of cause into effect—of effect into ulterior cause. A last effect—and this is what absolute extinction must mean, if it means anything—a last effect must therefore be held to be just as much out of the question, as a First Cause. At the utmost, the meaning the term Nirvana could reasonably convey would be, dispersion—disintegration; disintegration both of the component material particles of the matter, and of the various forms of energy which, in their assemblage, constitute the individual man. But then, the shortest road to Nirvana would be suicide. To those who insist upon identifying Buddhism with a religion of despair, such a desperate interpretation of Nirvana might, on the principle of "the worse the better," not be unwelcome. Let them, however, remember the tenderness Buddha displayed in all his teachings towards living beings, even of the lowest rank in the scale of animal creation. Is it then likely that, he who would not allow his disciples to kill the meanest of living beings, had nothing better to teach them, than to destroy themselves by a slow process of self-extinction?

This is not the place to say what Nirvana is, and in what way, according to Buddha, it may be attained. Those who are willing to hear and to learn, may find the best interpretation of the term in the following words: "He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life shall find it." We are, however, for the present chiefly concerned with the task of removing all misinterpretations from the term; with the task, in fact, of stating what Nirvana is not. Nirvana, then, is evidently not intended to convey the meaning of annihilation. Grant this, and the true meaning of the term will at once be apparent to any one who knows that energy may exist in two different modes—either in the active or potential form. The Nirvana of Buddha properly understood, forcibly reminds one of the

words of Christ, "Come to me all ye who are poor and heavily laden, and I will give you . . . Rest."

Is the rest to be absolute?—No. For potential energy implies, at any rate, the possibility of a re-awakening activity. Is it to be complete for the time being?—Our previous considerations furnish the best answer to this question. We have seen how the rest of what is called potential energy may, to all appearance, be so complete, as to deceive the very elect in the world of science and intelligence; while activity is none the less in full swing. So it is with the rest called Nirvana. It is complete rest in one sense, and activity in another sense, in another sphere. It is complete rest in all matters concerning telluric economy; while there is unfolding of unsuspected energy in spheres celestial.

And the individuality of what remains after self-extinction, has it remained intact? And if so, has it, like the energy it conserves, undergone alteration in its mode of existence?

Let us again refer to the stone as resting on an eminence. Material bodies are distinguished by their specific gravity; specific gravity enters, indeed, as one of the foremost elements into their individuality. Yet if we test the individuality of the stone resting on an eminence by its specific gravity, in applying a spring balance, we shall find that its individuality has changed—its gravity having been reduced. But for all that its mass—that which constitutes its existence as a material body, has remained unaltered. So may, and does, the state of Nirvana alter the very individuality of the man, without altering that which has all along constituted his existence as a living unit.

* L. SALZER.

BREEDING OF ANIMALS IN CAPTIVITY.

IN his Resolution on the report of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens for the year 1888-89, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 9th October 1889, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal expressed his opinion to the effect that "as the Gardens have now been in existence for 13 years (since 1875-76), it is presumable that many events have taken place among the large number of mammals, birds, &c., exhibited from time to time which would be of interest to the scientific world and to persons interested in Zoology." A short account of some of the most interesting of these events which have, from time to time, happened among the denizens of the Calcutta Zoo, and of the London Zoological Society's Gardens in the Regent's Park of that city, and of other celebrated menageries of the world, may prove interesting to those readers of the *National Magazine* who take an interest in the study of natural history. For the benefit of those not acquainted with the first principles of zoology, it would be better to give a brief description of the group of animals known as Mammalia and of their classification. Zoologists say that Mammalia are backboneed air-breathing animals, more or less clothed with hair on the exterior of the body; the females are provided with milk-glands and the young are brought forth alive, with the exception of the Duck-billed Platypus and the Echidna which lay eggs and incubate their young ones by hatching them and which are peculiar to the fauna of Australia. Their limbs are usually four in number. In some mammals, the hinder pair of limbs are modified into swimming-paddles or suppressed altogether as in the group Cetacea or whales and dolphins; while the anterior pair in some mammals are developed into wings and into flippers as in the groups Chiroptera or bats, and Dermoptera or flying lemurs. In some members of the Mammalia as in Man and the Anthropoid or man-like apes, the tail is quite rudimentary; it is prehensile or possessed of the power of curling round and grasping objects as in the Monkeys and the Opossums peculiar to the American fauna. In the Felidae or cats, the tail is an useless appendage—being long and simple.

In elephants, cattle &c., it is provided with a long tassel for driving away insects from the skin ; whereas in some mammals it is modified into a swimming-organ as in the whales, the beaver, the musk-rat, the water-rat and others. The heart of mammals is divided into two parts, each of which is provided with a ventricle and auricle. High temperature is the characteristic of the blood of this group of animals, excepting the Echidna of Australia, the temperature of whose blood is lower than that of other mammals—it standing at about 78°.

At present nearly 3000 kinds of mammals are known to Zoologists as existing on the earth and as being sufficiently distinct from each other to be recognised as a species. Palæontologists say that mammals existed on the earth so far back as the early Mesozoic period for, among the fossils characteristic of it, a few minute teeth representing three small species of mammals have been discovered, Mammalia are divided into three subclasses, viz., *Monodelphia*, *Didelphia* and *Ornithodelphia*. The subclass Monodelphia is again divided into ten orders, namely, *Primates*, *Carnivora*, *Insectivora*, *Chiroptera*, *Dermoptera*, *Rodentia*, *Ungulata*, *Sirenia*, *Cetacea* and *Edentata*. The subclass Didelphia includes one and one group only, namely *Marsupialia* ; whereas the single order *Monotremata* is included in the subclass Ornithodelphia.

The first order Primates, which is divided into two suborders, namely, Anthropeidea and Lemuroidea, consist of Man, Monkeys and Lemurs. Of the Monkeys living in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, only some peculiar to the fauna of the old world and belonging to the group known as *Catarrhini*, have bred there. The Rhesus Monkey (*Macacus rhesus*) has not only bred in the Gardens but has also crossed with the crab-eating monkey of the Malayan peninsula (*Macacus cynomolgus*). Dr. John Anderson, late Superintendent of the gardens, says of these hybrids that "they possess more the characters of the female parent (*M. rhesus*) than of the male." A pair of the Bonnet Monkey of Southern India (*Macacus Sinicus*), brought from Madras, also bred in the Calcutta Zoo. But the newly-born male baby monkey died on the 22nd June 1880. The Langur or Hanuman monkey (*Semnopithecus entellus*) has also bred in the gardens. Of the other semnotes (*Semnopithecus pileatus*, *S. phayri* ; *S. pyrrhus* ; *S. nasicus* ; *S. pruinus* ; *S. cephalopterus*, &c. &c.) which have been, from time to time, exhibited in the gardens, none has bred there. Specimens of other rarer species of semnotes or leaf-eating monkeys have from time to time been exhibited in the Alipore gardens. A specimen of a Thigh-striped Semnote (*Semnopithecus femoralis*) lived in gardens in 1881-82. A crested semnote (*S. cristatus*) was obtained by ex-

change in 1882-83 by the Committee from Mr. W. Rutledge of Calcutta. In 1883-84 two White-eyelid semnotes (*S. holotephrens* of Anderson and described by that naturalist in his "*Anatomical and Zoological Researches*" 1878 p. 27), obtained by exchange from Mr Rutledge, lived for some time in the Calcutta Zoo. The Committee have not yet been able to obtain living specimens of Barbe's Leaf-eating Monkey (*S. Barberi*)—an inhabitant of Tipperah, Irrawadi Valley and Tenasserim—which is supposed by Dr. J. Anderson to be identical with the *S. Phayrei*. The *catarrhini* of Africa have also been represented in the Calcutta Zoo in the following monkeys peculiar to the fauna of the western part of that Continent. They are the Pluto monkey (*Cercopithecus pluto*), Talapoin (*C. talapoin*), Diana monkey (*C. Diana*), Lesser white-tipped nosed monkey with silky manes (*C. petaurista*), the Houtans monkey (*C. nyctitans*), (Mona (*C. mona*), Malbrouck (*C. malbrouck*) Moustache monkey (*C. cephus*), &c. The last named species has only succeeded in rearing a beautiful young one which the female of a pair of Malbroucks in the gardens gave birth to, some years ago. The other section of the Anthropeidea is the *Platyrrhini* and includes the "broad-nosed" monkeys of America, which are characterised by their widely separated nostrils, frequently prehensile tails, less perfectly opposable thumbs &c. Of this group only three species, belonging to three distinct genera respectively, have hitherto been exhibited in the gardens, viz., the Sapajou or Weeper Capuchin monkey of Brazil (*Cebus capucinus*), the squirrel monkey of Guiana (*Chrysotrrix sciurea*) and the common marmoset of Brazil (*Hapale jacchus*), none of which has been bred in the Calcutta and the London Zoos. Though the second suborder of the primates the *Lemuroidea*—has been illustrated in the Calcutta Zoo by specimens of the Ruffed lemur and the mongoose lemur, by the *Galago Garnetti* of Africa, and by the slow-paced Lemur of India (*Nycticebus tardigradus*) and by the Slow Loris of the same region (*Loris gracilis*), it is very difficult to keep them alive in confinement for a long time. The other Lemurs that have been exhibited in the Alipore Gardens are the Yellow-fronted Lemur (*Lemur flavifrons*) and the Black Lemur (*L. varius*). The next order Carnivora comprise the whole groups of animals known as the Beasts of Prey such as the cats, wolves, dogs, bears, weasels and other animals. It is divided into two suborders, viz., *Fissipedia* or land Carnivores and *Pinnipedia* or Four-footed Carnivores such as seals and walruses. The suborder *Fissipedia* includes three sections known as the *Ailuroidea* (cats, hyenas, and civet-cats), the *Cynoidea* (dogs, wolves and foxes) and the *Arctoidea*

(bears, weasels and raccoons). Of the representatives of the first family *Felidae* or the cats belonging to the section Ailuroidea, now in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, a tigress (*Felis tigris*) once gave birth, to a number of cubs. In 1882 another tigress, named "Hira", gave birth to a litter of two or three cubs, all of which grew up to be fine young tigers, one of which was sent in exchange to the London Zoological Gardens. Several tiger cubs were also born at Alipore in the April of 1889, and they are now thriving well there. Though lions both male and female (*Felis leo*) have, from time to time, been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoo, none of them has been blessed with any offspring as yet. Lions are said to breed freely in England, especially in Bristol and in the London Zoo, and lions have been known to breed even in Madras, for a specimen of a young lioness born in the People's Park of that city was once obtained by the Calcutta Zoo in exchange for a young Orang-outang. Lions have been known to breed even in Calcutta, for a lioness in the *menagerie* of Baboo Hari Mohan Ray of Badoorbagan, gave birth to a litter of cubs, all of which unfortunately died very soon after birth in spite of the care that was taken for the preservation of their lives. But lions seem to be shy breeders here in the Calcutta Zoo. They may be successfully encouraged to breed here by inducing them on to a more secluded situation. With this view the Committee of Management have built a secluded den at the rear of the lions' den in the Burdwan House. We wish the Committee's efforts in this direction to be crowned with success at no distant date. A pair of Jaguars (*Felis Onca*), obtained by exchange from the Hamburgh Zoological Gardens, were added to the Alipore *menagerie* in February of the current year. They are very handsome animals of the size of a wolf, and are of a pale brownish yellow color variegated with black spots and stripes. To a person not acquainted with their specific distinctions, they will appear as a pair of Indian leopards (*Felis pardus*) of which there are lots in the Calcutta Zoo. The Jaguars constitute the "tiger" of the *fauna* of the New World just as Pumas (*Felis concolor*), a very fine specimen of which was exhibited at Alipore from February 1887 to March 1888, are called the "lion" of the same region. The Jaguar rarely breeds in captivity. One, that was in the London Zoo, littered a cub on the 23rd September 1864. The mode of their breeding as well as of the Pumas in the Regent's Park Menagerie have been described by Mr. Bartlett, Superintendent of that institution, in the Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London for the year 1861, p. 141. The third section of the fissiped Carni-

vora is the Arctoidea, consisting of the Beas, Weasels, Raccoons, &c. The last family *Ursidae*, belonging to this section, includes the true bears. The Calcutta Zoological Gardens have had, at one time or other, specimens of all the species of the *Ursidae*, excepting four, now living on the surface of the globe. The species, that have from time to time been exhibited in the Alipore Gardens, are the common plains bear (*Ursus Tibetanus*), Himalayan bear (*U. Himalayanus*), Himalayan brown bear (*U. Isabellinus*), Malayan bear (*U. Malayanus*), grizzly bear (*U. horribilis*), American black bear (*U. Americanus*), European brown bear (*U. arctos*), specimens of which were purchased by the committee at the sale of the late King of Oudh's menagerie, and the Polar bear (*U. maritimus*) a specimen of which was deposited in the Gardens by Mr. W. Rutledge the well-known dealer in wild animals. All of them are shy breeders, except the last-named species a female of which whelped a pair of cubs in the London Zoological Gardens. I will now pass over the next three orders Insectivora, Chiroptera and Dermoptera as they include small animals which are not much understood, and treat at once of the *Rodentia* or gnawing animals. This last order is divided into two suborders, viz., *Simplicidentata* and *Duplicidentata*. The *Simplicidentata* include those gnawing animals which possess only one pair of incisor teeth in the upper jaw; whereas the *Duplicidentata* comprise those with two. The *Simplicidentata* are again sub-divided into three sections, namely, *Sciuromorpha* (squirrels), *Myomorpha* (rats and mice) and *Hystricomorpha* (porcupines). Of the *Sciuromorpha*, only the North-American Prairie-Marmots (*Cynomys Ludovicianus*), some specimens of which were presented to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens by Mr. Salvia, the representative of Mr. William Cross, the well-known Liverpool dealer in *feræ naturæ*, have bred in these Gardens as they have done in the London Zoo. Of the specimens of the *Myomorpha* or Rat section, which have been illustrated in the Calcutta Gardens, only the Indian Jerboa (*Gerbillus indica*) and the common and the chestnut-colored Bamboo-rats of India and Malaya (*Rhizomys sp.*) have succeeded in rearing broods of young ones in the Gardens. Only members of three families of the *Hystricomorphine* section of the *Rodentia*, namely, the *Hystricidae*, the *Dasyproctidae* and the *Caviidae* regularly breed in the Calcutta Zoo. Of the *Dasyproctidae*, the Central American Agouti (*Dasyprocta isthmica*) and the Guiana Agouti (*D. prymnolopha*) breed freely in the Gardens; whereas of the *Hystricidae*, only the short-quilled porcupine (*Hystrix bengalensis*) regularly rear young ones there, but this species has the bad habit of Saturn-like devouring its own

offspring. The little animals known to us as Guinea-pigs, which belong to the family *Caviidæ*, also breed regularly in the Gardens. Of the *Duplicidentata*, hares and rabbits breed freely in captivity. Next we come to the order *Ungulata* or hoofed animals. This order is sub-divided into four suborders, namely, *Proboscidea* (Elephants), *Hyracoidæ* (Coneys), *Perissodactyla* (Rhinoceroses, Tapirs, Horses and Asses) and *Artiodactyla* (Camels, Deer, Giraffe, &c., &c.). Of the *Perissodactyla* or odd-toed Ungulates, represented in the Calcutta Gardens, only the *Rhinosceridæ* and the *Tapiridæ* have bred in this menagerie. There are now four, species of Rhinoceros living in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, namely, the Great Indian Rhinoceros (*R. Indicus*), the lesser Indian Rhinoceros (*R. Sondaicus*), the Sumatran Rhinoceros (*R. Sumatrensis*), and the hairy-eared Rhinoceros (*R. Lasiotis*). Some of them were purchased from the sale of the menagerie of H. M. the late King of Oudh. By the acquisition of these valuable and rare animals, the Committee were able to complete their collection of Asiatic Rhinoceri and to exhibit them side by side. The most interesting and, at the same time, the rarest event that has happened in the annals of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens since their establishment is the birth of a hybrid between *Rhinoceros Sumatrensis* and *R. Lasiotis*. This interesting domestic occurrence took place at the Calcutta Zoo on Wednesday, the 30th January 1889, and was reported next morning in the local columns of the Calcutta dailies. Rhinoceri so seldom breed in captivity, that it appears that this is the first instance on record in which they have done so, and, what is still more remarkable, is the first instance in which one species has crossed with another of a different one. The history of the example of the *R. Lasiotis* now in our Zoo is quite remarkable, so that an account of it will not, I hope, prove uninteresting to those who are real lovers of natural history. The mother of the baby rhinoceros now in the Calcutta Zoo, namely, the *R. Lasiotis*, is the second individual of this species known to Zoologists at present. The other specimen of this hairy-eared species is in the London Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park. Dr. P. L. Sclater, in his "*Guide to the London Zoological Gardens*," gives the following interesting account of this latter specimen: "Of this new Rhinoceros, which is nearly allied to the Sumatran, an adult female is in the Society's collection. 'Begum,' as she is called, was captured near Chittagong in British Burma by some officers employed in the Kheddah Department of the Indian Army—that is, in the capture of wild elephants. In January 1872, she was brought to

England by Mr. W. Jamrach, a well-known dealer in living animals, and purchased by the Zoological Society of London for the sum of £ 1,250." The specimen in the Alipore Gardens is an adult female which was caught near Chittagong on the estate of Begum Latifa Khatun of Ramu, by some shikaris. "Muni Begum," as she is named, soon became tame and tractable, and became a great favorite in the Begum's household, where the children used to ride her, as the London children did on Jumbo's back. She was presented to the Gardens by the Begum in 1882. The father of the baby rhinoceros—namely, (*R. Sumatrensis*), is one of a pair of the black-haired two-horned rhinoceros from Malacca which was purchased by the Committee of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, I believe, in 1883 or thereabouts. Another specimen of the Hairy-eared Rhinoceros (*R. Lasiotis*) has also been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoo. It is a fine young male from Burma. "The Committee are greatly indebted to Mr. C. E. Bernard, C. S. I., Chief Commissioner of British Burma, by whom this valuable animal was procured for the Calcutta Zoological Gardens in 1884-85." The Tapirs (*Tapiridae*) are swamp-loving animals, excellent swimmers and divers, of which one species occurs in Malaysia and the others in Central and South America. They occasionally breed in captivity; for a female Malayan Tapir (*Tapirus Malayanus*) in the Calcutta Zoo, which was obtained in 1877, from Mr. William Jamrach, the well-known London dealer in wild animals, when in Calcutta, in exchange for a young elephant gave birth in that year to a young male tapir. This interesting event was announced in the Calcutta morning papers and large numbers of visitors went to see Dame Tapir and her new-born son and heir. Dame Tapir must have been *enceinte* previous to her arrival in the Calcutta Zoo, and so Mr. Jamrach, had the worst of the bargain. Both the mother and the son lived for some time in the Calcutta Zoo, but their subsequent history is not known to me. A female American Tapir (*Tapirus Americanus*), in the London Zoological Gardens also gave birth to a young one in 1884, or thereabouts. The equine family of the Perissodactyla, namely, horses, asses and zebras have hitherto been represented in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens by several fine specimens of the Wild Ass of Scinde (*Equus Onager*), which was presented to the Gardens by the late Sir William Mereweather, Commissioner of Scinde, and by a fine specimen of the Domestic Ass of Soudan (*Equus asinus*). Though the *Onagers* have been living in our Zoo, from a long time, they have not bred there. All the species of Zebras now known to Zoologists, namely, the nearly extinct

true Zebra (*Equus Zebra*), the comparatively common Burchell's Zebra (*Equus Burchelli*) and the Quagga (*Equus Quagga*), have, from time to time, been exhibited in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London but only Burchell's Zebras have thriven well and have bred in captivity there. Any of the Zebras would be a desirable acquisition for the Calcutta Zoo. The fourth suborder of the Ungulata, namely, the (*Artiodactyla*), or the even-toed Ungulates, are distinguished by having two central hoofs of each foot equal in size. They consist of two very distinct groups of animals, *Vis.*, the *Suina* comprising the Pigs and Hippopotami which are non-ruminants, and (*Ruminantia*), or mammals that chew the cud. Of the (*Suidæ*), the peculiarly-coloured River-Hogs (*Potamocharus*) of Tropical Africa and the White-lipped Peccary of America (*Dicotyles albirostris*), have thriven well and reared young ones in captivity in the London Zoological Gardens. The (*Hippopotamidæ*), have also been represented in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, for a fine young specimen, which was purchased by the Committee of Management for Rs. 5,000, was exhibited at Alipore for some time but it did not thrive well there and died some time after. But hippopotami have done very well in the Gardens of the London Zoological Society for they have not only lived there for a long time but have also calved there regularly. A pair of them—the male being named *Obaysch*—have been living in the Regent's Park since 1850, and have given birth to two or three calves. Hippopotami have also bred in the Amsterdam Zoological Gardens from where a young female was procured by the Zoological Society of London as a mate for the old *Obaysch*. Regarding the breeding of Hippopotami in captivity, *Science* of the 20th December 1889, announced the following interesting event:

"A hippopotamus was born in the Central Park Menagerie of this city (New York U. S. A.), on the night of December 1st; and this is said to be the first instance of an event of this kind in this country. Unfortunately it died on the 6th of pneumonia, as we learn from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*."

The *Ruminantia*—the second great group of the *Artiodactyles*—consists of three sections, namely, the *Tylopoda* or camel tribe, the *Tragulina* or Chevrotains and the *Pecora* or the Oxen, antelopes and deer, and the Giraffe. The *Tylopoda* include the camels and the Llamas which have pads of skin beneath their hoofs (hence the name *Tylopoda* or "pad-footed.") Both the Dromedary (*Camelus dromedarius*), and the Bactrian or Two-humped camel (*Camelus Bactrianus*), as also the Llamas of Peru (*Anche-*

nia glama), have been represented in the Calcutta Zoo. A Bactrian Camel once bred in the London Zoo. Of the Chevrotains, only three species have hitherto been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoo. The Rib-faced Barking deer (*Cervulus muntjac*) can be found in the gardens at all times.* In December 1877 I found two specimens of the Reeves' Muntjac (*Cervulus Reevesi*) and two specimens of the Sclater's Muntjac (*C. Sclateri*) living in the Alipore Gardens but they do not appear to have thrived well there for they died shortly after. The section Pecora consists of the following families: the *Bovidae* or Bull tribe containing the Oxen, Sheep, Antelopes and Gazelles; the *Antilocapridæ* containing only a single species, the Pronghorn of North America (*Antilocapra Americana*); the *Giraffidæ*; and the *Cervidæ* or Deer family. Of the *Bovidae* or bovine family of animals exhibited in the gardens, the Gyals or mithuns (*Bibos frontalis*), the wild Oxen of the hilly regions of South-Eastern India, have calved freely in the gardens; while a pair of Bantengs or Sondaic wild ox (*Bos Sondaicus*), said to be from Borneo, and obtained by exchange from Mr. Rutledge, the well-known Calcutta dealer in wild animals, once gave birth to a fine young calf. The other species of *Bovidae* that have, from time to time, been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens are the Gaur (*Bos Gaurus*), the Bison (*Bos Americanus*), the Cape Buffalo (*Bos Caffer*), and the Indian Buffalo (*Bos arni*). Another very rare member of the *Bovidae*, namely, the Wild Buffalo of Celebes (*Anoa Depressicornis*)—a pair of which was obtained by exchange from Mr. Teysmann of Buitenzorg in Java—has been illustrated in the Calcutta Zoo. Unfortunately they did not thrive well here. Of the antelopes, the Indian Gazelle (*Gazella bennettii*), the Black Buck (*Antelope cervicapra*), and the Nilgai (*Portax picta*), breed freely in our Zoo. Of the third family *Giraffidæ*, a fine pair of Giraffes was presented to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens by the late Mr. E. D. J. Ezra. One of them died of licking the poisonous paint on its label but the other lived for some time but gradually pined away and ultimately died. Giraffes breed regularly in the London Zoo as well as in some other principal Menageries of Europe. Of the *Cervidæ* or deer tribe, some species breed freely in the Calcutta Zoo. A pair of the Wapiti deer (*Cervus Canadensis*), once bred in the gardens, but the fawn, that was born, was unfortunately killed at its birth. The Barasingha deer (*Cervus duvancelli*), the Equine deer (*Cervus equinus*), the Hog deer (*Cervus porcinus*), the spotted deer (*C. axis*) and the Sambar (*C. aristotelis*) breed freely in the Calcutta Zoo. The other deers that have been represented in the

gardens are the Rusa deer (*C. hippelaphus*) and the Formosan deer (*C. taevanus*). A pair of Molucca deer (*Cervus moluccensis*) obtained by exchange from the London Zoo, once bred in the gardens and the fawn grew up to be a fine specimen. Three species of African antelopes have hitherto been exhibited in the Alipore menagerie. They are the Eland antelope (*Oreas canna*), the Beisa antelope (*Oryx beisa*) and the Grant's gazelle (*Gazella granti*) discovered by Captains Grant and Speke the celebrated African travellers. Of these, only the second species has bred there. Another African antelope has been exhibited in the Alipore Gardens. It was a fine specimen of the Bubaline Antelope (*Alcephalus bubalis*) from North Africa which, "with two young giraffes and some other African mammals and ostriches, were purchased and imported through the exertions of the late Mr. E. D. J. Ezra; but the Committee regret that the young giraffes died on the passage to Calcutta." Another hardy deer which has been acclimatised in England but which is, however, unrepresented in the Calcutta Zoo, is the Japanese Deer (*Cervus sika*). It breeds regularly there; and there are fine herds of it in English noblemen's parks. We pass over the orders Sirenia and the Cetacea and come to that of the Edentata. This last order is divided into four suborders, namely, the *Pilosa*, the *Loricata*, the *Squamata* and the *Tubulidentata*. The *Pilosa* or Hairy Edentates comprise two families, namely, the Sloths (*Bradypodidæ*) and the Ant-eaters (*Myrmecophagidæ*). The *Bradypodidæ* are represented in the Calcutta Zoo by the Two-toed Sloth of Tropical America (*Bradypus didactylus*). This species once bred in the London Zoo. There are two other species of this genus, which are, however, very rare and are not represented at Alipore. They are the Hoffman's Sloth (*Bradypus Hoffmanni*) and the Three-toed Sloth (*B. tridactylus*). The only species of the *Myrmecophagidæ*, which the Calcutta Zoological Gardens have hitherto possessed, is a specimen of the Great Ant-eater (*Myrmecophaga jubata*) of Tropical America, which was obtained by exchange from the Zoological Society of London. Much smaller in size than the Giant Ant-eater, are the other members of this family, *vis.*, the Tamanduas and the Two-toed Ant-eater, the latter being scarcely larger than a rat. The *Loricata* or Shielded Edentates have hitherto been represented at Alipore by several specimens of the Six-banded Armadillo (*Dasypus sexcinctus*). The *Squamata* have also been illustrated in our Zoo by specimens of the *Manidæ* or Pangolins. These animals do not thrive well in captivity. We next come to the Subclass Didelphia which, however, consists of only one order Marsupialia or Pouched

Mammals. They are so called because of their females possessing a peculiar *marsupium* or pouch of skin on their bellies. This order consists of six families. The first family *Macropodidæ* contains the Kangaroos of Australia and have hitherto been represented in the Calcutta Zoo by two species, *vis.*, the beautiful Red Kangaroo (*Macropus rufus*) and the Great Kangaroo or Boomer (*M. giganteus*). These species breed in the Regent's Park menagerie and in the Gardens of the Acclimatization Societies of Australia. The third family *Dasyuridæ* contains some small carnivorous mammals of which one species Geoffroy's Dasyure (*Dasyurus geoffroyi*) has been exhibited at Alipore. The other Dasyure that has been illustrated at Alipore is the Viverrine Dasyure (*Dasyurus viverrinus*). The fourth family *Phascolomyidæ* contains the Wombats of which two species, *vis.*, the Platyrrhine Wombat (*Phascolomys platyrrhinus*) and the Hairy-nosed Wombat (*P. latifrons*) have been illustrated in our Zoo. The fifth family *Phalangistidæ* has hitherto been represented at Alipore by two species—the Vulpine Phalanger (*Phalangista vulpinus*), and the Koala (*Phascolarctos cinereus*). The sixth family *Didelphyidæ* contains the Opossums which are the only living extra-Australian members of the order Marsupialia. Only the Virginian Opossums (*Didelphys virginiana*) have been exhibited at the Calcutta Zoo. Smaller members of the family *Macropodidæ* have also, from time to time, been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoo. They are the common Wallaby (*Halmaturus ualabatus*) and the Bennett's Wallaby (*H. benetti*); the Yellow-footed Rock-Kangaroo (*Petrogale xanthopus*) and the Unadorned-footed Rock-Kangaroo (*P. inornata*); and the Gaimard's, Rat Kangaroo (*Hypsiprymnus gaimardi*). Of the marsupials in the Calcutta Zoo only the Common Wallaby (*Halmaturus ualabatus*) thriven well in captivity and has freely bred there. Some other marsupials breed freely in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London. Efforts are now being made to acclimatize and breed the Kangaroos in England. *Science* of the 18th April 1890 contains the following note on the acclimatization and the propagation of the *Macropodidæ* in England: "The problem whether Kangaroos can be acclimatized in England appears to have been solved at Tring Park by a very simple process. Hitherto it seems to have been assumed that the only chance of keeping Kangaroos in that climate is to rear them on the principle which, to use a vulgar colloquialism is known as coddling. They have accordingly been kept and tended in pens or small enclosures, as we see them in Regents' Park. At Tring Park, however, according to the interesting account to Mr. Walter Rothschild, they have simply been turned loose in the park and

woods, and the experiment has proved remarkably successful. Fifteen years since, the late Baron de Rothschild endeavoured to breed kangaroos; but the male and young one were unfortunately poisoned by eating laurel,—a danger which English Kangaroo-breeders will do well to note. Of late, however, the experiment has been renewed with success. They are found, we are told, to breed freely, and there are now to be seen in Tring Park twenty-eight or thirty native Kangaroos, including the red and black species, Bennett's Wallaby (*Halmaturus Bennetti*, the black Wallaby (*H. Ualabatus*), and the larger *Macropus*, generally known as the "Giant Kangaroo" (*Macropus Giganteus*)."

Of the *Aves*, or birds which are divided into several orders, namely, *Raptores*, *Grallatores*, *Natatores*, *Scansores*, *Passeres*, &c., a female of a pair of African Ostriches (*Struthio camelus*), laid in 1880, a number of eggs, but she did not succeed in hatching them. The late Mr. Carl Loui's Schwendler, Superintendent of the Gardens, who took a personal interest in the welfare of the animals, tried to hatch them by means of electricity but his efforts, I regret to say, were not crowned with success. *Apropos* of the successful hatching of Ostrich eggs, an anecdote (quoted from Bosworth Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence*, is told by Dr. John Anderson, F. R. S., in his interesting "*Guide to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens*." In 1864, an Ostrich in the Menagerie at Barrackpore Park happened to deposit her first egg on the grass. It was picked up by the park-keeper's daughter who carried it home in triumph. After taking it home she kept it in a box containing sand and exposed it to the rays of the mid-day sun. At night the egg was transferred to the care of a hen who took kindly to her task. At last the monster chick was hatched. The girl's father having died in the meantime, the man who succeeded her father, as the park-keeper, claimed the chick as Government property and placed it in the *Menagerie*. The girl became disheartened and ill at the loss of her pet, but the military surgeon who attended on the girl during her illness, reported the matter to the Government. As soon as it reached the ears of Lord Lawrence, who was then at Simla, he ordered it to be restored to its rightful owner. Strangely enough, the girl recovered after the restoration of her pet and carried it home to England. The Rhea or American Ostrich (*Rhea Americana*), is also in the Calcutta Zoo. This species has bred in the Regents Park menagerie. The female Emu (*Dromæus novæ-hollandæ*), in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, succeeded in rearing a brood of Emu-chicks in 1885. The eggs were covered with sand and ex-

posed to the sun during the day-time, but at night they were hatched by the female hen herself. Of the Pheasants in the Calcutta Zoo, only some of the *Euplocamudæ* or -Firebacks and the *Phasianidæ* or True Pheasants have bred there. The magnificent Argus Pheasant (*Argus giganteus*),—an inhabitant of the Malayan Peninsula—readily breeds in the London Zoological Society's Gardens in the Regents' Park. Specimens of this gorgeous bird have been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoo from a long time but, strangely enough, they have not bred there. Among the other birds, in the Alipore Gardens, that breed regularly, are the various species of aquatic birds, kept in the Mullick and the new Aquatic Birds, Houses. Under this latter category come the various species of Ducks, Geese and Swans. Of the smaller birds, some species do well in captivity and occasionally construct nests and breed therein. Of the *Raptores* or Birds of Prey, no species thrives well and breeds in confinement.

Some typical instances in which mammals and birds have bred in captivity have been given above. An idea how animals will readily breed in menageries under favorable circumstances, may be formed from a perusal of the following tabular statements of animals which have from time to time been born in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens since 1879.

			Mammals.	Birds.	Reptiles.
1879-80	...	..	29	5	0
1880-81	...	...	34	8	2
1881-82	..	...	8	2	4
1882-83	...	...	15	0	47
1883-84	...	..	11	3	0
1884-85	..	...	6	5	0
1885-86	...	...	5	3	0
1886-87	...	...	4	11	0
1887-88	...	...	4	11	0
1888-89	...	...	7	6	0

The conditions which are most favorable to the breeding of animals in captivity in menageries are that they should be provided with (1) ample space for habitation, grazing and airing, (2) proper diet. The third condition is that a large number of males and females of each species should be kept together. Larger animals, when pregnant, naturally seek retired spots; hence seclusion is also necessary for their successfully breeding in captivity.

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CHAITANYA—

THE GREAT RELIGIOUS REFORMER.

A review of the history of the world will show that whenever a people fall into sin and irreligion, the Almighty in his providence raises from among them men of uncommon genius and religious zeal, who by their precept and example lead them to the paths of rectitude. India has given birth to a number of such men. The most prominent among them are Buddha, Chaitanya, Nanak, Tukaram and Ram Mohan. The subject of this memoir is Chaitanya, the great religious reformer of Bengal.

At the time this great man arose four centuries ago, the condition of Bengal, was much like that of India when Sakya Sinha preached his religious revolt. The Brahmins were treated as living gods on earth. The salvation of the lower classes was in their hands. The violation of the rules of caste was then considered more heinous than breaches of the great law of morality. In the case of Brahmins, it was sin to take the rice of a Shudra to smoke in the hooka of one of an inferior class, to accept, the gift of a Shudra, to adopt the calling prescribed for another class, and to give evidence in a Court of law. But to obtain absolution from these sins, it was only necessary to make an expiation as prescribed in the *Shastras*. Falsehood, deceit, immorality needed no atonement. On the contrary, the perpetrators

of such crimes by giving sumptuous feasts to Brahmins and performing Poojahs passed for men of great piety. Iniquity could not touch the Hindu thief who spent a portion of the fruits of theft on presents to Brahmins. There were very easy methods of becoming virtuous. Bathing in the Ganges, performing certain ceremonies and presenting money to the priests filled the people with so much virtue that they groaned under the burden to lighten which it was necessary to commit sins now and then. Bathing in the Ganges on an auspicious occasion, such as *Chudamani Yoga*, took away the sins committed not only in this birth but in all the preceding births. The performance of a certain ceremony or present of gold to a Brahmin secured to the Hindu the enjoyment of eternal heavenly bliss. The bone of a sinner who died centuries ago, if accidentally touched by a single drop of the water of the Ganges, secured for the soul of that man heavenly bliss. He was forthwith taken away from hell and lifted up to heaven with all glory. If a man continued to sin throughout his life and never thought of making any sort of expiation for the same, he never despaired of securing a place in heaven was open to him if he left a son to offer *Pinda* to his soul after his demise. The attainment of heavenly bliss being so easy, the pious Hindu of the day scrupled not to commit any amount of sin. His idea of religion was very low. The enjoyment of worldly happiness was the principal object that led him to worship Gods and Goddesses. In the prayers he offered, he implored God to save him from impending evils, to bless him with sons, to vouchsafe to him long life and prosperity and to make him more happy in his next birth. The priests were ready with *mantras* suited to the inclinations of the people, and the presents they received on the occasions of poojahs and festivals enabled them to pass their lives with ease and affluence. It was a hard time for the *shudras*. Whenever they met them as brahmins they were obliged now to bow down before them. They could not take any food without drinking *charanamrita* or water purified by the touch of a brahmin's feet. The shudras could not sit on the same carpet with a brahmin. Such was the proud position of a brahmin at that time, that he could hold any language towards a sudra without the danger of a retort. The two sects prevalent in Bengal are the Saktas and the Vaishnavas. At the time of Chaitanya, the Vaishnavas were very limited in number. The Saktas then reigned supreme. They were guided by the injunctions contained in the *Tantras*. But failing to grasp the real meaning of some of them, they considered wine, women and the meat of animals as the legitimate means of

attaining to devotion, and they indulged in them to a very great extent. They were rough in their manners, and the poor Vaishnavas used to tremble in their presence.

There were at that time among the Brahmins some pundits who used to discourse on the vedantic philosophy. They were the learned men, and they used to look upon religion as the outcome of superstition. There were others whose learning consisted in getting by heart the institutes of Manu and prescribing to the people the appropriate penance for the sins committed by them. The Hindoos performed a number of meaningless rites and ceremonies which they dignified with the name of religion. The true principle of religion—"Love to God and love to man"—was altogether lost sight of. The religious soil of the country was barren throughout, and a flow of the limpid stream of love or *Bhakti* was necessary to moisten it. In the midst of this sterility, appeared Chaitanya to place before the people the vivifying doctrine of love.

Chaitanya was born at Navadwipa in Bengal in the year 1485 of the Christian era. Navadwipa is about 55 miles north of Calcutta. He was the son of Jagannath Misra and Sachidevi. Chaitanya belonged to the family of vedic Brahmins. Jagannath was not a man in affluent circumstances, but the family to which he belonged was respectable. The original residence of Jagannath Misra had been Sylhet. Navadwipa was the residence of his father-in-law. As it was renowned as a seat of Sanskrit learning, students from different parts of the country used to resort to it for the purpose of studying Sanskrit. This probably induced Jagannath to make this place his residence, especially as the holy Ganges which flowed by the place. Eight daughters one after another were born unto him. But they did not live. At last he had a son who was named *Visvarupa*. Chaitanya was the tenth child. It may be mentioned that Visvambhara was the name at first given to Chaitanya. Chaitanya was very handsome. His appearance was so much attractive that he became the pet child of the neighbourhood. Every one who saw the boy could not help loving him. But he was very naughty. He used to tease the boys of the neighbourhood, to take away without permission any article, for which he had a liking, from the house of his neighbours to vex the women who used to resort to the Ganges for bathing and worshipping. He used to accost the little girls whose daily duty it was to worship gods and goddesses on the banks of the Ganges in the following strain : Worship me and I will bless you. So saying he used to decorate his body with the flowers and *chandana*, and to eat

the edibles intended for an offering to the gods. On noticing the displeasure of any of the girls towards him, Chaitanya used to tell her—"you will be the wife of a handsome and learned husband and be blessed with seven sons who would enjoy long life and prosperity." The girls who persisted in not allowing him to take any of the edibles or flowers were anathematized by Chaitanya as destined to be the wife of an old Kulin husband who would marry a number of girls. It is worthy of note that in the midst of these pranks, Chaitanya used to be delighted with the name of Hari. He was pleased with those women who uttered this name. He never molested them. On the contrary, he was seen giving them fruits and flowers snatched away from other women. Complaints, as a matter of course, were made to Sachi Devi about the mis-doings of her boy. She tried to check him but in vain. Her reproofs served to make Chaitanya more naughty than before. Whenever he was reproved, he broke the household utensils. On a certain occasion, he threw away all the stone gods of the house and took his seat in their place. The boys of the neighbourhood were very much attached to him. He was their leader. The only individual whom Chaitanya dreaded was his brother Viswarupa.

Jagannath Misra thought of giving Chaitanya a good education. After he had learnt the rudiments of the Bengali language, Chaitanya was sent to the famous grammarian of the time, Ganga Das, to study Sanskrit grammar.

Chaitanya's intellectual capacities were very great. In a very short time he made so great a progress in his studies that Jagannath prognosticated untoward results from it. He received a bitter lesson from his son Viswarupa who, after becoming proficient in Sanskrit, cut asunder all family ties and adopted the life of an anchorite. Jagannath was afraid lest Chaitanya's learning might lead to a similar result. He said that learning or work would not make a person happy and that real happiness consisted in love to Krishna. He therefore determined not to give any further education to Chaitanya. Freed from all restraints, Chaitanya gave vent to his wicked propensities, and he became troublesome to the family as well as to the neighbours. Jagannath was obliged to send his son to the Sanskrit school again.

At this time, a Pundit named Wasudeva Sarvabhauma, learned in the Darsanas, established a *chatuspati* at Navadvipa, and Chaitanya after finishing the elementary course of study was admitted into this school. His superior intellect soon gave him a conspicuous place among the pupils of the Pundit. In time, Chaitanya

became an accomplished scholar. The education which Chaitanya received succeeded in working a complete change in his character. He became very quiet and submissive to his parents. Domestic calamities had embittered Sachi Debi's days. She had lost eight of her children one after another. To her utter misfortune, the 9th child though accomplished in every respect, had turned an anchorite, and now the death of her husband filled the cup of her misery to the brim. In the midst of this distracted state, all her hopes centred in Chaitanya ; and it is satisfactory to notice that Chaitanya's soothing words comforted Sachi Debi to a very great extent. When Sachi Debi gave vent to sorrowful expressions touching on her pitiable condition, Chaitanya used to solace her in the following strain : Mother ! Don't be depressed, we have Hari, the supporter of the poor, to protect us. If we can secure the blessings of that benevolent Being our difficulties and agonies will disappear. Sachi Debi was in fear lest Chaitanya follow the steps of his brother Viswarupa, and lead the life of an anchorite. It therefore became her utmost endeavour *that* Chaitanya should marry, by which means she hoped that her son would remain attached to the family. In due time, Chaitanya was married to Laksmi Debi the daughter of Ballabhacharya. This girl was beautiful as well as of good disposition : and Sachi Debi was in hopes of passing the remaining days of her life happily.

After his marriage, Chaitanya established a Sanskrit school. His fame as a man of vast learning having spread far and wide, pupils from different places came to him for instruction. At that time, Nyaya-Philosophy was held in great esteem, and those who had mastered it only passed for pundits of great renown. Those who could argue in the intricate points of that philosophy in a systematic manner were esteemed above all others. Invitation on occasions of festivals and ceremonies were at that time the only means for pundits to gain money by. When Chaitanya became renowned, invitations came to him frequently. His argumentative power was very great. The renowned pundits of the time, though they were superior to Chaitanya in acquirements, could not discomfit him in argument : and this was the secret of Chaitanya's great renown. When pundits assemble at the house of a great man, a regular logomache takes place. The argumentation is carried on in strong language, and in some instances an interchange of abusive terms follows. Chaitanya found a pleasure in defeating the great pundits of the time by argument. But in the course of the logomache, he never gave vent to harsh language, and he was always seen converging with his discomfited opponent in an affable manner.

Some of the Vaishnavas of the time, Sribash, Umkondo and others were pundits of great renown. Chaitanya venerated them, but as was his habit argued with them on points of religion. The Vaishnavas could not cope with Chaitanya in argument. Though, vanquished, they failed not to appreciate the ennobling qualities with which the mind of Chaitanya was adorned. They used to say among themselves that had this youth been blessed with the love of Krishna, he would have been a god on earth; and on one occasion Sribash could not refrain from telling Chaitanya that learning without love to Krishna was of no good, and it was necessary that instead of passing his time in fruitless argumentation, he should adore Krishna. Chaitanya had within him the germs of Bhakti or love to God, though it lay hitherto smothered under the pressure of his keen and argumentative philosophy. The words of Sribash reached his heart and he said in reply—"Tells me that I may have this Bhakti."

The fame of Chaitanya as a great Pundit spread abroad, and he was besieged by letters of invitation from different places. Great men who met him on the road used to alight from their palanquins to speak to him. Though thus renowned pride never took hold of Chaitanya. The vanquisher of the great pundits condescended to jest with the common people, and to indulge in occasional horse play. The simplicity of his childhood never forsook him, and was occasionally visible in his mimicry of the Bengal pilgrim from the east, which often convulsed bystanders with laughter. But in the midst of these puerilities, the ennobling qualities of his heart ceased not to play a prominent part. He never indulged in jests of a coarse nature. He had a great respect for women. His liberality was conspicuous. He was very hospitable to strangers. Whenever he saw mendicants and wayfarers in the road, he brought them to his house and ministered to their wants to his heart's content. His large-heartedness was great. At one time Chaitanya had occasion to go to some place on the other side of the Ganges. He entered into a boat in which he found a pundit, Chaitanya was glad to see him, and they went conversing on different topics. Chaitanya had in his hand a book. The pundit enquired about it and he was told in reply that it was a commentary on the *Upanishad* Philosophy written by him. This depressed the pundit. Chaitanya, perceiving a change in his countenance, enquired into the cause of it. The pundit said that he too had written a commentary, but that if the reading public come to know that there was one from the pen of Chaitanya, no one would care to make use of the

commentary he had taken so much pains to write. On hearing this, Chaitanya threw his own commentary he wrote into the river. This pleased the pundit very much, and he heaped blessings on Chaitanya.

At this time Chaitanya, with a few selected pupils, went to Sylhet and other parts of Bengal. Wherever he went he was received with marks of respect and people thronged to hear from him his exposition of the Shastras, which pleased everyone. Invitation after invitation came to him, and he amassed a great deal of money in brass plates, clothes and silver which he received as rewards. Some time after, Chaitanya returned home. To his great mortification, he heard the news of the death of his wife. This no doubt caused him grief, but from the manner in which he passed his life no one could think that his mind had been disturbed. He continued to teach his pupils as before, and to derive pleasure from arguing with pundits and discomfiting them. At the request of his mother, Chaitanya took another girl for his wife. Her name was Vishnu Priya, the daughter of Sonatan pundit.

The Vaishnavas of the time were grieved to see Chaitanya passing his time in the midst of worldly affairs, making a parade of his learning and devoting his time to argumentation which led to no good result. They noticed in him signs of a great man, and frequently talked about Chaitanya among themselves. Gradually this began to reach the ears of Chaitanya, and now and then he pondered over it.

At this time, Chaitanya went to Gya in Behar accompanied by a number of his pupils. Gya is a place of great pilgrimage. Offerings of Pinda made within its precincts secure for the deceased salvation from sin and enjoyment of happiness in heaven. Chaitanya then had faith in this notion. He performed all the ceremonies necessary. Gya is famous for a stone built temple dedicated to Vishnu. Chaitanya repaired thither. The prayers uttered by the Brahmins, the supplications made by the pilgrims before the Vishnupad and the sincerity and earnestness with which the devotees worshipped the deity made a very strong impression on the mind of Chaitanya. The stream of love to God began to flow from Chaitanya's heart, softening the roughness which philosophy had engendered. In this temple, Chaitanya had the good fortune to meet with a recluse named Ishwarpuri. This recluse was an inhabitant of Halishahar, but after becoming a Vaishnava he severed all connection with the worldly concerns. He used to visit sacred places now and then. The appearance of the sage attracted Chaitanya, and he conversed with

him on religious subjects. This conversation led to brilliant results. Chaitanya formed a very high opinion of Ishwarpuri. He then expressed his desire of receiving religious instructions from him, and to regard him as his religious guide. Ishwarpuri observing the earnestness of Chaitanya, complied with his request. Chaitanya now became an ardent worshipper of Hari. He passed some time at Gya with Ishwarpuri. The noble character of this sage and the edifying lessons that he taught wrought a complete change in Chaitanya. He now gave up all thoughts of the world, and meditated upon passing his time in holy communion with God. At times, he used to give vent to expressions like these:—Hari where art thou? How shall I find you? I must go to you. Once he told his pupils that he would not return to his native place. His pupils dissuaded him from taking such a step. On one occasion at dead of night, he went unnoticed towards Mathura, the birth place of Krishna. It is narrated in Chaitanya Charitamrita that, after he had gone some distance, Chaitanya received a warning from above to the effect that this was not the proper time for him to leave the world, and that he should retrace his steps. This no doubt is mentioned to prove the divine mission of Chaitanya, but there can be no question that on reconsideration he deemed it expedient to return to Navadvipa.

The return of Chaitanya from his pilgrimage was an occasion for great rejoicing. Sachi Debi was in great glee. The neighbours and friends of Chaitanya came to see him. Chaitanya pleased them all with good words, and entertained them with an account of his travels. Among them were a few Vaishnavas. Chaitanya was delighted to see them. He took them to a sequestered place, and placed before them a full account of all that had transpired at Gya, explaining how his love towards Krishna had worked a change in him. In the course of this narration, Chaitanya was so much moved that he burst into tears while uttering the name of Krishna, and his mental agitation became manifest from sobs and sighs: He then became senseless. This unusual sight struck the Vaishnavas with wonder. They talked among themselves that they had never seen such signs of love towards Krishna in any devotee. Soon after, Chaitanya came to himself. He then requested the Vaishnavas to repair to their houses, adding that he would see them the next day at the house of Shuklambar Brahmachari. After the Vaishnavas had left him, Chaitanya was again overpowered by love towards Krishna. He again began to cry, saying Krishna where art thou? Sachi Debi seeing this state of her son was struck with terror. She thought that these

out-pourings must be the effect of some disease, and she began to pray to her God to give relief to Chaitanya.

According to engagement, Chaitanya went to the house of Shuklambar Brahmachari. The very sight of the Vaishnavas who were assembled there made him insensible. He cried out saying, "My God was here with me, where has he gone?" So saying he took hold of one of the wooden props of the house with such force that it fell down. Chaitanya fell with it. Soon after he came to his sense. He then accosted Vaishnava Gadadhar in the following strain: "You are a fortunate man, you have from your early days devoted yourself to Hari, my time has been spent fruitlessly. Hari came to me, but I slighted him." So saying he fell down senseless. Coming to his sense again, he began to utter the name of Hari and to embrace his friends expressing the sorrow of his heart by sobs. In this manner the whole day was spent.

The news of this sudden change in Chaitanya spread throughout Navadvipa. Every one was astonished to hear that a great Pundit in Hindu philosophy, whose sole object was to defeat others in argument, and who was a great hater of the Vaishnavas, should forget all his learning and become himself a Vaishnava with an intense love towards Hari. The Vaishnavas were in great delight. They were at one time in fear of Chaitanya. Their joy knew no bounds in finding him a friend in their midst. Specially, the great yearning manifested by Chaitanya towards Hari, his sobs and sighs, his state of insensibility and his weepings for Hari, became the subject of talk everywhere. They could not conceive that a person could be so much restless in his yearning towards God: and the astonishment was great when they thought of Chaitanya's past life. They ascribed all this to the special favor of God. Some said, Krishna must have made the heart of Chaitanya his place of abode.

After this, Chaitanya went home. There he remained in a thoughtful condition. The concerns of this life failed to yield him any consolation. Neither the affectionate words of his mother, nor the embrace of his wife could please him. He found pleasure in reciting some slokas from the Bhagavat and uttering the name of Hari. But he could not control himself. His utterances were followed by sobs and sighs, and he was seen in a state of swoon. At night he had no sleep. The contemplation of Hari overpowered him to such an extent that he could not find any rest. He used to cry out at dead of night saying, Hari Hari, where art thou? His mother constantly prayed for his recovery and made offerings and vows before her God. But all was in vain.

OPEN QUESTIONS IN MORALITY.

III. RELIGION AND MORALITY.

I AM not at all for drawing a line between the claims of Religion and Morality. To do so would tell seriously upon our regard for either and both. The world would be hard to live in, if duty to God did not in every possible detail co-exist with duty to Man. The pious man who comes to miss the close guidance of Religion in any question of human, or earthly rectitude, is far from having a quiet conscience. And when one has to stand aghast, contemplating the excesses to which men's religious fanaticism may lead them, his neutrality is no more indicative of an inert conscience, than the excesses of the fanatics prove superior spirituality in themselves or the leaders of their respective creeds. Conscience as the common inspirer of religion and morality is not sufficient by itself. It is after all, only the Emotive cognition of our duty. But the duty of man has to be previously ascertained, in order that knowledge of it may give rise to the conscientious sensitiveness. The compunctious questionings—why did I do so? how dare I do it?—are inseparable from the infirmities of this other self-examination, *vis*: what am I to do *now*? As the sum total of our inner consciousness, conscience must be referred to only in relation to the acquired experience and knowledge of its possessor. The emotive vigor of conscience may be traced to two distinct sources. There is first of all the cognition of Divine command and its enforcement after death. A similar cognition of the penal consequences which are associated with immorality, in the doctrine of metempsychosis, probably comes also under the same category. But the second inspirer of conscience and duty is the ordinary human forecast of mundane affairs and its pressure upon conduct. Our likes and dislikes grow with our experience and habits. And we reckon the sequel of any contemplated act, our conscience is governed by that forecast taken along with the cherished likes and dislikes. Between these two sources of human discipline and good conduct, even if there is any difference at all, each of them must be supposed to supply the defects of the other. In any case,

ference cannot last through the entire period which may be allowed for completion of human experience in this regard. It follows accordingly, that what conflict may appear to occur between the dictates of Religion and those of Morality, must be attributed only to defects of conscience, *i.e.*, to our insufficient knowledge. Whether we agree or not as to the Truth and completeness of any particular religion, we have no question to raise as to the ultimate agreement between True Religion and Sound Morality: between the duty inspired by God and the duty we owe to Man. It is altogether a question of method, whether the principles of morality should be sought for from Religion alone, or from human experience as well: from some particular religion, or from universal experience of human affairs.

• My argument is directed against the opinion that principles of morality cannot be firmly established except with reference to Religion, *i.e.*, the *true* religion. My position is, that though it would be easier to deduce those principles from religious Truth, yet in the existing state of human knowledge our research must follow the converse method. If this position be an impracticable one, as its opponents would maintain, the fact would land us upon the more fatal conclusion, that so long as the present war of creeds continues, men must not look for any sound principles of morality at all.

But the opposition to an independent enquiry into the principles of morality is actually traceable to an untenable position of the Christian teachers working in British India.

It is well-known that the Mosaic Law is divisible into two portions, one comprising duty to God and the other, duty to Man. Moreover, it was the teaching of St. Paul that Mosaic Law was to be put away, not as being abolished but only, as "childish thing," *i.e.*, in the normal growth of human life on the one hand, and on the other, owing to addition of the New to the Old dispensation of the Law of God. There can be no question that the Mosaic law for all its primitive simplicity, was in some respects more explicit than the Christian doctrine of Faith. The one said "do thus and thus." The other says "believe in atonement, and the holy spirit will show you the path of sound moral conduct." It is foreign to the Christian method of reasoning to trace any natural human connection between Faith in the martyrdom of Christ, and that self-abnegation, which lies at the root of all morality. But what I have to point out here, is the comparatively larger liberty or license which occurs in Christian Faith for abuse of man's duty to man, and more particularly of the Mosaic law in that respect.

Even accepting the command of St. Paul that it is to be put away the childish rules given in the law of Moses, it does not follow that every man is competent to do so. Only those who succeed in obtaining the help of the holy spirit by means of the integrity of their Faith in the Cross, are proved fit to have given up the law of Moses. But so long as that fitness is not attained, the more punctilious rules of human conduct would, I submit, be the safer guide howsoever "childish." Liberty is glorious. But the glory lies in the prospect of endless progress in the Future: not in the license to belie the discipline acquired from the Past or required in the Present. I trust I have not said anything which goes against Christian teaching. The Doctrine of Justification by Faith does not mean that the law of Moses, or the ordinances of the Catholic Church in regard to Good Works of life, are to be completely discarded. Those who are of little faith had best abide by those ordinances and the discipline they carry.

But the teaching of St. Paul about childish rules of good conduct is beset with other difficulties in British India than the one of fitness for the sons of Abraham to put away the Old Dispensation. Here in this country no such continuity of knowledge can be maintained as St. Paul laid claim to, for Mosaic and Christian morality and even for Hebrew and Gentile society. Brahmanism takes its stand upon the Vedas, which in one way means Knowledge, and in another way means logical deductions from the Words of Sruti or a certain eternal Voice of the problematical speaker *Brahmá* ब्रह्मा. Buddhism rests upon *Bodhi*, *Buddhi* and *Sunyata*, which I believe amount to a certain natural condition of the subjective or knowing faculty in man, taken in relation to Nonentity or universal hollowness of the objective, i.e., the facts of our life and knowledge. Vedantism seeks I think to reconcile these two doctrines. And I believe it virtually maintains that the Word or Voice of Sruti belongs to the Great Being *Brahma* (ब्रह्म not *Brahmá* ब्रह्मा) who alone is True, everything else being *Maya* or falsity personified. In other words, the *Sunyata* or hollowness belonging to the Buddhist doctrine stands transferred in Vedantism to the whole of our life and to all its actual concerns. It is necessary to read these ancient philosophies in the light of contemporary experience and opinion. Unless we do so we can never realise the magnitude of the philosophic want which gives rise to supernatural revelation or other efforts to connect the objective and the subjective. But the consequence of this hard-worked reconciliation between Brahmanism and Buddhism is so far disastrous that the holiness of thought and life which was

characteristic of the Buddhist doctrine in spite of its faith in negativism or Sunyata, gets reduced in Vedantism into a minor and only exoteric concern for man : a concern confined to the herd of idolators and other worshippers of imaginary divinities. Everything is left to Discipline in the abstract : Sinfulness itself has to be ignored because Brahma the Universal All cannot be made to account for it.

When the religious sources of morality are in British India so divergent as shown above, and the Sruti and the Pitakas have to be treated with equal respect, as between one another and in relation to the Bible and the Koran, we must seek by every possible means to avert the dangerous conclusion, that the principles of morality may be ignored as long as the quarrel continues between the Bible, the Koran and the Sruti. The Christian teacher in British India is there, ~~for~~ bound to recognise two facts : In the first place the duty to Man if rightly determined, no matter from what sources and by what method, can never according to his own religion, militate with duty to God. Moreover, to refuse to derive the duty to man except from the Bible, would necessarily lead to a denial of all morality for the believers in such childish things as the holy thread of the Brahman or the yellow garments of Bauddha. If the Christian teacher will only review his attitude to these Indian facts and follow St. Paul in being all things to all men for the sake of the Holy spirit, a very great misfortune will be averted.

By the general reader, who does not fully appreciate St. Paul, the question must be viewed in still more generalised form. He has to judge of the claims of morality with reference to an apparent but unavoidable conflict with the claims of Religion and Politics. Hesitation to insist upon the claims of man's duty to man as being higher to sectional religion, may be natural. But it must lead eventually to a still more open rivalry between politics and religion in general. It must lead in fact to Crusades and Jehads on the one hand, and to the dominance of Might over Right on the other. Let him make his choice, and in doing so realize his responsibilities. Politicians talk glibly of Priestcraft in referring to the deficiencies of religion. But they draw the curtain over the cognate question that to themselves, War is only available means to settle international disputes. And the world at large fails to see how by justifying War in one class of cases, men get accustomed to shut their eyes to the prevalence of might over right in a thousand other forms. The problem of morality is the problem of Peace or no-Peace on earth.

The practical result of this discussion is partly political, and partly pressing importance to theoreticians and educationists.

Every religion has its own code of moral duties more or less clearly defined. In some of these duties, all religions are agreed. Violence and dishonesty are held in reprobation by all religions. There may be exceptional cases in which a crusade or pious fraud happens to be tolerated or praised. But these are exceptional cases after all, and should I submit, be classed with those sectarian dictates of morality which must needs vary with the divergent religious creeds. In regard to these divergent rules of good conduct between man and man, the followers of each religion should be left to themselves. If it is sinful to worship images and idols according to one religion, it is also commendable to do so according to another. Therefore, it ought to be put aside as an open question in morality. Idolatry may be a childish thing or still greater error. But as long as idolatrous religions have to be tolerated as Religion, and as being intimately connected with morality, so long we are bound to give it due recognition and to relegate the sectarian morality of idolatry and iconoclasm to control of the different religious teachers in relation to their respective followers.

In other words, where the State has to extend its toleration to any particular religious creed or creeds, it ought also to grant a measure of religious autonomy to the followers of that creed. The central government is bound to subordinate politics to morality. Some general principles of rectitude must be held unassailable even by the sovereign power. These principles must prevail over all religious divergences. But inasmuch as even Religious neutrality may be seriously abused, and in consequence, all religions, and morality itself, may tend to extinction; some questions of morality have to be treated as doubtful points and placed under the free control of particular sections of society. I do not take upon myself to enlarge upon this political aspect of the question in this essay. I only maintain that there are moral duties which are sectarian and binding upon which some peoples but which are only open questions as between them and out-side groups.

But it is for theoreticians to determine what are and what are not, open questions of morality. For the moment we are agreed that some questions shall be left to religious specialists, it becomes the bounden duty of all men to establish upon independent basis those other fixed principles of morality which even the sovereign should not violate with perfect impunity. The war of creeds has now got to be further narrowed down into the particular region of the uncertain moral principles. All religious difference would then at once cease in regard to universal morality. And the antagonistic priests would vie with each other, in presenting their respective,

being the most rational. The Universal conscience would be aroused to bring forward the test of universal experience. Public opinion would know to assert itself upon what constitutes its most vital concern. But the sanctity and supremacy of Religion would still remain as inviolate as the most intolerant Wahabee might desire.

Concrete illustrations are very necessary to set out one's views clearly. But such illustrations always present many side-issues which ought to be avoided in the interests of the main question. It is therefore with the utmost hesitation that I offer the following. I have to make certain assumptions; but to join issue in any burning questions of the day would only serve to distract the attention of the reader.

To illustrate my argument, I shall first of all take the case of suppression of Sati rite by a non-Hindu sovereign. I take it that it was due to the requirements of universal morality. The law passed was in conformity with the wholesome principle that suicide is a public wrong. But was the act of legislature an interference with the Hindu Religion? Did the sovereign power violate the still more fundamental question of Religious toleration? It would certainly not be wise to re-open the question of Sati rite at the present day. It ought to be held therefore, that the Hindu religion required the widow either to observe perpetual continence or to betake to the objectionable form of suicide, referred to above. It should be taken as having been a question of Sectarian ethics for the Hindu. But the sanction thus given by Brahmanism to suicide in an exceptional case was rightly suppressed, because suicide in the generality of cases stands condemned by Hinduism itself, as also by all other Indian Religions. In other words, the interference in question was called for upon grounds of Universal Morality.

But take next, the question of perpetual continence for the Hindu widow. The Hindu ethics differs in this instance also, from Christian and Musalman ethics. But perpetual continence of the widow, is not like suicide, an immorality according to any religion. It is therefore an open question in morality. At the same time it does not follow that it should always remain an open question. It is quite possible to conceive a state of society in which perpetual widowhood would be a rule of universal ethics. On the other hand, the principle in question as a definitely sectarian one, may not be taken out of Brahmanic control. If Brahmins set their face against it, the re-married widows must cease to be Hindu.

Now consider how British-Indian Society stands ~~de~~ through religious neutrality of the State and its functionaries. The question of Hindu widowhood was withdrawn from the legitimate control of the Brahmanic priesthood by the Widow Marriage Act. The widow as an individual was permitted to treat the moral question involved in marriage as an open one, *even while she was allowed to obtain the protection of, and to retain her connection with, Hindu society.* Here was an obvious violation of religious autonomy by a neutral sovereign; and that to the detriment of Hindu morality.

But the unconstitutional Act and the immoral disavowment of Religious neutrality were not the only evils. The moral degradation has gone further on. The widow marriage Act having been passed without clear ideas regarding the province of Religious autonomy and that of universal ethics, the legislators justly stopped short of pronouncing upon the re-married widow's rights to the property of her deceased husband. By and bye, however, a question arose namely, whether the unchaste Hindu widow should not be divested of her property-rights as her husband's successor. The legislature had in their marriage question ignored the Brahmanic control. And the judiciary now followed suit by declaring that the unchaste Hindu widow shall retain the property-rights in dispute. A premium has thus been offered to the widow's unchastity in comparison to her re-marriage. The ruling on the subject may or may not be sound. But its immorality is obvious. And if politics ought to be subordinated to morality, some way must be found to get out of this and like other political and judicial mischief.

Moreover, the point of my argument applies not so much to the defects of the law or judicial ruling adverted to; nor even to the particular case of political immorality; I regret generally why such immorality of the law fails to be noticed at all. The Judges do not seem to have recognised their moral responsibility. Their ethical conscience was somehow or other dulled. The legislature has not perceived the false position in which it has been placed. The public at large has not seen its way to the large question of a religious autonomy for each creed. And last not least, the members of the Anglican Church who are responsible for the conscience of the Sovereign at least, have not recognized the importance of upholding the virtue of chastity apart from the question of True Religious Faith. The Christian as well as the Musalman is free to preach against the truth of Hinduism. But the freedom becomes license when the Hindu is left alone to cry in the wilderness in honor of the virtue of chastity. All this sad mischief has to be attributed to the fact that while

morality is derived from religion with fond partiality for the latter, the absence of a Universal Religion and the conditions sectional religion and morality are grievously overlooked.

I shall add one more illustration to show that I am not presenting an exaggerated view of the duties of the Anglican Church.

I am thinking of the drink question. It is really a question of ethics either sectarian or universal. Oddly enough, the legislature confronts it with a particular *fiscal* policy. The sufficiency of that policy and still more its relation to religious autonomy are not fit to be taken up at the sag end of a magazine article. But it is well-known how a Christian Missionary has seen fit to take up this ethical question quite apart from religious differences. No doubt, he has been so actuated because Temperance has now come to be recognised in Europe as a principle of universal Morality. The fact remains however, that the moral influence of the Rev. Mr. Evans has had a most wholesome effect upon our public policy. A noble co-operation is noticeable in this instance between the Christian, the Musalman and the Vaishnab. And it is such co-operation which as I contend, ought to have been brought to bear upon the question of chastity referred to before. And I fail to see, why it should not always be rendered, and in all questions of universal morality. The only drawback lies I think in the disinclination to recognise open questions in morality, and to entrust a corresponding control to subordinate groups of men. Morality need not be set up in opposition to 'religion. But still less should religion and religious teachers be put out of countenance by politicians and the public at large. The only way to prevent abuse of power in priests and politicians is to differentiate universal from special or sectarian morality. The former would thus take its shape from what is called Public Opinion and also ensure a corresponding Responsibility in the Public; while the recognition of special systems of morality and their respective religious organs would satisfy the various conflicting religious requirements of society. The Public is not homogenous in India. But in order to be made such, its heterogeneity must be recognised and clearly defined.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

BUDDHISM, POSITIVISM AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

V.

WE have now arrived at the last objection John Stuart Mill has raised against the doctrine of the Conservation of Energy—the objection derived from what is going on, or rather from what is not going on, in the coal as lying in the pit. Coal as a solid body is not known originally to exist in the physical world. Wherever found, its history can invariably be traced back to a period when it had, in one form or another, been associated with plant-life. It is in the form of a gaseous body, combined with the oxygen of the atmosphere, that it originally exists. As such it is known by the name of carbonic acid. The plant derives its necessary supply of carbon from the surrounding air, in which the carbonic acid is diffused; the latter being split up in such a manner that the oxygen is set free and returned to the air we breathe, while the carbon is taken up and assimilated by the plant. Of course the wrenching asunder of two elements chemically combined is a piece of work which can only be effected at the expenditure of some energy. Where does this energy, so necessary for the sustenance of the plant, come from? To the Positivist pure and simple, such a question may appear meaningless, if not opprobrious. Life being regarded by him as the aggregate of the phenomena exhibited by any organised being from the commencement to the conclusion of its existence, all enquiries after things beyond the phenomenal are idle and mischievous. Carpenter rightly compares our Positive philosopher to a man who, in studying the operations of a cotton-factory, were to limit his attention to the mechanism of the carding, spinning, weaving, and other machines whose instrumentality its products are elaborated, and were to neglect as a condition not directly cognisable by our senses, the motive power without which those machines would all be inert. It is the corner-stone of human knowledge, to us, the question as to whence the plant derives the power to split up two

nically combined, is pertinent indeed. And the very fact that it allows the question as pertinent, holds, at the same time, a pertinent answer in readiness for us. The answer consists, namely, in this, that it is the light of the solar rays—a mode of undulatory motion—that acts on the green part of the leaves—the chlorophyll—and thereby supplies the energy necessary to effect the chemical dissociation of the carbonic acid. The following, taken from Professor Cook's *New Chemistry*, is, moreover, a description of the process, in its relation to other physical and physiological processes, simultaneously occurring in the world surrounding the plant :

"The plants absorb the (carbonic acid) gas from the air, into which it is constantly being poured from our chimneys and lungs, and the sun's rays acting upon the green parts of the leaf, decompose it. The oxygen it contains is restored to the atmosphere, while the carbon remains in the leaf to form the structure of the growing plant.—Now to tear apart the oxygen atoms from the carbon requires the expenditure of a great amount of energy, and that energy remains latent till the wood is burned ; and then when the carbon atoms again unite with oxygen, the energy reappears undiminished in the heat and light, which radiate from the glowing embers. Just as when a clock is wound up, the energy which is expended in raising the weight reappears when the weight falls ; so the energy, which is expended by the sun in pulling apart the oxygen and carbon atoms, reappears when the atoms again unite. This is one of the most wonderful and mysterious effects of Nature ; for, although the process goes on so silently and unobtrusively as to escape notice, it accomplishes an amount of work compared with which the most of the noisy and familiar demonstrations of power are mere child's play. It is one of the greatest achievements of modern science, that it has been able to measure this energy in the terms of our common mechanical unit, the foot-pound ; and we know that the energy exerted by the sun and rendered latent in each pound of carbon which it laid away in the growing wood, would be adequate to raise a weight of five thousand tons one foot."

From a previous quotation we had full occasion to see, in what Mill's objection consists, regarding the doctrine of Conservation of Energy, and the theory involved therein of the existence of a cycle of storing and restoring energy. "The coal which supplies the force exerted in combustion is not shown to have been exerting that force in the form of molecular motion in the pit ; it was not even exerting pressure."—"The force said to be laid up, and merely potential, is no more a really existing thing than any other properties of objects are really existing things. The expression is a mere artifice of language . . . it is unnecessary to suppose that anything has been in continuous existence except an abstract potentiality. A force suspended in its operation, neither manifesting itself by motion nor by pressure, is

not an existing fact, but a name for our conviction that in appropriate circumstances a fact would take place."—In a foot-note the author further tells us that he believes the accredited authorities (?) do suppose that molecular motion, equivalent in amount to that which will be manifested in the combustion of the coal, is actually taking place during the whole of the long interval, if not in the coal, yet in the oxygen which will then combine with it. And Mill rightly rejects such a supposition as purely hypothetical, as extravagantly hypothetical.

The attitude of the scientific world towards this objection of Mill has, in regard to the case under consideration, been no better, than it was shown to have been concerning the pretended potentiality of the stone resting on an eminence. Silence is, up to this day, the only answer that came forth from the leading scientific spirits of our age. Yet, the very ~~principle~~ ^{principle} of the Conservation of Energy has supplied us, I should say, with all the elements necessary for the formation of a reasonable and satisfactory answer to Mill's fair and reasonable objections.

Let us before all remember that, if heat is to be a mode of molecular motion, this motion can by no means be a simple to-and-fro motion, in parallel straight lines, or, as it is called in Mechanics, a motion of translation. To use the words of Professor Daniell: *Molecules in motion when they strike each other, do not only rebound, but they also spin; to the movement of translation must therefore be added that of rotation. Further, the molecules are made up of atoms; atoms are not stationary in the molecule, but may actually be so violently agitated as to leave its molecule altogether, and thus to give rise to the phenomena of chemical decomposition by heat; so that part of the energy of a body is due to intra-molecular atomic oscillations. Lastly the ether entangled in a molecule is also set in vibration, and absorbs some energy which appears as kinetic energy of ether-vibrations.—Over and above the molecular movements of translation, which are manifest; objectively, by expansion of the body concerned, and subjectively by what is known as a sensation of heat—over and above this mode of molecular motion which, practically, concerns us most, the molecule is then subject to other, incidental motions and agitations, such as rotation round its centre, and atomic oscillations—all modes of motion which do not manifest themselves by expanding the body whose constituents they are, nor do they make themselves felt by a sensation of heat.

* A Text Book on the Principles of Physics, by Alfred Daniell, London, MacMillan & Co. 1884.

It is then evident that the energy—the active energy—residing in a hot body does not find its full expression in the heat given out in the shape of work, neither in the shape of bodily expansion as shown by the thermometer, nor in the form of subjective sensation either. There is a residuum, and, may be, a very considerable residuum of energy within every hot body, the existence of which we can only suppose, without ever having a chance of verifying it by actual experience. The reader need hardly be reminded, in connection with the above, that every body *is* more or less hot. A body of a temperature equal to absolute zero is unknown in Nature. Thus we read in the latest edition (1890) of Ganot's *Elementary Treatise on Physics*: "In solid bodies the molecules have a kind of vibratory motion about certain fixed positions. This motion is probably very complex; the constituents of the molecule may oscillate ~~and~~ each other, besides the oscillation of the molecule as a whole; and this latter again may be to-and-fro, or it may be a rotatory motion about the center. In the liquid state there is a vibratory, rotatory, and a progressive motion of the molecules besides." All this is stated to be the case in solid or liquid bodies, irrespective of the degree of their temperature. Of course with the increase of heat all the molecular and intra-molecular movements would become intensified. Translatory motion would gain in amplitude and frequency, and the body as a whole would expand. In the same measure would the subjective feeling of heat be intensified. But for all that, there is still a practical index wanting for the existence of these rotatory and oscillatory movements, and for the oscillatory movements of their component atoms. Far less are we able to express in numbers, with any degree of approximation, the amount of energy that is active in each of the before-named motions or in all of them put together. What Mathematicians tell us we have good reason to believe concerning this occult sum is this, that, on the average, it is proportional to the kinetic energy of molecular translation, in other words, to the quantity of heat emitted from a body. And, for all practical purposes of Mechanics, this approximate knowledge is, no doubt, sufficient.

Such being the case, it should not be difficult to answer Mill's otherwise formidable objection to the modern theory of the Conservation of Energy; for we have only to suppose that, molecular motion, far from having suffered any quantitative reduction, in cases of potential energy—has merely been transmuted from a perceptible, into an imperceptible mode of motion. By an imperceptible mode of molecular motion we are to understand, a molecular motion, so conditioned, as to be restricted to mere change

of place, without doing any ulterior work on molecule. It is evident that such a motion, like that in their orbits, or like that of the earth around her axis, is bound, by virtue of the law of inertia, to go on for ever, that is to say, so long as the motion is not interfered with by some extraneous body. Now, rotating molecules may be so conditioned as to be in their own sphere, what the planets are in theirs—moving bodies without let or hindrance. On the other hand, vibrating molecules can never be thought of to enjoy a sphere of movement of their own. The very fact that they move in straight lines, without being able to pursue any direction for any length, shows them to be in constant collision with neighbouring bodies (molecules), on whom they do work, while work is, at the same time, done upon them, according to the mechanical law of action and reaction. And it is this impact, or rather the effect of this impact, which is communicated to the ether in the form of thermal vibrations, not the molecule vibratory motion as such. If a molecule could be made to move to-and-fro without collision, it might go on moving for ever, without affecting the ether; in other words, without producing that peculiar mode of ethereal vibratory motion, called heat; just as the free motion of the planets does not affect the ether—at any rate, not in a manner appreciable for ordinary methods of measurement. Why this should be so, I do not know; or, I should rather say, we do not know; it being acknowledged on all sides, that the laws of the molecular mode of vibration, and the relation of those vibrations to the ether, are neither fully understood, nor fully known. This much we do know, that energy, or the power to move, would be a meaningless term, had matter not been endowed with the capacity of resistance to motion. It is the passive force of resistance that gives dynamic expression to what we call power, or active energy. Now, it would appear, as if active energy, as manifest in all cases of motion, does not affect the ether; but as soon as the active meets the passive, the report is spread throughout the whole universe on the wings of the ether, in the shape of thermal vibrations. To use another simile. A moving body is entrusted with a certain quantity of motion, intended to last for ever. But as soon as it parts with it, by way of collision, friction, &c., the trust is, so to say, taken out of its hands and given over to the world at large, in the shape of ethereal vibrations. Heat, it is said, is a mode of motion; after the foregoing considerations, it would, properly speaking, be by far more correct to say: Heat is a mode of commotion. Anyhow, the eventual conversion of molecular vibration into rotation,

may towards explaining the difficulties of John Stuart Mill, concerning the modern conception of what is called potential energy.

The eventual conversion of molecular vibrations into atomic oscillations presents us with another possible solution of the difficulty raised by Mill. Considering that neither molecules, nor their component parts—the atoms, are ever at rest, it may be said that each molecule represents a moving aggregate of moving elements. Whether the mode of motion of the one is perceptibly to affect the mode of motion of the other, will, in each case, depend upon circumstances. The passengers and the crew of a sailing vessel may freely move about, without either perceptibly influencing, or being perceptibly influenced by the motion of the vessel; or the motion of the vessel may forcibly alter the movements of the passengers and crew; or, the movements of the latter may alter the course and direction of the former. Now, in all cases of potential energy, it is just possible, that the motion, arrested and said to have been conserved as potential, has been taken up by the atoms of the body concerned in such a manner, as not to perceptibly affect either the constitution, or the mode of motion of the molecules.—The transmutation of molar, into molecular motion under certain conditions, is a fact acknowledged on all sides; why should then the possibility of a transmutation of molecular, into atomic motion be looked upon as a hypothesis verging on the metaphysical?—Because the hypothesis could only be of value, with regard to what is called potential energy, under the additional supposition, that atomic motions are imperceptible.—Now what our hypothesis implies is this, that a phenomenal operation had been converted into a metaphenomenal operation. Surely the metaphenomenal is not to be considered identical with the metaphysical. Yet such seems to be the impression in Positivist quarters, if we are to judge by the writings of their leaders. Not to go out of our way, we have only to hear what Mill says in the foregoing quotation: “A force suspended in its operation, neither manifesting itself by motion nor by pressure, is not an existing fact”—to John Stuart Mill, then, a force “neither manifesting itself by motion nor by pressure,” and a force “suspended in its operation” are one and the same thing; the one is as little an existing fact as the other. We have, however, had occasion to see, that molecular rotations and atomic oscillations *are* existing facts, although they are not manifest either by motion or by pressure. They are metaphenomenal, because none of our senses responds to their operations; but they represent nevertheless real, physical facts as real as the rotation

of the earth around her axis, for the existence of no direct sense of perception either.

Let us now leave generalities, and come to particular examples of potential energy, to the very example Mill has chosen—the carbon as lying in the pit. In order to simplify matters, we shall begin by substituting plant-substance, in the place of the coal in the pit. It is by studying the plant from the time of its initial formation through the various phases of its existence, that we shall find our way in the dark recesses of the coal. The plant, as already said before, exclusively draws its carbon-supply from the outer-world, by the agency of light. Heat plays, no doubt, a most important part, in fact, an indispensable part in all vegetal functions; and even the carbonic acid of the atmosphere requires a certain amount of heat before it can become fit for being ~~split~~ ^{split} up into its chemical constituents; nevertheless the first start the carbon-atom is to receive in Life must come from light, be it the light of the sun's rays, or the light of an electric battery. It being, on the other hand a well-established fact, that light is due to the undulations of the ether, just as sound is due to undulations propagated through the air, we may take it for granted, that the carbon-atom, on its entrance into the domain of life, takes its first start with an undulatory motion. When we come moreover, to realise the fact, that all organised formations are round in shape and form, while angularity is the rule with all inorganic crystallisations; we can hardly avoid the conclusion, that it is the undulating carbon-atom that imparts its motion to the protoplasmic molecule, and thereby determines the prevalence of circular forms in the vegetal world.* This conclusion of ours derives further confirmation from

*The following note has lately made the round in the periodical literature of the day. Considering that sound-waves are, like the waves of light, propagated by undulation, the facts therein mentioned offer a most interesting analogy to what has been stated above :—“ A hollow receiver is procured & the mouth of which is stretched an elastic membrane. The surface of the membrane is covered with a semi-fluid paste, of such consistency that very light impressions can be easily received. The singer then approaching the apparatus sings on to the surface of the membrane, exercising the greatest care that his notes are singularly steady and perfectly accurate in the intonation of the given sound. At once the musical note mirrors itself on the paste, in the most unexpected forms. The form of flowers, as perfect as if they were drawn, occur among the rest, and, indeed, constitute the majority of the figures. Daisies, with every petal exactly shaped are common; lilies, as symmetrically made, are not rare. A change of note, or of *timbre*, will produce a miniature tree on the paste. By some slight variation, impossible to estimate, the figure of a star-fish will appear on the surface of the membrane; another imperceptible difference of sound, will lay, side by side with a star-fish, an anemone. Occasionally the vibrations in resum-

are not, that plant-substance decaying by slow combustion emits light, without any appreciable rise of temperature; contrary to what is the rule in all cases where oxygen chemically combines with any other element or elements, or even with coal.

We are then justified in saying that carbon-atoms, from the moment they enter the plant, till they are restored to the universe, are endowed with an undulatory form of motion. It is just, as if light should have been pouring in on one side of the plant, and coming out, slowly but steadily, on another; a beautiful example of the reversibility of Nature's operations—of the truth enunciated by the doctrine of the Conservation of Energy.—Could we only look through a piece of decaying wood, we would see there millions of atoms undulating in never-ending circlets, one after the other shooting off and whirling along with two atoms of oxygen, imparting thereby its own motion to the new carbonic acid-formation, till, after many and many a year, the wood-production of one summer is consumed, and the stored energy of the sun-rays is restored.

And now, let us suppose that, by some chance, or by intentional operation, the atmospheric air has been shut out from our decaying tree; its luminosity is extinct, no carbon-atoms shoot out any longer, for there is no oxygen in readiness for a suitable combination. Have those millions and millions of atoms within the decaying tree been suddenly put to rest?—There is hardly any reason for such an assumption. It was not the oxygen that imparted undulatory motion to them, while slow

ably owing to an unconscious augmentation of force on the part of the singer —will imprint themselves in the form of shells, beautifully voluted, the wrinkles in the scroll being so incisively inserted that when photographed they appear as if creases in the picture. Suddenly deserting these marine forms as capriciously as it took them up, the sound will create ferns, suspend bunches of fruit, and otherwise adorn with similar emblems the surface. When the sound is producing flowers on the paste, the singer can at pleasure increase the number of petals by gradually making the tone ascend. At each fraction of a tone on which his voice rises a new petal is added to the flower. He can thus by a careful management of his voice increase a pigmy daisy that lies first imprinted on the paste to a gigantic sunflower occupying nearly the whole surface. In the other form—*e.g.*, the shells,—this addition of piece by piece does not appear, and the scroll once fashioned remains.

The forms thus produced on the paste are photographed whilst the membranes are in sonorous vibration; or water colour impressions are taken which are transferred on the glass immediately after being produced. The advantage of the latter method is that the minute beauty and delicacy of the forms can be shown to perfection by the use of various colours for different parts of the same object."

combustion was going on; it was rather they, the carbon, that impressed the oxygen with a motion of their own; it is known that the combination of oxygen with another element is accompanied, first of all, by heat—light making its appearance only after the evolution of heat has become intense. We may then rest assured that, whether the wood undergoes slow combustion or not, its atomic motion remains the same. If there be still some doubt left in the mind of the reader as to the persistence of an undulatory, atomic motion within the wood, we have only to turn the tap, to let in atmospheric air, in order to see the wood assuming again its luminosity.

And what has become of the heat—that other mode of motion—which has, no less than light, been instrumental, in its own way, in making the wood, and indeed the whole plant, ~~what~~ it is?—In our present state of knowledge, the answer to this question can only be given in the form of an alternative. It is just possible that there is an escape of heat, along with the escape of light, from the decaying plant—an escape too slow, and therefore too insignificant, to perceptibly impress the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere; or, it may be, that the heat has, with the death of the plant, been entirely converted into light. Whichever may be the case, it is evident that it could not be said that the light emitted by the decaying plant is owing to a rise of temperature brought about by slow combustion; the luminosity of the plant can only be looked upon as an independent heirloom from the past of its own life.

Of course, it would be a mistake to suppose that the process of slow combustion is as simple as described above. Between the entrance of the carbon-atom into the domain of life, and its exit from the decaying wood, there are innumerable stages through which it has to pass; and there are intermediate agencies besides (fungi), in the absence of which organic decay would be impossible. Something similar may be said, concerning the transformation of plant-substance into coal. Coal, moreover, is not liable to slow combustion when exposed to the atmosphere; on the other hand, when ignited, the proportion of heat to light emitted, is greatly in favor of the former. It is therefore impossible empirically to demonstrate the atomic activity of the coal, in the same way, that it has been done with regard to the wood. Nevertheless, it being admitted on all hands that, whatever the ultimate out-put of quantitative motion may be—heat and light, light alone, or light with an imperceptible addition of heat—the out-put is in each case equivalent to the initial light and heat stored in the plant by the sun's thermal and

rays; we may fairly trust to analogy where direct demonstration is inapplicable, and be confident that, in the coal, not in the wood, atomic activity is constantly going on, though it be an activity "manifesting itself neither by motion nor by pressure."

One word more about atomic motion in general. We read in the Text-book of Physics mentioned before, the following:—

"If steam be passed over red-hot iron filings, the iron takes the oxygen, (of the vapor particles, composed of oxygen and hydrogen) and hydrogen passes off; if, on the other hand, hydrogen be passed over oxide of iron, it forms water-vapour, and reduced metallic iron is left behind. These actions, apparently so contradictory, are explained thus: There is a molecular agitation and a continued process of decomposition and recomposition of chemical molecules. The chemical atoms of iron, oxygen, and hydrogen are constantly changing their partners and forming new molecules; and in the first instance any molecule of hydrogen, in the second any molecules of steam, that happen to be formed, are carried off in the current of gas which passes through the apparatus. The particles even of one and the same substance appear to be in this ceaselessly restless state of decomposition and recomposition; when the substance is heated, the molecules are easily broken up, but are not so easily formed again, whence we have the phenomenon of thermolysis or dissociation; but even at ordinary temperatures the atoms associated within the molecules break asunder, and most seldom happen to meet each other again. Agitation and break-up thus occurring within the molecules, are incompatible with rest, and must necessarily be associated with violent translatory motions of the whole molecules."

After this it should certainly not be difficult to meet John Stuart Mill's objections to potential energy, on the lines indicated above.

And now, before closing this rather lengthy dissertation on the true meaning of the law of Conservation of Energy in all cases where energy is conspicuous by its absence, in other words wherever we meet with energy in its potential form—let us pay our last tribute of admiration to Gautama Buddha. We have seen before how his doctrine of Continuous Change represents the widest generalisation ever proclaimed to man. The general impression being however that changes are often suspended—in the stone lying on an eminence, in the coal lying in the pit, &c.—it was deemed necessary, whenever mention was made in the previous articles of this essay, of Buddha's doctrine of Continuous Change, to add the

words "and Tendency to Change." As a matter of fact, said, no such thing has ever been taught by Gautama Buddha. I quote the words of Professor Rhys Davids "Buddhism holds that everything is subject to the law of cause and effect, and that every thing is constantly, though imperceptibly changing. . . . The whole cosmos—earth, and heavens and hell—is always tending to renovation or destruction; is always in a course of change, in a series of revolutions, or of cycles, of which the beginning and the end alike are unknowable and unknown. To this universal law of composition and dissolution, men and gods form no exception."—Compare this with the last quotation concerning atomic decomposition and recomposition, and then let the comparison speak for itself!

Buddha, unlike the scientists of our age, did not believe in the morbid idea of a dormant energy. To him energy was ever active, ever changing; there are cycles of energy, or, what we would call now, forms of energy, but there is no such thing as potential energy, in the sense, or rather, in the self-contradictory sense, understood by the leading men of science of our age. We further read in the Samyuttaka Nikaya Vol. I. fol. dhî, as quoted by Oldenberg in his *Buddha*, the following:

This world, O Kaccana, generally proceeds on a duality; on the, 'it is' and the 'it is not.' But, O Kaccana, whoever perceives in truth and wisdom how things originate in the world, in his eyes there is no, 'it is not' in this world. Whoever, Kaccana, perceives in truth and wisdom how things pass away in this world, in his eyes there is no, 'it is' in this world. . . . 'Everything is' this is the one extreme, O Kaccana, 'Everything is not' this is the other extreme. The perfect one, O Kaccana, remaining far from both these extremes, proclaims the truth in the middle.

Here again are the words of Professor Oldenberg as he summarises the doctrine of Buddha concerning Being and Becoming.

• "Things or substances, in the sense of a something existing by itself, as we are accustomed to understand these words, cannot, according to all we have stated, be at all thought of by Buddhism. As the most general expression for those things, the mutual relation of which the formula of causality explains, the being of which, one might almost say, is their standing in that mutual relation, the language of the Buddhist has two terms: Dhamma and Sankhâra: we may give an approximate rendering of them by 'order' and 'formation.' Both designations are really synonymous; both include the idea that, not so much something ordered, a something formed, as rather a self-ordering, a self-forming, constitutes the subject-matter of the world with both there is inseparably associated in the feeling of the Buddhist the thought that every order must give place to another order, and every formation to another formation. Bodily as well as spiritual evolutions, all sensations, all

conditions, everything that is, is, all that passes, is a Dhamma. While older speculation had confused all being to the Atman, the great unchangeable 'I,' it was now laid down as a fundamental proposition: all Dhammas are 'not-I' (an-attā, Sansk-an-ātman); they are all transitory. Time after time the words uttered by the god Indra when Budha entered Nirvāna recur in the sacred texts: 'Impermanent truly are the Sankhāras, liable to origination and decrease; as they arose so they pass away; their disappearance is happiness.'

The above is a correct statement as far as it goes. That all *Dhammas* are, 'not-I,' that they are, all of them, transitory, is but one part—the negative part of Buddha's teaching; the other—its positive, and, therefore, most essential—part, consists in this, that "the perfect one proclaims the truth in the middle"—between 'Everything-is,' and 'Everything-is-not.'

What is it then that is, and is not; and that contains, at the same time, the truth above all other truths?—From all we know, it would appear that it is potential energy, with its two-fold characteristic of Metaphenomenalism and Persistency of motion without inherent necessity of transference. In virtue of its metaphenomenalism it holds the middle between 'it-is' and 'it-is-not;' on the other hand, by its peculiar mode of activity, it perpetuates motion, and thus serves as the true conservator of energy.—of energy at large, and of the energy proper to each individual case.

And this supremacy of the potential over the active—the phenomenally active—holds as good in the organic, as in the inorganic world; in the animal as in the vegetal kingdom; in man as in animals; in the region of Mind as in the region of Matter; in fact, it holds good as far as the law of Continuous Change is applicable; in other words, it holds good throughout the whole of the universe, and it holds good with regard to the universe as a stupendous whole. In every range of existence, in every mode of activity—physical, biological, psychic—there is a corresponding metaphenomenal range of existence, a corresponding mode of potential activity. In the study of the phenomenal, in the knowledge to be derived from the diligent observation of the two extremes—the becoming and the passing away of things—there is, no doubt, truth and wisdom to be found. It is, however, in the knowledge of the corresponding counterparts of things, in the knowledge of their respective metaphenomenal and potential, that there is to be found the Truth, the Truth of Wisdom, the Wisdom of Truth.—

Such is the teaching of Gautama Buddha.

L. SALZER.

THE FALL OF SULTAN BAJAZET.

THERE is nothing on earth but changes at every moment. This operation is going on without intermission in the whole world of matter: it knows no rest. In some cases the change is perceptible, in others it is silent, but the process is ever at work. Now, what is true of the material world is also true of the moral. Human luck is never at a standstill, but is always on the move. Poets compare it to a wheel which like Ixion's is ever a-going. It is continually turning up and down with more or less rapidity. Indeed, nothing is so uncertain as fortune, the only thing certain about it being its very uncertainty. It is for this reason that instability is recognised by the contemplative Buddhists as one of the four realities of life. No man can say for certain whether to-morrow's sun will find him in the same state in which it finds him to-day. Nay, one who is king at this moment may be reduced to beggary in the next. There have been many instances of this vicissitude, but none so striking as that of Cræsus in ancient times and that of Sultan Bajazet in modern.

Amurath the First was a worthy descendant of Othman. He had made large conquests both in Asia and in Europe, and his fame spread far and wide. That valiant band of soldiers, the Janizaries, who never showed their backs to their enemies, were of his making. But famous as he was, his fame was eclipsed by that of his son and successor:—Bajazet cut a far more brilliant figure. But if he rose like a rocket, he fell like a stick.

The 9th September 1389 was the last day that Amurath saw on earth. After the battle of Cassova was over, he was walking over the groaning field, observing how the dying and the dead bit the ground with their bloody teeth, when a Serbian soldier suddenly starting from the ghastly heap gave him a mortal wound. Down fell the victor and breathed his last. The crown devolved on Bajazet, who, though second son, had been nominated successor, the eldest Suazes having been blinded for having conspired against his father, the Emir.

was a born soldier. He had fleshed his sword early and was of as much service to Amurath as young Philip. But the sphere of his action was necessarily limited while his father lived. Now that he himself was the ruler, he made the brave Janizaries his constant companions and the tented field his permanent abode. His rule of a little less than fourteen years was a tissue of doughty deeds. His sword was so often sheathed in human body that it well-nigh forgot its own scabbard. The rapidity of his ruinous march was simply wonderful and kept the surrounding countries in continual alarm. His surname of *Ilderim*, or the lightning, quite became him, as it strongly expressed the fiery energy of his soul and the celerity of his destructive movements. The horror of his name had a most chilling effect. People after people submitted to his authority. Most part of Anatolia had been left unconquered by his warlike ancestors. As for the Emirs of Ghermian and Karamania, they were so very powerful that each of them could bring into the field an army of forty thousand men. Even they could not hold their own against the sweeping arms of Bajazet: they sought safety in flight, as did many others of less note. In this way almost the whole of Anatolia was brought under his sway. Iconium, the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians also shared the same fate. Having established his authority in Asia, Bajazet turned his eyes towards Europe. He passed the Danube and pounced upon the Greek Empire which, though considerably dismembered by his father, still offered a tempting prey to ambition. The greater part of Thrace had been conquered by Amurath. The little which yet adhered to the Greek Empire was easily subdued by his braver son. This was followed in rapid succession by the conquests of Thessaly and Macedonia. The proud victor then passed through the gates of Thessaly into Greece, and when he presented himself at the well-known temple of Delphi, the widow of a Spanish chief who held it at the time found no better means of gaining his favour than by sacrificing a beautiful daughter to his lust. As the Turkish communication between Europe and Asia was not unattended with danger, he stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. Now he thought of adding a fringe to his fame. His power had become so very great that the humble title of Emir was not at all suitable to him, and he therefore assumed the prouder one of Sultan. This titular distinction brought with it an obligation which he lost no time in discharging. Having made the necessary preparations he invaded Hungary which has

so often been flooded with Turkish and Christian blood. ~~Constantinople~~ then held the sceptre of that country. Himself though ~~no~~ match for the mighty Ottoman, he had very powerful friends and allies in the Emperors of the West who were intimately related to him. On the report of his danger the bravest knights of France and Germany flew to his aid, boasting all the way that even if the sky should fall they could uphold it on their lances. But it was not long before they were made to pay very dearly for their bravado. A battle was fought at Nicopolis, in which Bajazet defeated a confederate army of one hundred thousand Christians. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube. As for Sigismund it was after much difficulty that he escaped with his life. In the pride of victory the Sultan threatened that he would besiege Buda; subdue Germany and Italy; and not return to Boursa till he had fed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. But a physical distemper prevented him from attempting to make good his threat. The excruciating pain of the gout bore so hard upon him that he had no alternative left but to abandon his ambitious schemes. Alluding to this circumstance, the philosophic historian of the Roman Empire observes: "The disorders of the moral, are sometimes corrected by those of the physical, world; and an arrimonious humour falling on a single fibre of one man may prevent or suspend the misery of nations."

The defeat at Nicopolis was deeply felt in Europe. Not to speak of the loss of Christian blood which it had caused, it plainly showed that the cause of the Cross was in great danger. All Christendom declared in one voice that the heathen Sultan must be put down; but this was no easy matter. Some time was lost in deliberation and more time would have been lost had not the fearless Count of Nevers proclaimed a crusade with the ardour of a young enthusiast. John was of a very rich and respectable family: he was the son of the duke of Burgundy who was sovereign of Flanders and uncle to the French king. It was therefore no wonder that he easily got together a goodly number of knights and squires. The Sue-de-Concy, one of the best and oldest captains of Europe, offered to act as their guide, but the marshal of the crusade was the famous B. cicault. But neither of these great generals was implicitly obeyed by the proud and thoughtless youths who formed the majority. Indeed they all considered themselves "commandin offissers," as Artemus Ward would say. Thus there was a sad want of military discipline, and what was still worse overconfidence got the better of prudence. Bajazet met these ~~ran~~ intrepid warriors at the very same place

At long ago he had defeated a much larger number, and the result fully sustained, if not heightened, his reputation for masterly generalship. The battle raged loud and long, but at last victory sided with the Ottoman. Much slaughter was made among the crusaders, and those who survived the fight were made prisoners. With the exception of the Count of Nevers and four-and-twenty nobles, the rest of the captives were beheaded in the presence of the Sultan on their refusal to abjure their faith. Only one knight was permitted to return that he might relate the sad tale at Paris, and solicit the ransom of the noble captives. In the meanwhile, the Count of Nevers and his fellow prisoners were put to the greatest indignity followed by incarceration at Bursa. At length, a treaty was concluded, and the prisoners were allowed to go at large on payment of 200,000 ducats. Among the few who died in prison was the old Sue-de-Concy. It had been stipulated in the treaty that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of the conqueror, but the ungenerous restraint was removed by Bajazet himself who with a magnanimity natural to a bold spirit said to the young heir of Burgundy that he would be only too glad to meet him a second time in a field of battle.

The victorious Sultan now aimed at the conquest of Constantinople. On the death of John Paleologus in 1391 after a reign of thirty-six years, the Byzantine throne was occupied by his second son, Manuel. Manuel's was not a peaceful reign. For the first eight years he had to contend with his kinsman, the blind John of Selybria, who had asserted his right of primogeniture. Scarcely had that contest come to an end when a more dreadful foe threatened him. But before having recourse to arms, Bajazet adopted a military course. He sent an epistle which was couched in these words: "By the divine clemency, our invincible scimitar, has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with many and large countries in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople, for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city, stipulate thy reward, or tremble for thyself and thy unhappy people at the consequences of a rash refusal." But his ambassadors were instructed to soften their tone, and the consequence was that a truce of ten years was purchased by an annual tribute of 300,000 crowns of gold. But this truce did not last long; it was violated by the restless Sultan who on the plea of supporting the cause of the prince of Selybria sent an army of Ottomans against the capital of the Greek Empire. Manuel in his distress implored the protection of the French King who was not slow in sending succour. The

conduct of this succour was entrusted to the mare whose religious chivalry was inflamed by the desire of revenge on the captivity on the infidels. He sailed with four ships of war, forced the passage of the Hellespont which was guarded by seventeen Turkish galleys, landed at Constantinople with a supply of 600 men-at-arms and 1600 archers, and compelled the squadrons of Bajazet to raise the blockade both by sea and land. But the Ottomans soon returned with an increase of numbers, and the intrepid Boucicault, after a year's struggle, resolved to evacuate the country which could no longer afford either pay or provisions for his soldiers. On the advice of the marshal, Manuel leaving his blind competitor on the throne accompanied him to France that he might solicit in person a supply of men and money at the Parisian Court. But the Turkish Sultan, instead of applauding the success of his vassal, claimed the city as his own; and on the refusal of the Emperor John, it was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Constantinople would certainly have fallen a prey to the mighty Ottoman, had he not been overthrown by the mightier Mughal.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timur was informed of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia. Though he had numbered sixty-three summers and had endured innumerable fatigues, he resolved to humble the pride of Bajazet without delay. Before, however, coming to arms the two monarchs made war of words for some time, in which the grossest abuse was indulged in with the pruriency of a Billingsgate fag. At length, from words they come to blows. The infuriated Mughal laid siege to and destroyed Sivas, a strong city on the confines of Anatolia; and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman on a garrison of 4000 Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. But his resentment was soon overcome by his religious feeling, and he turned aside to the conquest of Syria and Egypt, leaving Bajazet to continue the blockade of Constantinople.

The destruction of Sivas and its garrison had given a severe blow to the pride of Bajazet; and while the Mughal arms were engaged in demolishing Aleppo and Damascus, he was busy in collecting his forces for a more serious encounter. In two years he assembled an army of 400,000 horse and foot, and as if he had chosen that spot for revenge encamped near the ruins of the unfortunate Sivas. In the meantime, Timur whose object was to fight in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom adroitly avoiding the camp of the Sultan came by a circuitous road to Angora and invested it. Bajazet, who in utter ignorance compared the Tartar,

As to the crawling of a snail, on being informed of the siege of Angora, flew on the wings of indignation to its relief; and as both generals were alike impatient for action they soon came to an engagement which sealed the fate of the Ottoman. In that memorable day Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a general; but his genius sank under a stronger ascendant. His defeat was most complete, followed as it was by his capture. His fall was like that of Lucifer, from the topmost summit to the lowest pit. Indeed, the tide of fortune, as Virgil very justly observes, ebbs much faster than it flows.

Authors differ as to the way in which Bajazet was treated by Timur after his defeat at Angora. But the weight of evidence and authorities is in favour of the fact of his having been confined in an iron cage. Save and except Sherefuddin Ali who had tried to keep his hero far from such an ungenerous action, all the rest including the learned and impartial Poggius unanimously support the popular tale. It may, however, have been that at the first meeting the vanquished Sultan received some consideration at the hands of the victor but there is no doubt that when he was being led in triumph to Samarkand he was put in an iron cage. This sudden change of condition from the best to the worst weighed very heavily upon the mind and body of the royal captive, and he soon came to an untimely end on the 9th March 1403. just seven months and twelve days after the battle of Angora.

The severe treatment which Bajazet received at the hands of Timur does not, however, stand unique. More than 200 years after, a similar case occurred in Bengal, when a famous descendant of that Mughal monarch occupied the Mughal throne in Hindustan, Protapaditya, the Hero of the Sunderbans, having defied the authority of the great Emperor, Jehangir sent the Ambar Chief, Raja Man Singh, to bring him up before the August Presence. The Rajput general attacked the lessore with a large army, and after hard fighting in which the most powerful of the twelve chiefs of Bengal performed many wonderful feats of valour defeated and captured him. Agreeably to the orders of the Emperor, Protapaditya was put in an iron cage and was being conveyed to the imperial court when he died on the way at the sacred city of Benares.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

BALLOONING IN CALCUTTA, PAST AND PRESENT.

Antiquarians are doubtful as to whether the art of ballooning was known to the ancients or not. It is now pretty well ascertained that the ancient Hindus were acquainted with some art by means of which they could proceed from one place to another through the air. Those who have read any one of the "classics" of Sanscrit Literature will very well remember the numerous allusions therein to a sort of conveyance known as "*pushpakrath*" which the heroes and heroines of antiquity are described as frequently using in navigating through the aerial regions. It is not known to us moderns what this conveyance was like. So far as Europe is concerned, it is said that the art of ballooning or aerial navigation was discovered in the fourteenth century A.D. The invention of the balloon itself is ascribed to the Brothers Montgolfier who are said to have ascended high up in the air by means of a fire-balloon, at Aunonay, in 1783. In the infancy of this art, heated air continued to be used for the purpose of inflating and lending buoyancy to the balloon. It was in that very same year that two Frenchmen named M. M. Robert and Charles used hydrogen gas for the purpose of inflating a balloon in which they ascended from Paris. Since that time great improvements have been effected in the construction of balloons and the whole art of ballooning has been brought to a high pitch of perfection. Balloons are now used for military purposes and, during the Franco-Prussian War, the French are said to have used captive balloons for reconnoitring the positions of the enemy.

As Mr. Spencer's and Bahu Rám Chandra Chatterjee's recent balloon ascents have awakened the deepest interest of the Indian public in the subject of ballooning, I will now give a short account of the various attempts at ascending through the air by means of a balloon, that have from time to time been made in Calcutta and elsewhere. It will be in the recollection of the oldest residents that the first balloon ascent in Calcutta was made by one Mr. Robertson about fifty years ago or rather in the beginning of the third decade

story. It was immediately after the first Burmese War was concluded by the Treaty of Yandaboo dated 24th January 1826 for a native regiment, which had then just returned from Burma, was encamped near the place from which the ascent was made. Mr. Robertson ascended from Garden Reach (Matiabrooz) before the presence of a vast assembly who had gathered there to witness a spectacle never before seen in Calcutta. My grand-father, who was present on that occasion, says that Mr. Robertson's balloon rose as high as a palm-tree and had a basket attached to it. Mr. Robertson made his descent somewhere near the late Hon'ble East India Company's Botanical Gardens on the other side of the river. My grand father still remembers a few bars of a Bengalee song which was composed on that occasion to commemorate the event. This is also confirmed by the testimony of a correspondent of the *Statesman*, who says that he was informed by a man who was a young boy then and had gone in the company of his uncle to Matiabrooz to see the tamasha in a country-boat. "Mr. Robertson made his second attempt in India from Lucknow when Mahomed Ali Shah, grand uncle of the late Wazir Ali Shah, was the King of Oudh. He rose to a great height and never descended. Mr. Robertson must have perished in this attempt. The King of Oudh offered a lakh of rupees as reward to any one who could give any correct information regarding Mr. Robertson and bring him down alive. But nothing was ever heard of him or his balloon."

The second attempt was made by Mr. Kight in 1865. He is, I believe, the same Mr. Kight who ascended in a balloon from the Grant-Road Theatre, Bombay, on Saturday, the 12th December 1853, and fell into the sea and was rescued by the commander of the *S. S. Louisa Family*. The ascent in Calcutta was to have been made by Mr. Kight from Raja Baidyanath's gardens in Paipharah. But the balloon would not inflate and Mr. Kight's attempt, like Mr. Spencer's first one, ended in a fiasco amidst the jeers and the laughter of the assembled mob. Mr. Dave Carson, the well-known theatre manager and caterer of public amusements, turned Mr. Kight's failure into account by forming it the subject of a satirical skit which he produced in his theatre, just as Mr. Spencer's fiasco was turned into a pantomimic sketch entitled "The Balloon" by the Star Theatre. With regard to this second balloon-ascent in Calcutta Mr. Kight, the correspondent of the *Statesman*, above alluded to, says: "The second ascent was not made by one Mr. Kight (Mr. Kight never ascended from Calcutta) as stated by your correspondent (the writer of the present article), but by a French-

man named Monsieur Macguire. He was an aeronaut, and he swindled the Calcutta public out of several thousands, if not a lakh of rupees. He tried three times from Raja Baidyanath's garden at Cassipore but, like Mr. Spencer's first attempt, failed. On the last occasion his balloon rose about the height of a palmtree and dropped down immediately in the vicinity. This man had with him a woman named Madame Lalani, and she in the same year tried once more to rise from the Garden house of the late Babu Asutosh Dey (Chhátu Bábu) at Belgachia in the North-Eastern suburbs of Calcutta." This was the fifth attempt at ballooning in Calcutta. "The sixth ascent was made by one Mr. Knight (and not Kight) also from Raja Baidyanath's Garden about 1851 or 1852. He was successful in his ascent, but he narrowly escaped being killed as his balloon burst and dropped down at *Chingreehatta*, near Balliaghatta, from a considerable height. A subscription was raised by the native public to reward his pluck. This aeronaut made a second attempt from a place in Wood-street adjoining the present St. Xavier's College, then known as the *Sans Soucie Theatre*. This place is now occupied by the new Surveyor-General's Offices." With regard to this correspondent's assertion that Mr. Kight never ascended from Calcutta, I might say that I have heard from several gentlemen still living that the gentleman who ascended from Calcutta in a balloon either during the fifties or the sixties was named Kight and not Knight. I might also add that the testimony of these gentlemen are quite trustworthy. The eighth ascent was successfully made by one Mr. Johnson from the *maidan*, east of the fort, in the year 1865. The ninth balloon ascent in Calcutta was made by Mr. Lynn in the month of December 1877 from the grounds of the Calcutta Gas Works in Upper Circular-road. The balloon, on this occasion, rose to an immense height and Mr. Lynn descended somewhere near the Salt Water Lakes to the east of Calcutta. Early in 1880, Mr. Percival Sepencer came out to India for the purpose of exhibiting before the Indian public, Professor Baldwin's Method of descending from the balloon from a great height by means of a parachute. This method consists in attaching the parachute in collapsed form to the side of the balloon, and the aeronaut ascends seated in a hoop of rope fastened to a cross-bar underneath the balloon itself. On ascending to any height from which he considers it safe to descend, he pulls a rope which either opens the escape valve of the balloon or slits the silk, and immediately casts himself off, clinging to a ring from which the ropes of his parachute radiate. The weight of the aeronaut detaches him from the balloon and he

one for at least 100 ft., when the action of the rapid ascent causes the upper portion of the parachute to open out like an umbrella and the daring aeronaut descends through space to earth slowly and with no little grace. The special feature of the parachute is that it has got a hole at the top and thus the descent is made steady. As soon as the valve is opened, the gas escapes and the balloon itself "turns turtle" and falls down to the earth. The first public exhibition of this method of parachute descent was given by Mr. Spencer immediately after his arrival at Bombay. He ascended in a balloon from the grounds of the Government House at Parell, Bombay, and he successfully descended by means of a parachute. He made one or two more ascents at Bombay and Poona. Subsequently he came to Calcutta early in March 1889. The tenth attempt at ballooning in Calcutta was the one made by Mr. Percival Spencer from the Ballygunge Race Course but which unfortunately ended in a failure. His next attempt was more successful for he ascended in a balloon from the Calcutta Race Course and rose to a great height whence he was blown away by a strong current of wind to the Sunderbuns where he alighted at a place named Hastaliabad teeming with tigers and *muggers*. Great sympathy was expressed for him on this occasion for he was not heard of for several days and was supposed to have been lost. His third ascent was made from the stables of the Calcutta Tramway company at Cossipore on the *Chait Sankranti* day and he successfully descended by means of a parachute from a height of about 1000 ft. Mr. Spencer's fourth attempt will be ever-memorable for, on this occasion, a native of India—a Bengali gentleman named Babu Ram Chandra Chatterjee, for the first time in the annals of India, ascended with Mr. Spencer in a balloon from the grounds of the Calcutta Gas Works in Narikeldanga. They effected their descent somewhere in Baraset. Mr. Spencer's fifth ascent was from the same place and on this occasion he was accompanied by a military officer named Colonel Corington who ascended in the balloon for the purpose of making scientific observations. After this Mr. Spencer left for England. Early in May 1889, Babu Ram Chandra, alone and unaided, successfully ascended in a balloon from the Calcutta Gas Works and descended somewhere near Baraset. Shortly afterwards he gave a public exhibition of his aeronautical skill at Allahabad. In 1890, Mr. Percival Spencer again came out to India and made a number of balloon ascents from the Tivoli Gardens in Lower Circular Road. The present year will be memorable for another remarkable feat in ballooning—unprecedented in the annals of India—performed by the Bengali aeronaut Babu Ram Chundra

Chatterjee. Babu Ram Chandra, during this year, descended from the balloon from a great height by means of a parachute—thus showing his remarkable intrepidity and aeronautical skill. During the current year another Bengali named P. C. Laha ascended in a balloon in the company of several European gentlemen and an European lady, from the Tivoli Gardens. The moral effect of the balloon ascents made by the two plucky Bengalis, is incalculable ; for it shows in a clear and unmistakable light that the Bengalis are not wanting in that spirit of intrepidity and adventurousness, that pluck and courage, with the want of which they have been hitherto taunted and reproached.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA. M.A., B.L.

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THE JUBILEE SANITARIUM.

Bengal, in point of climate, compares unfavourably with any other area of the like extent throughout British India. Its soil, a rich alluvial loam, yearly fertilized by inundations from a thousand miniature Niles, rivals that of Egypt in productiveness. But a tropical sun, an excessive rainfall, and rapid changes in temperature conspire to render the climate most trying to the human constitution. The evil has been aggravated by the ruthless disregard for physical geography shown by those who engineered our railway lines, which, for the most part, traverse the natural watershed at right angles, and are very inadequately provided with water-way. Thus the surface-water, debarred from its natural outlet, sinks into the porous soil, which becomes water-logged and develops into a breeding-ground for myriads of the mysterious organisms known to produce malaria. The most important factor in the proverbial unhealthiness of Bengal is, however, the disregard shown by its inhabitants of all degrees for the commonest sanitary laws. The *grihastha* is, indeed, scrupulous in the matter of personal ablutions: and his better half keeps her courtyard and cluster of dwelling-houses in a state of cleanliness that recalls those far-famed Dutch villages near the Hague. But these precautions are rendered nugatory by the state in which the surroundings of the *bari* are allowed to remain. Dense belts of jute, sugarcane, and areca palms intercept ventilation. These

are interspersed with holes full of foetid water and patches of noisome jungle, while the environs of every village are a vast latrine. Dwellers within the Mahratta Ditch who have for many years possessed the priceless boon of pure water and efficient drainage can form no conception of the conditions under which myriads of human lives drag out their brief span in the interior of the province. In the case of the great professional and official classes the evil is intensified by the growing fierceness of the struggle for life. Even those who win in the race must spend their best years in thankless drudgery with the prospect of succumbing sooner or later to disease generated by a sedentary life amid deadly surroundings. The overworked judicial or ministerial officer, the pleader harassed by carking care and worn out by excessive competition, sorely needs a haven of rest in pure mountain air where his system may purge itself of poison-germs, and he may

Raze out the written trouble of the brain,
And with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart.

Such is afforded by the Jubilee Sanitarium, founded a couple of years ago in Darjiling by Mr. E. Lewis, C.S., and his trusty henchman, Babu Hari Mohan Chandra. The early struggles of the Institution need not be enlarged upon in these pages. Thanks mainly to the generosity of a zemindar of the Rungpore District, Raja Gobind Lal Ray, it has survived a stormy youth and entered upon a vigorous and hopeful manhood. A brief description of its present aspect will probably interest my readers, and I hope, lead many whom Providence has blessed with the means of procuring for themselves the purest and sweetest of pleasures to devote a portion of their superfluous wealth to aiding its further development.

The visitor to Darjiling will observe, as he steams into the railway station, a large two-storied structure in the glen below him set in trim surroundings and commanding a ravishing prospect of hill, valley and cloud. This is the Lewis Sanitarium, the generous gift to the Indian people of His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. Descending a winding footpath, the wayfarer finds himself in a courtyard between the main building and the offices; where he will probably be joined by the courteous Superintendent, eager to do the honours of his charge. Entering the Sanitarium proper, he will pass through a spacious and cheerful common-room with almeiras containing the nucleus of a good library of English and vernacular books. Thence ramify corridors

leading to the bed-rooms of the third-class patients who, for the very moderate guerdon of one rupee to one rupee eight annas per diem, have ample sleeping space, an abundance of good food and the best medical attendance. Here, too, the visitor will note a large dining-room for the use of non-Hindus and anglicised Indians. The prejudices of the orthodox of this and the higher classes are, however, amply cared for. Provision for their cooking, bathing, and eating, is to be found in a separate building, reached by a covered passage. Excellent as is the accommodation already provided, it will soon be far more complete. Another Rungpore Zemindar, Babu Janaki Bullabh Sen of Dimla, has contributed the funds required for a hostel dedicated exclusively to Hindu patients. The plans of this useful extension are now ready, and the beginning of the next Darjiling season will see an edifice replete with every modern convenience on the site now occupied by the lawn tennis courts. But we will return to the present building, and, mounting a staircase, gain the quarters set apart for the two higher classes of patients. The first pays Rs. 3-8 per diem if orthodox Hindus, and Rs. 4-8 if anglicised or non-Hindu, the differential scale being necessitated by the high price of meat and provisions generally at Darjeeling. The second class similarly pay Rs. 3 and Rs. 2: the only distinction between the two being that those in the higher category enjoy the privilege of a separate bed-room. These charges include service, medical attendance, provisions, everything, in short, except firewood in private rooms.

My readers will ask how far the Lowis' Sanitarium has served its ends. In view of the fact that the experimental stage has barely been passed, the answer cannot be deemed other than satisfactory. The average daily number of inmates last year was between twelve and thirteen, exclusive of servants, who are boarded at six annas per diem. During the first three months of the current season the total admissions were 113; the greatest number resident on any date having been 41. It is only fair to add that the extreme prevalence of influenza at Darjiling during the months of April and May induced many intending patients to postpone their visit. Of the benefits derived by those who braved a troublesome malady there can be no doubt whatever. The pure mountain air acts like a charm on the long train of bodily ills that have their causation in malaria. Fever and spleen disappear with certainty and promptitude; diabetic patients and those affected with consumption find new strength to battle with their subtle foes. Dyspepsia alone appears to defy the united influences with which disease is assailed at the Sanitarium. The fault, however, lies with the

patients themselves, who are inclined to shirk the wholesome fatigue entailed by mountain climbing. But it is the numerous class who suffer less from specific disease than the effects of that bane of our century, overwork and worry, who have the greatest reason to bless the founders of the Lowis' Sanitarium. In their case insomnia and despondency give place in a few days to vigorous enjoyment of life and its varied interests: and they return to the plain below with a stock of strength and patience enabling them to support their trials with equanimity. It rests with the Indian public to decide whether this noble foundation shall enter upon a career of extended usefulness, or whether its benefits shall be restricted to a narrow section of the community. A donation of five thousand rupees would support a free bed, bearing the giver's name, admission to which would be given to his nominee. Those whose means are circumscribed can at least contribute to the heavy cost of furniture and the numerous appliances which render the invalid's lot less irksome. It is within the power of nearly every one to send books, newspapers, or wall-pictures, which would be thankfully received and much appreciated.⁶ The Darjiling-Himalayan railway might afford substantial aid by conceding to passengers armed with a voucher from the Superintendent of the Sanitarium the privilege of travelling at reduced fares, and using the class above that covered by their tickets.

F. H. S.

WORSHIP OF SHIVA-LINGAM.

IN his speech in the House of Commons upon the action of Lord Ellenborough in the restoration of the gates of Somnath, Lord Macaulay made the following remarks :—

“Lingamism is not merely idolatry but idolatry in its most pernicious form.

“Yes, Sir, the temple of Somnath was sacred to Shiva, and the honorable gentleman cannot but know by what emblem Shiva is represented and with what rites he is adored. The god of destruction, whose images and whose worship it would be a violation of decency to describe, is selected as the object of homage.” We will endeavour to shew that the worship of Shiva is the worship of the Supreme Being, and that the term Shiva-Lingam does not suggest any indelicate association in the mind of the worshipper.

In the first place, the word Shiva literally means *mangal* or goodness. In the Upanishads the Almighty is called *সত্যং শিবং সুন্দরং* i.e., truth, goodness, and beauty. In the Shiva Purana which inculcates the worship of Shiva, it is said :—

নিষ্ঠু নং সচ্চিদানন্দং বৎসরং ব্রহ্ম উচ্যতে ।
নির্লেপঞ্চ নিরাকারং স শিবো নঃ প্রসীদতু ॥

Here Shiva is described as the Supreme Being, without form, full of happiness, unconnected with the material world, and void of all qualities which inferior objects possess.

In the Srutis, Shiva is described as

অজ্ঞো নিত্যঃ শাশ্বতোহমরঃ শিবঃ ।

i.e., without beginning, immutable, one not subject to destruction, and immortal. From these extracts it is evident that the worship of Shiva is the worship of the Supreme Being. Let us now try to find out the meaning of the word *Lingam* and the mode of worshipping it.

There are words which have more than one signification : and because *Lingam* means emblem of sex, it does not follow that it

cannot be used in any other sense. In the Sanskrit and vernacular grammars, the words *Pung Lingam* and *Stri Lingam* appear. They signify the masculine and the feminine genders. In the religious books of the Hindoos, the word *Linga-sharira* appears. Here the meaning of the word *Linga* is Sukshma or subtile. Turning to the dictionaries, we find the meaning of the word *Lingam* thus given : one of the meanings is an image of Shiva. One authority specially mentions it that Shiva Lingam is Shiva, and not the emblem of Shiva's sex (শিব লিঙ্গং শিব এব নতু শিবস্য লিঙ্গঃ) In Dyana Yoga Khanda of Suta-Samhita, Lingam is used for abode. It says—

আলয়ং লিঙ্গমিত্যাহির্কেষদবেদান্তবিত্তমাঃ ।
 তত্রাপি শঙ্করঃ সাক্ষারলিঙ্গং নান্যং মুনীশ্বরঃ ॥
 আলয়ো নামচাধার শিবঃ এব সদা ধনু ।
 সদা সত্য স্বভাববাহ্যং সত্য এব শিবঃ ধনু ॥
 ততঃ সত্য চিদানন্দ লক্ষণং পরমেশ্বরং ।
 স্বরূমেব সদা লিঙ্গং ন লিঙ্গং তস্য বিধাতে ॥

The meaning of this is that, those conversant with the Vedas and the Vedantas have used the word *Lingam* to signify Alaya, and *Lingam* is Shiva. The word *Alaya* means abode or resting place, and Shiva is the resting place of all. Shiva is truth. He is the Almighty Being full of happiness. He himself is *Lingam*. He owns no emblem of sex.

We will now give a description of the *Lingam*, and shew how its worship originated. There is a life of Gooru Datta (Duttatraya) in the Marathi language by Narasingha Saraswati. In it we find an account of Gokarna Mahabaleshwar which Gooru Datta himself gave to one of his pupils. In this it is stated that the mother of Ravana, the ruler of Lanka, used to worship daily the image of Shiva. On a certain occasion, Ravana came to pay his respects to his mother and seeing her worshipping an image made of clay, he was very much mortified. On coming to know subsequently that she was obliged to resort to this practice in the absence of a proper image, he went to Mahadeva in Kailasa to obtain a proper one. Arrived at his destination, he prayed to Shiva for help and sang hymns in his praise. This pleased Shiva very much, and he gave him the Prana-lingam which was with him. When handing over this *Lingam* to Ravana, Mahadeva said that it should be worshipped three times daily, that the worshipper of it would never die, and that the mere sight of it would save the greatest of sinners; and he specially enjoined that the *Lingam* should never be kept on the ground. Ravana's joy knew no bounds. He retraced his steps, and

thought of going to Lanka direct without halting anywhere, so that he might avoid the necessity of keeping the Lingam on the ground. When he arrived at Mahavali, Narada met him. A conversation took place, in course of which Narada enquired how he had obtained the Prana-lingam. Ravana related the circumstance. On hearing this, Narada said, he was very fortunate. Ravana was thinking of continuing his journey, but Narada told him that if he would wait a little he would give him an interesting account of the Lingam and how Shiva had got it. Ravana gave his assent. Narada then said that on a certain occasion, Brahman, Vishnu and Maheshwara had gone on a hunting excursion, and had found in a certain place a deer lying dead. On cutting the carcass into pieces, they saw a wonderful figure which had three horns at the top and three Lingams at the bottom. They were very much pleased with it, and Mahadeva kept it with him. Narada then told Ravana to what extent Shiva valued the Lingam, and what good resulted from its worship. At this time the sun set, and Narada advised Ravana to halt and say his evening prayers. The Lingam could not be kept on the ground, and Ravana was thinking of it. At this juncture, Ganapati appeared in the shape of a *Brahmacharin*. Ravana was glad to see him. He requested the Brahmacharin to take charge of the Lingam so that he might say his prayers. After much hesitation Ganapati agreed on the condition that if Ravana took much time he would call him three times and then place the Lingam on the ground. The Lingam, he added, was heavy and he could hardly keep it for a long time. Ravana accepted the condition, and went to say his prayers. When Ravana was deeply engaged in offering *Arghya*, Ganapati called Ravana three times. But Ravana could not stop at that stage of his worship. Ganapati, receiving no response, deposited the Lingam on the ground and went away. After finishing his prayers, Ravana came back and saw the Lingam on the ground. This mortified him greatly. He tried to lift it up but could not as it was firmly rooted. The force applied by Ravana in pulling the Lingam altered its shape, and made the middle of it like the ear of a cow. Hence this Lingam is called Gokarna, and the place where the Gokarna Lingam stands is called Gokarna-Mahabaleshwar.

Now, let us see in what manner the Lingam is worshipped. In the *Mantra* for Dhyana (meditation), a devotee realizes the presence of a being whose color is white, who has the moon on his forehead, whose body is radiant, who has four hands, five heads and three eyes, who is clad in a tiger-skin and seated on a lotus.

White is a negative color. It is no color at all. So Shiva is represented to be without color. White is also the emblem of purity, so it is quite proper to represent God by this color. The heavenly bodies are radiant and at the same time beautiful. Among them, the Moon holds the highest place in the estimation of the Hindoos. Nectar comes out of the Moon, and he is, therefore, called *Sudhakara*. The face of a beautiful person is compared with the Moon. To typify the beauty of Shiva, he is represented to hold the Moon on his forehead. The body of Shiva is described as brilliant. It must be so. The Being from whom has emanated the brilliant things of this universe must himself be brilliant. Shiva has four hands. In one hand, he holds a *Parashu* or axe, in another a *Mriga* or deer; with one he gives blessings and with another he proclaims protection. By holding the axe he shews his dreadful form to sinners. The word *Mriga* signifies animal; so that, by holding the *Mriga* in one of his hands, he shews that he has control over the animal kingdom. Shiva is called *Pashupati* or the lord of animals. God's blessing is necessary for man, so is God's protection, and Shiva shews by his third hand that he is ready to bless mankind, and by his fourth that he will protect them from dangers and difficulties. Shiva is represented to have five heads. These heads typify the five elements which pervade the universe. In the Vedas the Almighty Being is thus described:—*বিশ্বতচ্ছকৃত্ত্ব বিশ্বতোমুখো বিশ্বতোবাহকৃত্ত্ব বিশ্বতঙ্গাৎ*, which signifies, that the eyes, face, arms and legs of God are everywhere. In the worship of Narayana God is represented to have a thousand heads, thousand eyes and a thousand hands. The Hindoos by using the words five, ten, hundred and thousand signify many. When we say, the *Punch* have done this, we mean to say that it has the approval of the entire community. When we say that an action performed is commended by ten persons, we mean that it has been praised by many; so that by representing Shiva with five heads it is intended to signify his presence everywhere. Shiva has three eyes. This means that he is omniscient. He sees with his three eyes the past, the present, and the future. Shiva is clad in a tiger skin and sits on a lotus. The skin of the tiger points out to man the terrible nature of Shiva and the lotus shows his mild disposition. These two dispositions are blended together in the Supreme Being. The former serves to inspire awe in the hearts of miscreants and the latter holds out hopes to those that repent for their past misdeeds and seek the protection of God. There can be no doubt that in this shape the Supreme Being is

worshipped. For in the *Mantra* referred to, Shiva is called the beginning of the universe, the seed of the universe. Then the eight forms of Shiva are worshipped. These are earth, water, fire, air, firmament, moon, sun, and the sacrificer. This is God's *Vishwarupa* or the Almighty manifested in the universe. Krishna says in the *Bhagvadgita*—Oh Arjuna, my power is unlimited. I am manifest everywhere. I am the moving spirit of every human being, but men cannot comprehend me. They should, therefore, seek me through the objects of nature and created beings. Among heavenly bodies, I am the Sun. Among the Vedas, I am the Sama Veda. Among the mountains, I am Sumeru. Among the rivers, I am Ganga. Among the waters, I am the sea. Among trees, I am the Ashwatha. Among priests, I am Vrihaspati. Among Great *Rishis*, I am Bhrigu. Among celestial *Rishis*, I am Narada. Among *Munis*, I am Vyasa.—After naming several other objects and beings, Krishna concludes,—There is nothing in the universe in which I am not present, so that a devotee can realize my presence everywhere.—In the same manner, by worshipping the eight forms of Shiva which represent the five elements and the moon, the sun and the performer of sacrifices, we realize the presence of God in the universe. After worshipping Shiva, a devotee is required to bow down before the Lingam uttering a *Mantra*. The meaning of this *Mantra* is—You are the lord of the universe, the giver of knowledge, the giver of salvation, the merciful God, and the last resort of the Soul. In the course of worship, offerings are made to Shiva of flowers, scents, fruits, rice and sweet-meats. It may be asked why should we offer these to God? He does not want these things. In fact, it is tantamount to offering Him a part of what we have received from Him. We cannot please Him with such trivial things. We are aware that our actions cannot affect God in any way. He is full in himself. But by making these offerings a devotee shews his gratitude for all that he has received from his merciful Father. By so doing, he also shews his self-sacrificing spirit. Beginning with the offering of flowers, a devotee learns to sacrifice all that he values most until he sacrifices his desire for the pleasures of the world, and finds consolation in the fountain of all bliss. It seems necessary to explain why the leaf of the *Bela* tree is valued above all the offerings made to Shiva. The leaf of the *Bela* tree consists of three parts which represent the three attributes of God. In the *Lingarchana Tantra* it is said:—বিল পত্র ত্রৈলোক্যনি ব্রহ্ম বিষ্ণু শিবাত্মকং। অণু ত্রয়াত্মকং দেবী ত্রিগুণং সঙ্গদাতকং। The meaning of this Sloka is—the leaf of the

Bela-tree signifies Brahman, Vishnu, and Shiva. The three parts of the leaf represent the three attributes of God, and they give to the devotee all that he seeks. Now, it is known to every Hindu that Brahman is the creative power of God, Vishnu the preserving power, and Shiva the destroying power. The sight of this leaf at once points out to the devotee that he is worshipping the Almighty God who is the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer of this universe. There are leaves of other trees having three parts, and it may be asked why this particular leaf is selected. It must be borne in mind that the authors of the Hindu scriptures, sought not only the spiritual but the secular welfare of the people. The leaf of the Bela-tree possesses medicinal properties, so that by constantly coming in contact with it a devotee is also physically benefited. The Bela-tree is planted by the Hindoos close to their habitations, and the benefit it confers on them is very great. Not only the leaf, but the fruit of the tree is also of great value. It is good to eat and is at the same time a remedy for dysentery.

We have endeavoured to shew that the emblem by which Shiva is represented is not that of sex as is generally believed, and which led Lord Macaulay to denounce the Hindoo religion. We have also endeavoured to show that the rites with which Shiva is worshipped are not at all objectionable. On the contrary, they are very suitable for the worship of the Supreme Being. Lord Macaulay was pleased to denounce Linganism as "idolatry in its most pernicious form." We have shewn that Linganism is not pernicious. We now ask, why should the Hindus be stigmatised as worshippers of idols? Is there any religious sect in the world that has a right conception of the Supreme Being? We will now take a cursory view of the modes of worship adopted by some of the principal religious sects of the world to shew how they stand with regard to the Hindu system. The Jews are known to be worshippers of one God. Let us see what mode of worship is in vogue among them. It is mentioned in the Old Testament that when the Israelites were on their way to Canaan, the Almighty Being conducted them safely through forests infested with ferocious animals and places inhabited by cannibals and savages. Moses was their leader. Through him the Israelites placed their wants before God. Moses used to accost God from the top of a hill and God used to listen to his words and to give necessary instructions. The Israelites had to traverse unknown tracts, and God raised pillars of cloud and fire to shew them the way. They had to pass through a barren land where no sort of food

could be obtained, and God ordained that manna should fall in abundance from the clouds to assuage their hunger. At places where no water could be had, Moses, by the command of God, would strike a hill with his rod, and water would gush out in torrents. Whenever the Israelites disobeyed Moses, the wrath of God was manifested through clouds by thunder and lightning. By and bye God became their guide and support in all matters, secular as well as spiritual. He advised them to conquer kingdoms and make the necessary arrangements. When a kingdom was subdued, he used to give instructions as to the manner in which the conquered people should be treated, what use should be made of the things taken from the enemies and so forth. Whenever the overwhelming number of the enemy frightened the people, God became their commander and adopted measures to discomfit the foe. Again, God gave instructions as to the manner in which he should be worshipped. Under his orders the ark of the covenant was made and inlaid with gold. Within it was the mercy seat with images of two cherubim made of gold, with wings spread over the seat. This seat was intended for God. A class of priests was then ordained, and God gave them special instructions about their holy garments, mode of living, marriage and so forth. Injunctions were then given for offerings to be made to God as expiation for the sins committed by the people, such as the burnt offering, the meat offering, the peace offering. On these occasions, bullocks and lambs were sacrificed, cakes and wine offered, and incense burnt. Besides these, special festivals were enjoined, such as the feast of Passover, the feast of the Pentecost, the feast of the Tabernacle.

From the account given above of the doings of God and his injunctions to the Israelites, it is evident that God appeared before the people as an earthly monarch. He tried to please the people by holding out to them hopes of worldly prosperity. In shewing his favor to them, he even went to the length of oppressing other people. He promised them the land of Canaan, and in order to enable them to occupy it, he issued strict orders to drive out the inhabitants. Then the worship of God consisted of offerings of worldly things. There was nothing to engender in the mind a sublime idea of that great Being. Now, let us see what mode of worship was inaugurated by Jesus Christ. Jesus did not discard altogether the Jewish system of worship. He looked more to the spirit than to the outward forms of worship. When passing through the cornfields the disciples of Jesus plucked the ears of corn on a Sabbath day, the Pharisees asked Jesus why his disciples did that which was not lawful. Jesus pointed out to

them that on a certain occasion, when hungry, David and his followers went into the house of God and ate the shew bread which was not lawful to eat. Here Jesus admitted the necessity of keeping the Sabbath, but by citing the example of David shewed that in case of necessity it was not unlawful to do any thing for the preservation of life.

Jesus observed the Jewish feasts also. On the first day of the feast of Passover, the disciples came to Jesus and asked at what place they should make preparations to eat the Passover. Jesus replied,—“Go into the city to such a man and say unto him, the master saith my time is at hand; I will keep the Passover at thy house with my disciples.” Again, Jesus enjoined on the Jews the necessity of keeping the laws of Moses. On a certain occasion, he accosted them in the following manner,—“Did not Moses give you the law and yet none of you keepeth the law.”

The prayer which Jesus enjoined shews the wants for which we should implore the help of God. It runs thus:—“Our father which art in heaven. Hallowed be thy name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen!” Now let us see how God was represented by Jesus. In the prayer quoted above, heaven is said to be the special seat of God. On certain occasions, God spoke from the clouds. When Jesus was baptised, the heavens opened and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him and a voice came from heaven which said,—“Thou art my beloved son in whom I am well pleased.” Again, when Jesus was transfigured, Elias and Moses came and talked with him. At that time a voice came out of the clouds, saying,—“This is my beloved son, hear him.” Speaking of the day of judgment, Jesus said that all the tribes of the earth will on that day see the son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. The statement given below shews the reward promised for believers in God. When asked by Peter what reward they will get for having forsaken every thing for his sake, Jesus replied,—“Verily, I say unto you that Ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”

“And every one that hath forsaken houses or brethren or sister or father or mother or wife or children or lands for my

namesake shall receive an hundredfold and shall inherit everlasting life."

Thus we see that as regards the idea of the Supreme Being there is very little difference between the statements made in the Old and the New Testaments. In the Old Testament, God is represented as a mighty monarch dwelling in heaven. But for the sake of his chosen people, the Israelites, he condescended to come below and sit now and then on the mercy seat in the tabernacle reserved for him. The same idea of God is set forth in the New Testament. But here he is associated with Jesus who may be called the Crown Prince. To him is delegated the power of judging mankind on the day of judgment with a council of 12 members,—the twelve who were his disciples on Earth.

Let us now turn to the religion of Mahomet. The Koran is the religious book of the Mahomedans. It contains the words of God to the Believers, communicated through Mahomet, who is recognized as the last and best of the prophets sent by God. Allusions are made in the Koran to the favors shewn by God to the Israelites and to the miraculous power given by him to Jesus Christ. The people are then exhorted to obey the orders of God, so that similar favours may be shewn to them. In the Old Testament, God is said to have fought against the enemies of his chosen people and to have issued laws for their guidance. Similar doings of God are mentioned in the Koran. On one occasion, God says,—Oh believers, think of the favour of God. When a strong force was against you I sent a strong wind and an army to check it. In the battle of Khunduck, God sent a strong wind which destroyed the tents of the enemies and scattered asunder the horses and the soldiers. Again, in the battle of Badur, God sent at first one thousand, then three thousand, and at last five thousand troops to assist the Mahomedans.—In the Koran, God is said to have given instructions as to the manner in which the things plundered from the enemies should be disposed of. Then there are social rules enjoined by God. The believer in God is allowed to take four wives. Mahomed had the special privilege of taking nine wives. As regards reward to believers, God ordered Mahomet to proclaim to the people that for the believer in God there is a garden reserved in heaven with springs of water and trees filled with delicious fruits. They will there have virtuous wives with whom they will enjoy eternal life. It is true that the Koran enjoins the worship of one God, but it is necessary that his name should be associated with that of Mahomet. When the Mahomedans take the name of God, they say,—“La Eh Laha

Ellela, Mahommed Rusoolalla." That is, "God is one, and Mahomet is his prophet."

Now, let us turn to the scriptures of the Hindoos. The Kathopanishad thus speaks of God :—

নৈব বাচা ন মনসা প্রাপ্য ন চক্ষুৰা ।
অন্তি জ্ঞেতৌহিত্য কথং তদ্ব্যপলভ্যতে ॥

God is not cognizable by word, thought, or sight. It can only be said of Him that He exists.

In *Manu Samhita*, God is spoken of as,—

প্রশাসিতারং সর্বৈবামনীয়াঃসমগোরপি ।
কল্পাতং স্বপ্নাধিগমাং বিদ্যাং তং পুরুষং পরং ॥

That great Being should be known as the ruler of all, as minuter than the minutest, as possessed of the splendour of gold, and as one who can only be conceived in dreams.

In *Kularnava Tantra* (কুলাৰ্ণব তন্ত্ৰ) it is said :—

অমৌ তিষ্ঠতি বিপ্রানীং হৃদি দেবো মনীষিনাং ।
প্রতিমা বস্তুভূতানাং সৰ্বত্র বিদিতাশ্চনানাং ॥

The God of the Brahmanas dwells in the fire, the God of the wise resides in the heart, the God of the men of ordinary understanding is in images, but the God of those that possess knowledge of Self is present everywhere.

The *Kularnava Tantra* says in another place :—

চিন্ময়স্যাদিতীয়া নিফলস্য পরীরিণঃ ।
সাধকানাং হিতার্থায় ব্রহ্মণোৰূপকল্পনা ॥

For the benefit of the devotees human forms have been ascribed to the Infinite and Spiritual Being who is without a second.

From the Slokas quoted above, it is evident that the Hindoo Scriptures inculcate sublime ideas of the great Being. It is also evident that idol worship is prescribed for those only who cannot comprehend the spiritual nature of God. It must, however, be borne in mind that the images themselves are not worshipped, but that the Almighty Being is adored through the images which represent His attributes. We have already shewn how the attributes of God are represented by the image of Shiva. The images of Vishnu, Bhowanee and others also represent the attributes of God.

The question may be asked why do not the scriptures enjoin the worship of God through one particular image? Why is India strewn with forms of various descriptions? Why are some Hindus Shaktas, some Shaivas, some Vaishnavas, and so forth. There is only one reply to these questions. The different inclinations of the devotees lead to the adoption of different forms and modes of worship. Those who realize the love of God worship Him through Krishna. Those who contemplate the destroying power of God worship Kalce or Bhowance. But for differences in religious views, the members of one sect should not bear ill feelings towards those of another sect. We see one sect hating another. We see that a Vaishnava considers it a sin to worship Shiva, and a Shaiva thinks himself polluted by entering the temple of Vishnu. Those who are ignorant of the scriptures may conduct themselves in such a manner, but Hindus versed therein should not do so. In *Lingarchana Tantra* Mahadeva thus addresses Parvati :—

পূজয়েচ্ছিবলিঙ্গং চরাচরং ব্রহ্মণ্যবয়ং ।
 শাক্তোবা বৈকণ্ঠো বাপি শৈবোবা পরমেশ্বরি ॥
 শিবলিঙ্গং প্রপূজ্যকং বিদ্যুৎপট্টৈরঙ্গরাননে ।

O Parameshwari, a man, whether he is a Brahmana or a Kshatriya, a Vaishya or a Sudra, a Shakta, a Vaishnava or a Shaiva, should worship the Shiva-lingam with the leaves of the Bela tree.

From this it follows that the scriptures have set forth liberal views, and it is only sectarian jealousy that has led to the untoward differences we now see among our countrymen.

Men are endowed with different capacities, and, as a matter of course, think differently. Generally speaking, they are concerned with their own welfare. The prophets who rose from time to time, whilst thinking it necessary to bind the people with the tie of religion, thought it expedient to place before them hopes of future bliss as the reward of their belief in God. The Israelites sojourned in a foreign land. To them the expectation of obtaining possession of a land filled with honey was a tempting one, and Moses, when enjoining on them the necessity of worshipping God, pointed out to them the promised land as their reward. Jesus Christ, who came with a nobler mind, was a poor man. He had neither power nor riches, so that, when his disciples asked him the reward they should expect, he promised them thrones of glory as rewards in the next world. Then came Mahomet. He was a powerful man. In enjoining on his followers the worship

of one God, he gave them promises of reward in this as well as in the next world. They obtained victories over their enemies by the help of God, and enjoyments in the next world were reserved for them. The sages of ancient India, no doubt, held out to the virtuous, hopes of enjoyment in heaven. But these hopes were only for men in the lowest stage of religious progress. To one advanced in religious life, no reward was offered. In fact, a real Hindu does not expect any reward. A real devotee, far from expecting enjoyment as the reward of his good actions, is not affected by the pleasures or the ills of life. The *Srimad-Bhagavat* thus says of him :—

সমৃদ্ধকামো হীনোণ নারায়ণপরো যুজিঃ ।

নোং সটৈত্ত ন পুষাতে সন্নিহিত্বিৰ সাগরঃ

As the ocean does not increase with the rivers that flow into it or decrease when they cease to flow, so the real devotee does not count it to be a gain or a loss when he gets any sensual thing to enjoy or is deprived of what he has.

God Himself is the reward of a religious Hindu. He contemplates that Perfect Being until he reaches that stage when, full of the Divine spirit, he can exclaim like the sages of old—I am He!

A review of the religious systems sketched above will shew that, excepting Hinduism, they are intended for ordinary men only. The idea of a spiritual Being pervading the universe is too much for a man of shallow understanding to comprehend, and, therefore, the prophets of Palestine and Arabia made heaven the place of God. But this even did not satisfy the people. They wanted a Being who should come on earth and further their earthly interests. Accordingly, we find God placed in the mercy seat. We see Him also bringing down troops from heaven to fight with the enemies of his chosen people and followers.

But Hinduism is suited to men of different capacities. Under its umbrage, an ordinary family man worships God through images and expects reward in heaven ; a Sanyasi, slighting the enjoyments of the world, goes to the hills and the wilderness to pass his time in communion with his Maker ; a Yogin, cutting off his intercourse with the world, is absorbed in the great Spirit ; and a Rishi, seeing the power and glory of God in the objects of nature, goes from nature up to nature's God. The Hindu Shastras in general, and the Upanishads and Bhagvad-Gita in particular, are replete with texts setting forth sublime ideas of the Supreme Being. And unless a man

studies them he cannot realize the efficacy of the Hindu religion to lead mankind to the fountain of all bliss. Those who see only the surface of Hinduism, may call it a religion of idolatry and superstition, but they should bear in mind that by contemplating the Supreme Being through the image of Vitoba or Krishna, Tuckaram in the Deccan and Chaitanya in Bengal rose to that degree of religious progress which the so-called theist will in vain endeavour to attain. It redounds not a little to the glory of our illustrious ancestors that the codes of religion and morality left by them for our guidance surpass those of other nations. The gems of truth are, of course, scattered throughout the voluminous Shastras, and it is not easy to find them out. But, fortunately, Babu Deben-dranath Tagore, the Pradhan Acharya of the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta, has collected them and placed them before the public in the shape of a book under the name of *Brahmo Dharma*. It has been translated into Mahrathi, and an English version of it should be made. We recommend the reader to peruse it, in order that he may realize the sublimity of the Hindu religion.

DEENA NATH GANGULI

LEPROSY IN INDIA.

Leprosy is a very old disease which has afflicted the human race, being older than Syphilis with which it is sometimes confounded. It was first observed in Egypt—the home of ancient learning and civilization, and then in Italy and subsequently extended to the four quarters of the globe. Leprosy spread over the whole of Europe like an epidemic during the middle ages; especially about the time of the Crusades, which must have materially aided the propagation and extension of the disease. Since the commencement of the 17th century, the malady has gradually disappeared from the countries of Europe and is now confined to inter-tropical regions.

Moses speaks of and describes leprosy in the Bible as *Berat* and *Tsorat*—the former from the description given appears to have been some cutaneous affections like psoriasis and not real tuberculous leprosy—the second variety called *Tsorat*.

The term *leprosy* has been applied indiscriminately to the *elephantiasis* of the Greeks, the *lepra* of the Arabians, to the *leuci* of the Greeks, the *baras* of the Arabians or the leprosy of the Jews; and to the slighter scaly affections to which the names *lepra* and *psoriasis* were given by the Greeks and moderns. It seems extremely probable that other diseases, perfectly distinct in their nature from one another and from those alluded to, were often included under the generic appellation of leprosy. This seems to have been the case, especially among the Jews and eastern races. From the very precise accounts furnished by the writers of the middle ages, particularly those subsequent to the crusades, the term *leprosy* was applied with tolerable precision to the *elephantiasis* of the Greeks, *i.e.*, the tuberculous disease.

"It seems however that the precision thus laudably cultivated by the earlier of the middle age medical writers was subsequently departed from, for during the 15th and 16th centuries, all cutane-

ous eruptions of an obstinate character; or attended by ulceration were deemed leprous and received into lazoor-houses which were extremely numerous throughout all Europe—particularly in countries bordering on the Mediterranean (Copeland's Dictionary of medicine)."

In India leprosy has been known from very ancient time, *i.e.*, 13th or 14th century B. C., since the disease is fully described in the Hindu books of Medicine.

The proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for August 1875 (Page 160) contains a very interesting communication by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra L. L. D. in reply to some questions regarding Leprosy in Ancient India put to the society by Dr. W. Monroe, Dr. Mitra writes :—

"Taking Susruta to be 400 B. C. (this date is Wilson's,—I take him to be two centuries older) we must look for the date of Charaka, whom he quotes, in the sixth century B. C., Susruta professes to record the lectures of his tutor Dhanvantari, and very sparingly quotes his predecessors; but his chapter on leprosy is founded on Charaka, as Dr. Monroe will easily perceive by comparing Herseler's translation (published at Leipzig) with the enclosed from Charaka; which I have got prepared for him. In Susruta's time Charaka was an old authority of great weight, and an interval of two centuries between the two is by no means an extravagant guess. Now Charaka quotes Atreya, who was a son of Atri, a sage of great renown, who is named in the Vedas, and was the author of one of our text-books on Law. The name of Atreya occurs in Panini whose date Goldstücker takes to be the 9th century B. C. Charaka also quotes Bāgbhata, who, likewise, has a chapter on Leprosy. Bāgbhata, again quotes Agnivesa, who was a great grammarian, and is named in the Madhukanda of the Satapatha Brāhmana of the white Yajur Veda, and Jātukarna, who is named in the Yajnavalkya Kānda of the same Veda. The works of the last two are lost, but on the authority of Bāgbhata, we may fairly accept them to have been professors of medicine, though it is impossible to say whether they wrote on Leprosy or not. Manu mentions Leprosy, but recension of Manu we now have is supposed to be not older than the 6th century B. C. In Susruta's work, the word *kustha*, the Sanskrit name for Leprosy, has been used in a generic sense, and includes several cutaneous diseases which are not leprous, but from Atreya's descriptions quoted by Charaka, it is evident that the word primarily meant Leprosy. It does not occur in the Rig Veda Sanhitā, which dates from the 15th Century B. C., and if we could accept this negative evidence to be of any

weight, we could say that the disease was not known in the 15th B. C., but as there is no reason why the name of a disease should occur in a book of hymns, it is of no value; while the name of Atreya, who occurs in the Veda, and has been cited as that of an authority on the subject, would carry not much beyond the 13th century B. C., to which Dr. Monroe limits the enquiry."

Extract from the Charaka Sanhita on the Pathology of Leprosy.

"Atreya says—When the seven elements of the body become vitiated through the irritation of the wind, the bile, and the phlegm, they affect the skin, the flesh, the spittle, and the other humours of the body. These seven are the causes respectively of the seven varieties of Kustha. The Kusthas thus produced cause much pain and suffering. None of these varieties results, however, from the vitiation of a single humour. Kusthas are of seven, of eleven, or of a larger number of kinds; and these, constantly irritating the system become incurable. We shall give a brief account of these as they are produced by the vitiation of the different humours. The wind, the bile, and phlegm, being vitiated, react on the skin, etc. When the wind is most vitiated it produces the *kapala* kushtha, the bile the *audumbara*, the phlegm the *mandala*, the wind and the bile *rishynjahon*, the bile and the phlegm *pandorika*, the phlegm and the wind the *sidhma*, and the three together with *kakanaka*.

"Excessive physical exercise after exposure to too much heat or too much cold; taking food after surfeit; eating of fish with milk; using barley and other grains, such as *hayanaka*, *dalako*, *karodusa*, etc., dining with venison, milk, curdled milk, and butter milk; excessive sexual intercourse; long-protracted excessive fear or labour; fatigue, interruption of catarrh, etc.,—vitate the phlegm, the bile and the wind; hence the skin and the three others become slackened. Thus irritated, the three elements corrupt the skin and others, and produce kushtha.

"The premonitory symptoms of kushtha are as follows: Want or excess of perspiration, roughness, discolouration, itching and insensibility of the skin, pain, horripilation, eruptions and excessive pain on the parts that are about to fall off.

"Some kushtha eruptions are red, rough, spreading and small; they cause horripilation, slight itching, pain and discharge of matter and sanies. These are caused by wind and are called *kapala-kushtha* (scaly)

"Those that are of a coppery colour, which discharge matter, blood and sanies, cause itching pain, inflammation and burning, and

produce worms, are also caused by wind. They appear like the ripe fig and are hence called *Audumbara* (fig-like).

"Some are cold to the touch, raised, hard, reddish-white, clammy, itching and infested with worms. These two are caused by wind; they are called *Mandala* (circular).

"Those which are rough, red, white, yellow, blue or coppery, producing itching pain, worms, burning sensation, and insensibility, are also caused by wind. They have the appearance of the tongue of an antelope, and are hence called *Rishyajihva*.

"Those which are white or red spreading and elevated; which discharge blood, pus and sanies, and produce itching, are also caused by wind. They appear like the leaves of the white lotus, and hence are called *Paundarika*.

"Those that are rough, red, thin, internally cold, sometimes reddish-white, which cause slight pain, itching, burning, and discharge of pus and sanies, are also caused by wind. They appear like the flowers of the pumpkin, and are called *Sidhma*.

"*Kaknaka* and others have all the symptoms of kushtha. They are incurable while the others are curable. That which is incurable can never be cured, and those which are curable sometimes become incurable.

"The wind causes coppery-red roughness, pain, inflammation, shrinking, horripilation and insensibility of the skin. The bile produces burning, perspiration, pain, discharge of blood, and supuration. The phlegm causes whiteness, coldness, itching and confluent pimples.

"The worms that form in leprous eruption destroy the flesh, skin, veins, muscles and bones. When affected by them, the patient suffers from spontaneous discharges of blood, insensibility, loss of sensibility of the skin, mortification, thirst, fever, dysentery, burning, weakness, disrelish and indigestion. Then kushtha becomes incurable. The man who neglects the disease at its commencement is sure to die. He, who at the first breaking out of the disease tries to get rid of it may be sure of its being cured."

The *Nidan Shastras* describe two principal kinds of leprosy: *वृश्च कृच्छ* and *कृच्छ कृच्छ* of the former there are Seven (7) varieties as has been described in the foregoing extract, and they are cases of true leprosy; of *कृच्छ कृच्छ* there are eleven varieties which appear from their description to be some cutaneous eruptions quite distinct from true leprosy. To this day *dhabal* is known in this country as *श्वेत कृच्छ* or white leprosy and is regarded as leprosy by the people,—so much so that when the last census was taken in 1881 special instruc-

tions had to be given not to confound and class *dhabal* with true leprosy. Dermatologists tell us that *dhabal* or *leucoderma* (white skin) results from loss of pigment or coloring matter of the skin and has no connection with tubercular leprosy. English physicians recognise only two forms—*Lepra Anaesthetic* and *L. tuberculum*—True leprosy is very prevalent in India and the censuses of 1872 and 1881 have enabled us to know the extent and distribution of the disease. According to the first census taken in 1872 there were more than 99,000 lepers in British India alone or at the rate of 54 cases in every 100,000 persons. The following tables are partly taken from Lewis and Cunningham's report on "Leprosy in India" published in the 12th annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, with the Government of India. The figures from the last census of 1881 I have gathered from the census Report by Mr. Bourdillion: Vols. II. and III.

Table I. Shewing the Number of Leprous persons and the proportion in the three Presidencies together with the Total Population over which the Ratios have been calculated.

PRESIDENCY.	1872			1881
	Total Population.	Total Lepers.	Proportion of Lepers 100,000.	
Bengal	135,455,138	71,287	5.2	5.07
Madras	31,152,272	13,761	4.4	4.77
Bombay	16,228,774	13,142	8.5	6.13

Of the three Presidencies, Madras though not containing the fewest lepers taking the absolute numbers, presents the lowest ratio, *vis.*, 4.4 to every 100,000 whereas Bombay presents a proportion of leprous population nearly double that of Madras *vis.*, 8.5 lepers to every 100,000—although the absolute number of lepers in the Bombay Presidency is slightly fewer. The Presidency of Bengal furnishes an intermediate proportion—very considerably lower, however, when the whole Presidency is considered than that of Bombay. This was true as regards the first census of 1872. The last census has altered the results very considerably as regards Bengal, which shews an enormous increase of the disease. Bombay on the contrary shews a perceptible decrease. Madras remains almost unchanged.

Table II. shewing the distribution of the Leprosy in British India.

PROVINCE.	1872		1881	
	Total Lepers.	Proportion in 10,000.	Total Lepers.	Proportion in 10,000.
Bengal ...	38,129	5.4	56,523 not available.	8.15
N. W. Provinces ...	10,099	3.3		4.07
Punjab ...	10,969	6.2		2.49
Central Provinces ...	2,809	3.4		6.57

Table III. shewing local distribution by sex.

NAME OF DIVISION.	1872				1881			
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Proportion in 10,000.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Proportion in 10,000.
Burdwan ...	10,326	1,755	12,081	16.5	10,363	4,063	14,426	19
Presidency ...	3,110	572	3,682	5.6	4,231	1,402	5,633	6
Rajshahye ...	5,353	773	6,126	6.8	5,405	1,765	7,170	9
Dacca ...	4,590	703	5,293	5.5	3,698	1,236	4,934	5
Chittagong ...	207	106	313	2.6	1,002	471	1,473	1
All Bengal Proper	24,492	3,911	28,403	7.3	24,699	8,932	33,631	8
Patna ...	5,247	495	5,742	4.3	7,035	1,308	8,343	5
Bhagulpur ...	1,762	269	2,031	3.0	3,846	1,214	5,060	6
All Behar ...	7,009	764	7,773	3.9	10,891	2,522	13,413	5.5
Orissa ...	958	119	1,077	2.4	3,485	1,176	4,661	
Chota Nagpur ...	450	117	567	2.0	1,419	855	2,274	

From the preceding table it is clear that the number of female lepers is very much underestimated. And from local enquiries made in certain districts and towns the percentage of females afflicted with leprosy was found to be much higher than what is shewn in the census returns of 1872 and 1881. The actual number of lepers must be greater than what was returned by the census enumerators. There is a tendency to conceal female lepers in a family whether Hindu or Mussalman.

The *Varieties* of Leprosy, known and recognised in India are the same as in other countries where the disease is prevalent, *i.e.*, the *Tubercular* and *Anaesthetic*. The former characterised by the presence of tuberculated nodular projections of various sizes and outline, and the latter by diminished sensibility in various parts of the body. Sometimes the two varieties may be found in the same

person and such cases may be designated *mixed*. Another variety is called the *Eruptive*. Within the last few years germs or bacilli have been discovered in leprous sores—these are presumed to cause the destruction of tissue involved in the disease. Dr. Vandyke Carter was one of the first to discover the *Leprosi Bacilli*.

There is a popular impression that leprosy is caused by habitual indulgence in fish and so high a medical authority as Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson in his recent papers published in the British Medical Journal gives his adhesion and support to the theory. The prevalence of leprosy among the fishermen of Norway might be cited as a confirmation and corroboration of the above theory. The facts and figures of leprosy as met with in India go to disprove it. If leprosy could be caused by eating fish, it would be more prevalent in the Madras Presidency with its large seaboard and numerous streams and rivers yielding fish for consumption than in the Bombay side, where it is just the reverse. Then again in Bengal leprosy is most prevalent in the Burdwan Division (see Table III) especially the districts of Birbhum, Burdwan and Bankura, which are inland and with no current streams and where consequently fish is scarce. The case of Birbhum, Burdwan and Bankura shewing the greatest prevalence of leprosy in Bengal is worthy of a local enquiry as to its cause. As regards the theory that a large fish diet can cause leprosy is not believed or held by those that have made enquiries on the subject.

There is another popular impression among the Hindus, that leprosy is more common among Musulmans, due to their indulgence in beef in a hot country like India. The large number of Mahomedan lepers seen begging alms in Calcutta would seem to lend a countenance to the idea. But the census figures do not at all support this hypothesis. In 1881 the statistics shew that in every 10,000 persons, the Hindus presented 9 lepers, Mahomedans 6 and other religions 2.

Heat appears to have some influence in causing leprosy as the disease is now limited to the intertropical regions. But we read that the malady was at one time prevalent in Europe which enjoys a temperate climate. In the middle ages many plagues and epidemics prevailed in Europe shewing that climate is not everything but the habits and surroundings of a people have to answer much for the prevalence of diseases and plagues which have since disappeared. The habits and surroundings of the people having undergone a change for the better diseases bred of dirt and filth have generally disappeared. By thorough drainage and other improvements places that were once damp and marshy have

become dry and healthy and ague and other maladies have consequently disappeared. In this way we may account for the disappearance of leprosy from many parts of Europe and the place and climate have now become so far impossible to the growth and development of leprosy that patients imported there from the tropics are so benefitted *much* by the change that the disease becomes arrested in them. In spite of climate the habits of a people might breed leprosy—witness the case of the fishermen of Norway living in North Europe who suffer from the disease.

Is Leprosy contagious? This is a difficult question, for cases might be quoted in support of either view. A leprous husband and father has lived for years with wife and children without communicating the disease to any of them. The case of Father Damien and others might be cited to prove the opposite view. Mere touch or contact will not infect or taint a person—the germs or bacilli must find entrance into the blood through some sore or cut or abrasion, and even the *via naturæ* as some maintain. On this question of contagiousness or the reverse hangs the further question whether a leper should be allowed to live and move freely among a healthy community. For the sake of decency as well as safety patients suffering from advanced leprosy should not be at large but confined in their private houses or a leper asylum. Among the Jews we read in the Old Testament any person afflicted with leprosy was ordered to leave the walled town or city and go out of the gate and live in an appointed place till he was cured—when they were allowed to return to their friends after having offered a sacrifice and thanksgiving for their recovery as commanded by God through Moses. In Europe in the middle ages leper-houses were very common and received the leprous patients. In more recent times Leper asylums have been founded in many civilised towns and cities where the disease prevails. Among the Hindus there is an aversion to go to hospital for any disease till dire necessity compels them. This non-inclination to resort to Hospitals or asylums is manifest in the case of Hindu lepers. What is true of Hindus is also true of Mahomedans. It would be a good thing if lepers with the advanced form of the disease could be forbidden to mix with and live freely in the general community. The disease has increased at a rapid rate—due to the free intercourse between the sick and healthy. Many lepers with a mild form of the malady are engaged in avocations which bring them into close contact with the healthy and they are in some cases allowed to touch our food cooked and uncooked and thus endanger the health of the community.

The census returns prove the rapid and enormous increase of leprosy in Bengal and the figures are by no means correct—because the number of female lepers has been very much under-estimated. In Calcutta alone—a correspondent of the *Statesman* newspaper furnishes in its issue of 26th July the number of lepers he found in this city.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Europeans ...	127	154	231
Eurians and East Indians	205	185	391
Mahomedans ...	618	412	1,060
Hindus ...	1,187	827	2,014
Other Castes ...	288	194	482

Here the proportion of female and male lepers is much nearer the truth and go to shew that the number of female lepers is very much under-estimated in the census returns. If the figures were corrected by the light of the Calcutta statistics—the lepers in Bengal would be much higher and there is no doubt that the disease has been increasing in a fearful and rapid rate and if some restriction were not placed on the free movement of lepers in the general community, it would go on increasing enormously. The subject is under consideration by Government with a view to legislation and it is to be hoped that this serious matter will be properly and fully dealt with. In Bombay the other day the tragic death of two or three wandering lepers in the streets of that city has compelled the Government to ask the Corporation to provide accommodation for the unfortunate sufferers.

In Calcutta we have a leper asylum but the accommodation there has been pronounced to be quite inadequate for the large number of lepers met with in this city. Many frightful and hideous cases are met with begging alms in the streets who disgrace the metropolis of India. Patients suffering from advanced and hideous forms of the disease should not be permitted to appear and beg alms in the public streets and lanes. If they have no friends to take care of them they should be sent to the leper asylum.

Treatment. Leprosy is generally believed to be an incurable disease, and English and European physicians regard the malady as incurable. In India the Native Physicians or Kabirajcs seem to think that leprosy in its first stages is amenable to treatment. We hear of cures effected in Madras and Bombay. In Bombay the late Dr. Bhowdaji is said to have cured several cases of leprosy including European patients among them by means of chalmooogra oil administered both internally and externally. His cures were certified

by eminent European physicians of Bombay. Just now another cure is reported from Madras and it is going to be tried in the Leper Asylum or Hospital there under the observation of European Physicians. The Gurjun oil inunction was tried at the instance of Government and cases of advanced leprosy were certainly benefitted by it. The good effects seen were the following. Open and discharging sores were closed and cured—the thickening of the skin disappeared or rendered much less and the patient felt lighter. The dark discoloration gave place to the natural complexion. But with so much improvement the disease was not cured.

The vaunted cures for leprosy announced in the newspapers and reported from Madras and Bombay should be tried at the local Leper Asylums and pronounced one way or the other.

K. P. GUPTA.

DISEASES OF ANIMALS IN CAPTIVITY.

God, in his infinite Providence, has ordained that the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air shall retain their health only when they are in the midst of surroundings which are suited to their habits and ways of living. Hence mammals and birds remain in perfect enjoyment of their health so long as they are in their native wilds where they can roam at their own sweet will and pleasure and where they can enjoy whatever food Nature has provided for them. Free air and exercise, therefore, are essentially necessary for their health. But, as soon as they are deprived of freedom and transferred to "durance vile" in cages or enclosures, they pine away and die and, in some cases, contract various sorts of diseases to which they ultimately succumb. Those diseases frequently arise from the want of proper diet, the deprivation of exercise in the open air, and the loss of freedom. Consequently animals in Zoological gardens and menageries often become subject to all manner of ills that the brute-flesh is heir to. Whether born in captivity in Zoological gardens, or captured when full grown, they become liable to these diseases. I propose to treat in this paper of the various diseases to which animals in captivity are subject and shall mention typical cases quoted from scientific periodicals, from the published reports of Zoological gardens, and from other sources. I hope they will prove interesting to those who take interest in Natural history and to those who are in charge of collections of living animals.

In spite of the care taken of animals in Zoological gardens and in spite of the arrangements made for their comfort, it is a standing difficulty with the managers of these institutions to provide the animals under their charge with the food which Nature has provided for them. Owing to this want of proper food, many animals become liable to caries and other diseases of the bones. The bones of animals afflicted therewith become very generally soft, swollen, and misshapen. The maxillaries are especially liable to be attacked during the time of dentition, and the

facial region is in consequence very much distorted. This truth is corroborated by that eminent Zoologist and Comparative Anatomist, Dr. John Anderson, F.R.S., late Superintendent of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In his "Catalogue of Mammalia in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 80," he says, with respect to the skeletal remains of an adolescent male Abyssinian Sacred Baboon (*Cynocephalus hamadryas*) in the said institution, that "these bones are quite light and very friable, and the scapula is thrown into folds as if it had been a piece of papier mâché. This diseased condition of the bones is not unfrequently observed among monkeys reared from an early age in captivity."

Diseases of the lungs are very prevalent among animals kept in captivity in Zoological gardens, tuberculosis being exceedingly common among monkeys, and found among other animals less frequently. The Mesopotamian lioness, Zobeide, (*Felis leo* var. *mesopotamicus*), presented to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens in 1878 by the late Mr. F. F. Carter, died from the effect of acute congestion of the lungs. Mr. F. A. Lucas, who has made the diseases of menagerie animals his special study and who read a paper on that subject before the American Biological Society, says that, of the animals which he had dissected and the causes of whose deaths were accurately ascertained, a Long-tailed Macaque (*Macacus cynomolgus*), a Le Vaillant's Parrot (*Amazona levaillantii*) died of tuberculosis; and a Mino bird (*Eulabes affinis*) and a Night-heron (*Nyctherodius violaceus*) died of congestion of the lungs.

Pneumonia frequently causes the death of animals; and birds as well as mammals are liable to be attacked by this disease. Mr. Lucas says a Grey Fox (*Urocyon virginianus*), an American Badger (*Taxidea americana*), and an African Elephant (*Elephas africanus*) died of pneumonia. The *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* says that a Hippopotamus calf (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) that was born in the Central Park Menagerie of New York on the 1st December 1889, died of pneumonia on the 6th *idem*.

Catarrh of the stomach and intestines was the cause of death in the case of an American Black Bear (*Ursus americanus*) which had been suffering from it from a very long time and had to be killed in order to alleviate its misery; and also in the case of the Gray Fox, mentioned by Mr. Lucas, which also suffered from inflammation of the bladder.

Colic was the cause of death in the case of a fine male Giraffe (*Cameleopardis giraffa*) in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. It was one of a pair which had been presented to the gardens by the late Mr. E. D. J. Ezra, of Calcutta.

Animals in Zoological gardens situated within the tropics are subject to attacks of heat-apoplexy and often die of them. A Javan Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros Sondaicus*), which had been caught in the Jessore Sundarbuns and had been presented in October 1880 to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens by Moulvi Tujummul Ali Khan Bahadur, died of it. A Lioness (*Felis leo*) in the same gardens was also suddenly attacked with this disease and ultimately succumbed to it.

Diseases of the liver were the immediate causes of death in the cases of a Tooth-billed Pigeon (*Didunculus strigirostris*) and of a Domestic Pigeon (*Columba livia domestica*). In both these cases, the liver had become so much diseased that it had been converted into a hard, waxy mass adherent to the sternum. A White-headed Eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*), which Mr. F. A. Lucas dissected, was found to have been suffering from the fatty degeneration of the liver and to have died of it.

Menageric animals are sometimes liable to fits of temporary furor (*qui solet matres furire equorum*). A specimen of the Wild Ass of Sindh (*Equus onager*)—a race which is gradually becoming extinct—which had been presented to the Zoo at Alipore by Sir William Mereweather, K. C. S. I, became subject to fits of temporary furor and, during one of these attacks, ran against the iron railing of its compound with great violence and thus fractured its skull and immediately died.

Uraemic poisoning also is the cause of death in menageric animals. Mr. Lucas says that two Red (*Lynx rufus*), which he had dissected, were found to have died of it.

An Indian Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros indicus*) in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, which had been presented to it by the Maharajah of Dumraon, died from the effect of complicated uterine disease of long standing.

A yellow-winged Parrot (*Amazona ochroptera*) died of congestion of the brain. This bird died all of a sudden; but, on *post mortem* examination, all of its organs were found in a healthy condition. The blood-vessels of the brain were much congested.

Ruminants in menageries have been known to have been attacked with and to have died of rinderpest—a disease to which the *Bovidae* are particularly liable. In 1885-86 a number of valuable ruminants in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens died of an attack of rinderpest which raged like an epidemic among the Ruminantia of the Gardens and carried away its valuable stock of English and Australian cattle. The Report of the Gardens for that year says:—“Of these the most important were one Gaur (*Bos gaurus*), one

Beisa Antelope (*Oryx beisa*), two Bantengs (*Bos Sondaicus*). These deaths having occurred simultaneously with those of the farm-cattle at Begunbary (where an outbreak of rinderpest caused the loss of all the imported stock), and the symptoms of the disease and the *post mortem* appearances having been, in the majority of cases, identical with those observed among the farm-cattle, it was suspected that the rinderpest, which originated among the dairy-cattle, had been communicated to the Gardens and attacked the animals most susceptible to it. But the opportunity and means of making accurate observations were necessarily limited and imperfect, and therefore do not warrant the Committee's coming to any definite conclusion with regard to the nature of the diseases or its cause."

The influence of climate has much to do with the health of animals in menageries. Great difficulty is experienced in acclimatizing exotic animals and the least change in the weather brings disease and ultimately death to the inmates of Zoological gardens. I shall illustrate the truth of this statement by quoting some instances which have occurred in the Calcutta Zoo. The late E. D. J. Ezra presented to the Calcutta Zoo in 1881-82 specimens of all the three species of Guinea-fowls, namely, (*Numida vulturina*; *N. verreauxi*; *N. mitrata*). The Committee of Management of the Gardens took the precaution to erect a special house for their reception, on a high and well-drained piece of ground, with every appliance for their comfort and protection. In spite of these precautions, these rare birds one after another died from the effects of the damp and humid climate of Lower Bengal. A young Hippopotamus (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) was purchased, in February 1886, by the Committee of the Calcutta Zoo from Captain Wendt of the steamship *Swordsman* for Rs. 3,000. "It was said to have been captured at Zembaringo, near Dare-e-Salam, in the plantation of an Arab merchant, in the month of March 1885, and brought across to Zanzibar in a native dhow. The young animal was supposed to have been 3 months old when caught, and had since been fed on boiled millet-seeds and condensed milk from which it was then being weaned." The Committee constructed a special enclosure for its reception but, unfortunately, the young animal succumbed to the effects of the climate.

Animals in menageries, from long confinement in the heated atmosphere of their dens, become very much susceptible to cold. Hence sudden exposure to cold winds brings on paralysis. Two Indian Lions (*Felis leo* var. *gojratensis*) from Kattywar in

Gujrat, which were presented to the Calcutta Zoo by the Nawab of Junagadh, were thriving very well there. But, one chilly day in September 1877, having been exposed to gusts of cold wind, their hind limbs became paralysed. Hence they were shot and their bodies transferred to the Indian Museum. A fine Orang-outang (*Simia satyrus*) in the Calcutta Zoo was one sunny day allowed to get on to the terrace of its den. But suddenly the weather changed and copious showers of rain fell. The Orang, having been drenched to the skin in the rain, became paralysed in the lower limbs and ultimately died.

The subject of the diseases of animals naturally leads me to that of surgical operations performed on animals in captivity. I will quote the following graphic description of a surgical operation, which was performed at Bristol on a Lion (*Felis leo*) suffering from ingrowing claws, from *Life Lore* for March 1887. "The fine lion, Jupiter, at the Clifton Zoological Gardens, Bristol, is nearly eleven years old, having been cubbed in the gardens in the year 1878, was noticed during February to have a claw on the left fore paw growing into the flesh of its foot, which was gradually laming the animal. The lion was evidently in pain, and it was deemed advisable to remove the claw. The novel operation was performed on the 16th, when a close travelling cage was introduced into the den, and placed against one of the sliding traps in the partition. The animal having been induced to enter the cage, it was removed to the floor of the building, and another cage, but of different construction, composed solely of iron-bars, placed endways to the door of the first cage and the two firmly lashed together. After some little trouble the animal was got into the second cage, which was so narrow as not to admit of his turning round. Heavy inch-and-a-half planks were then inserted between the bars, and the lion tightly wedged in. Up to this point he had submitted quietly, but on the introduction of the planks he splintered them up as easily as though they had been matchwood. At last he was firmly wedged in and a little time was given him to cool down. A favorable opportunity for the operation occurred in a few minutes, his paw being partly through the bars. The head-keeper, Blunsden, who was waiting with a powerful pair of nippers, seized the opportunity, and the offending claw was promptly removed. The operation, which was conducted by Dr. Harrison, Treasurer of the Gardens, was absolutely necessary, as the claw had already grown more than half an inch into the foot, and would probably have killed the animal." A fine specimen of the rare Tibetan Lynx (*Felis isabellinus*), which was obtained by the committee of the Calcutta

Zoological Gardens from Darjeeling, once broke its leg in trying to stalk a passing domestic cat. Dr. John Anderson, who was then the Honorary Secretary of the Gardens, at once laid the animal on its back and set the dislocated bone. So skilfully was this operation performed that the animal regained the use of its fractured limb. The animal seemed to remember the healing effects of this operation gratefully ever afterwards, for whenever Dr. Anderson approached, it purred for pleasure and allowed him to fondle itself. Another skilful operation was performed in the Calcutta Zoo by Dr. Anderson on a more powerful and formidable member of the carnivora. It was on a young male Clouded Leopard (*Felis macrocelis*) from Assam which had been presented to the Gardens in 1879-80 by Mr. S. E. Peal, of Sibsagar in that province. This animal, on arrival at the gardens, was found to have been suffering from cataract of the eyes. It was decided to perform an operation upon the poor suffering animal. One day Dr. Anderson removed the cataract and the animal was restored to its former eye-sight.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA M.A., B.L.

A LEGEND OF HEISTERBACH.

[*From the German of Müller.*]

A monk, still young in age, walk'd lost in thought,
In Heisterbach's old abbey-garden fair,
Deep mused he on "Eternity," and sought
The Holy Writ, to find its meaning there.

And what did Peter, the Apostle, say?—
 To God one day is as a thousand years,
And thousand years are even as one day;
—Yet still remain'd his anxious doubts and fears.

Perplex'd, unconscious of all things around,
A neighbouring forest path his footsteps trace;
Till, from afar, the vesper bell's clear sound,
Reminds him of the duties of his place.

He ran, and breathless reach'd the garden gate;
He knock'd,—a stranger held it open wide;
—The windows gleam'd,—already 'twas too late,—
And hark! rose sweet the hymn of eventide.

He hasten'd to his old, accusom'd seat,
—Another held it,—to his mute surprise!
He look'd and look'd,—no well-known face did meet
His vaguely-wondering and bewilder'd eyes!

Gaping he stood,—and round him soon they crowd,—
Ask'd who he was, and from what place he came;
He answer'd them;—then rose a murmur loud:—
Since years three hundred none had borne that name!

The last who thus was call'd,—long, long before,
An unbelieving sceptic was, they said,—

One day he disappear'd and came no more.—
—The trembling monk bow'd low his weary head.

Hard begg'd he then the convent's books to see,
Named who the Abbot was, gave dates,—and lo!
A miracle!—for now they knew 'twas he,
Who left that place three hundred years ago!

What strange deliv'rance!—Suddenly his hair
Turn'd silver-grey,—death came to him apace;
Dying, he said to all his brethren there :—
God has exalted been o'er time and space!

Ah! what was dark, a miracle now clears;
'To the good Lord 'gainst doubts ye all should pray;
—*To Him one day is as a thousand years,*
And thousand years are even as one day!

O. C. DUTT.

AQUARIUM IN THE CALCUTTA ZOO.

The study of Natural History is undoubtedly a very delightful recreation, while it is at the same time very instructive. There is scarcely a better method of imparting to the "masses" a knowledge of the habits and instincts of the various animals living on the surface of the globe than by means of Zoological gardens. The educational value of these institutions is very great. Previous to the year 1876, there was scarcely any such institution in India, where lovers of Natural history could pursue their studies of the habits and instincts of animals. In that year the Calcutta Zoological Gardens were established. It is an institution which has of late become very popular, and promises to be the centre of Zoological study in India. But the two important divisions of such scientific institutions are the Marine and Fresh Water Aquaria where the habits and instincts of marine and fresh water fishes, mollusks, crustaceans and other aquatic animals may be advantageously studied. Almost every important Zoological Garden in the world has annexed to it both marine and fresh-water aquaria for the exhibition of organic forms that inhabit the deep. Nay, there are in Europe special institutions such as the Brighton Aquarium, the Westminster Aquarium and the Hamburg Aquarium, exclusively intended for the display of the aquatic fauna of those countries. But it is to be regretted that there is neither a fresh-water nor a marine aquarium in such an important scientific institution as the Calcutta Zoological Gardens which have now taken their rank as one of the finest collections of living animals now existing in the world.

The observation of the habits of aquatic animals is no less interesting than the other branches of natural history. Mr. Samuel Maunder, in his well-known "*Treasury of Natural History*," says:—"By means of the aquarium, the singular habits of many water animals may be studied. Some naturalists had invented an apparatus by which they could go down into the sea, and attempt to notice the ways of the curious creatures which there take up

their abode. We never, however, heard of any practical results arising from this awkward and dangerous as well as difficult mode of observation. The visitors to the London Zoological Gardens, whether scientific or not, cannot fail to be struck with the beauties of the numerous *actinæ* which there display their charms like so many opening flowers. The hermit crabs crawl about and vibrate their singular pedicelled eyes, and beautifully jointed antennæ and feelers. Shrimps and curious fish swim about quite apparently at home. Even dead shells are covered with innumerable living beings, which open and shut their wonderful ciliary processes, as they take their microscopical food."

Nowhere is greater attention paid to, and deeper interest taken in, the study of the fauna of the seas, rivers and lakes, than in the United States of America, where there are ichthyologists and malacologists who have devoted their whole lives to the observation of the organic beings that have their abode in the waters. So enthusiastic are the Americans about the study of this branch of Zoology that the Boston Society of Natural History proposes to establish, in connection with the projected "Natural History Gardens" of that city, a Marine and a Fresh Water Aquarium on so grand a scale as to illustrate in one place "the relations of organisms to the four great regions of their distribution, the sea, the fresh water, the land, and the air. The principle underlying the whole, and to which each part, however small, has been made to contribute, is the illustration of the relations of plants and animals to their surroundings." By the establishment of the Marine Aquarium, the Boston Natural History Society intends that the correlations between certain structures and parts in animals, and their habits and natural surroundings, can be illustrated by placing plants and animals that live on muddy, sandy, gravelly, or rocky parts of the shores of the United States, in separate aquaria properly arranged and furnished." Secondly, it is intended to illustrate in the proposed aquaria and also in the salt-water ponds the extraordinary changes that have been wrought in the organic structure of the descendants of air-breathing land animals, in order to fit them for life in the sea. These aquaria will also be utilized for the exhibition of seals, cetacea and other marine animals, as is done in the London Zoological Society's Gardens. As a portion of the glass tanks in the Fish-house in the Regent's Park is also used for illustrating the habits of diving birds, the Boston Society proposes to place specimens of such birds as live upon the sea or its borders in their projected salt-water tanks. The third purpose for which the Boston Marine

Aquarium is intended, is the illustration of the great law of distribution of plants and animals which depends much more upon climate than upon any other cause. This end is proposed to be attained by the exhibition, in properly arranged tanks, of animals and plants taken at moderate depths upon the coasts of the United States. The Fresh-Water Aquarium which is proposed to be established near Jamaica Pond in Boston will be devoted to the illustration of the five following biological truths :

(1). "The adaptations of the structure of organisms to an aquatic existence, which would be exhibited by means of preparations of the gills, &c, as in the corresponding marine collection; but special adaptations to a fresh-water existence, such as the mode of reproduction of sponges, bryozoa, and some crustaceans by means of winter birds; the effects of desiccation upon some of these, and their mode of transportation from pond to pond; the contrasted structures of corresponding forms of fresh-water and marine shrimps and lobsters; the peculiarities of the batrachians, showing the transitions from a purely aquatic to a terrestrial type, and similar classes of facts."

(2) Carefully conducted experiments have brought to light many important facts regarding the evolution of organisms and it is intended to illustrate them by means of a series of aquaria showing the stages through which a salt-water shrimp has to pass before it can be metamorphosed into a fresh-water crustacean; another series of aquaria illustrating Semper's experiments upon the snail *Lymnaea stagnalis*; others showing the stages by which Axolotl, Salamander, and other organisms are evolved; and a fourth series exhibiting animals and plants now living in mineral or hot springs, the Caspian and Dead Seas, and other anomalous and more or less isolated positions such as caves and subterranean rivers.

(3). The fresh-water fauna of the world are all secondary, that is to say, they are all derived mainly from faunas which are characteristic of the seas and oceans. But there are some exceptions of this general truth, in the shape of fresh-water plants and animals which are modified descendants of land animals which have changed this habitat and have adapted themselves to a life in the water. It is intended to illustrate this important truth by the exhibition, in fresh-water ponds, of specimens of the larger air-breathing animals that live on or in the fresh waters such as the swimming and wading birds, the batrachians (frogs, salamanders, &c), the reptiles (snakes, turtles and alligators) and beavers, musk rats and other tropical forms. Some of the aquaria will be devoted to the exhibition of the *Liliacæ* and other plants, which,

although originally terrestrial and flowering plants, have become more or less modified and adapted for aquatic life.

(4). The stages by which insects, purely terrestrial and ærial in their habits, have become adapted for life in the waters.

(5). The organisms that live more and have their being in our fresh-water lakes and rivers and the effect of these on the water-supply.

The Natural History Society of Bombay also proposed to establish fresh and salt-water aquariums at Chowpatty close to Back Bay, in connection with their projected Zoological Gardens and moved Government for the grant of a piece of land whereon these might be constructed. But unfortunately the Government of Bombay declined to grant the desired piece of land and hence the Society had to abandon its project. Bombay, from its situation, is admirably suited for such institutions for the sea near it abounds with a variety of beautiful marine organisms such as starfishes, sea-anemones, crustaceans, &c., &c. The establishment of such institutions at Bombay is only a question of time and the go-ahead Bombayites will at no distant date have one where they will be able to observe and study the habits of fresh-water and marine fauna.

The question of establishing an aquarium in Calcutta was raised so far back as the year 1881, when several letters appeared in the *Statesman* newspaper of Calcutta, and an editorial article in the *Indian Mirror* advocating the establishment of such an institution. But they did not attract much notice at that time. That such an institution will really prove popular appears from the fact that the little aquarium which formed a part of the Calcutta International Exhibition held in 1883-84 drew thousands of visitors. But since that time nothing has been done towards the establishment of such an institution in Calcutta. A fresh-water and a Marine Aquarium in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens will add to its already many attractions, but the Committee of management seem to be indifferent about this matter. In a city like Calcutta which is situated at but a little distance from the sea, the establishment of a Marine Aquarium will be attended with but very little difficulty and expenditure. The Marine Survey under Dr. Alcock, which is doing much for the exploration of the marine fauna of the Indian waters, may be of much use in the procuring of specimens of marine organisms. The establishment of a Fresh-Water Aquarium for the exhibition of fresh-water fishes, crustaceans, batrachians, molluscs, &c., will not be expensive at all. The serpentine and the lakes in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens abound with a variety of

fresh-water fishes, frogs, water-beetles, crabs, turtles, and other beautiful and interesting specimens, so there will not be any difficulty in the way of procuring specimens of fresh-water fauna. The only expenditure, that the Committee will have to incur, is in the outlay for the construction of properly arranged glass tanks in the Gardens. As for the specimens, their procurement will not entail any expenditure on the Committee, as they have to do in the case of mammals, birds and reptiles in the purchase of which the Committee have to spend a large amount annually. Our rivers and lakes, nay, our very tanks, abound with a variety of beautiful forms of animal life which might be utilized. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Committee will at no distant date see its way to the establishment of a Fresh-water and a Marine Aquarium in the Calcutta Zoo which will, I am sure, attract crowds of visitors and add to the pecuniary resources of the Gardens.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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THE DAWN OF A NEW POETRY IN BENGALI LITERATURE.

Miss Sen, the young lady graduate of the Bethune College, has favoured the public with a collection of poems under the title of "আলো ও ছায়া" (Light and Shadow), which is destined to make an epoch in the history of Bengali poetry. The pretty little volume has been published anonymously, but the name of the author has oozed out and there is no good now to make a secret of it. The collection has made an impression in private circles,—in the circles of poets and scholars and of graduates and students. The great Bengali poet, Babu Hema Chandra Bannerji, has written a preface to it in which, with a candour and magnanimity, he confesses that he feels jealous of the rising poet. He writes:

"বস্তুতঃ কবিতা গুলির ভাবের গভীরতা, ভাবার সরলতা, রচনার নির্মলতা এবং সর্বত্র জয়প্রাপ্তিগুণে আমি নিরতিশয় মোহিত হইয়াছি। পড়িতে পড়িতে গ্রন্থকারকে মনে মনে কতই সাধুবাদ প্রদান করিয়াছি। আর, বলিতেই বা কি, স্থলবিশেষে হিংসারও উদ্রেক হইয়াছে।"

But recollecting the capricious public he adds: "At one time I was the subject of censure for praising Michael Dutt and bringing him to notice. If in the present case my lot be the same, I shall not be at all sorry." Babu Hema Chandra realises that a genius like Michael Dutt is entering the field of the Muses and as a veteran prophet he anticipates that

like Michael, she shall leave the stamp of her spirit upon the age. The writer of this critique is at one with him in this hope and prognostication.

The characteristic of Miss Sen's poetry is the purity of her tastes, the elegance of her style, the extreme delicacy and fineness of her feelings, and the depth of her thoughts. Her verses are simple and run easily, and they have a charm which at once captivates. It is not however in the style but in the tone and spirit of her writings that she excels. Michael was heroic and imaginative, Hem Chandra is a patriot, but neither of them have that gush and glow of passion which flows through the melody of Miss Sen's poems. Navin Chandra is a lover, but his love is of a shilly-shally kind, fanciful and sentimental; it has neither the warmth, nor purity to raise up a society or a nation. We read him with avidity and get sickened; we close him. ! forget him for good. Miss Sen's love is of a higher order. It is a passion with her, but it is tempered with the loftiest conceptions of duty and conscience. It has a mournful weirdness that haunts the memory long after the words of it have been forgotten. It enters your soul, refines your coarse nature, and elevates you. All the forms and ideas which had pleased her predecessors are found in her, but purified, deepened, modulated, set in simple and pregnant style. She is not as pathetic and sublime as Rabintra Nath Tagore, but they are both artists; and she has no pedantry or monotony in her; a touching pathos runs through every vein of her ideas and thoughts; the young girls and youths weep over her love-passages, the lovers idealise them, and the ardent reformer takes lessons at her feet to fill him with enthusiasm and new ideas. There is a fire of passion in every passage and every thought and sentiment is enlivened by it. Her tenderness softens and sweetens but sustains and spiritualises you. She has the inexpressible grace and loveliness of her precursor, the lamented Miss Taru Dutt, and holds out promises of a deeper nature. If she continues in her art and matures it, she is destined to occupy in time the same position in Bengali poetry that Tennyson does in England.

A poet is an artist and the merit of an artist consists in the selection of the subject which suits his talents. His pencillings enhances the beauty of his picture by negative character, by a set-off as they call it, and when he succeeds in this, he has made his mark. This busy world where every man pushes onward, this world of hard competition and struggle where every man elbows down his neighbour, where every man talks of reformation and regeneration

of societies, or babbles of love and objects of love—this world of Bengal furnishes infinite subjects for thought and reading, but the artist chooses the flower of things out of them, and reck not the rest. Consider all this, and you will appreciate the artistic talents of Miss Sen. Here is her picture of নীরব মাধুরী (Silent Beauty.)

“ওরা কত কথা বলে,
ওরা কত করে কাজ।
এ সদা নীরবে রহে,
আপনা দেখাতে লাজ ॥

ওরা বাহে বঁধা পড়ে,
সে বঁধন মানেনা এ;
ওরা বায়ে এত ডরে,
তার ভয় জানেনা এ।

হৃদে ওরা অশ্রুনির,
মুখে ওরা অয়নাদ;
এর হৃদে আছে তীর,
এর হৃদে মানে বঁধ।

কুহুম করে না কাজ,
কুহুম কচে না কথা;
কল্প তার মূহ লাজ,
মরণ মধুর ব্যথা।

ওরা কত মেহ জানে,
কত কাছে ওরা যায়;
এর প্রাণ বত টেনে,
এ তত পিছাতে চায়।

এর কাজ কথা এর,
একটি জীবনে ভরা;
আছে যে এ তাই চের,
তাতেই কৃতার্থ ধরা।

“The blossom does not work, it does not speak; its birth is an innocent blush and death a delicious pain. The action and speech of the ideal man are imbued in his life. That he lives is a blessing to the world. They, the average men, talk of love, they approach too near, he shrinks touch the more he feels.”

In this portrait all is beautiful and pleasant, the heart and senses enjoy it, the sentiments are delicate and deep; no crudity or incongruity sullies with its excess the harmony of this ideal. The lines “এর হৃদে আছে তীর, এর হৃদে মানে বঁধ” as well as “ওরা বাহে বঁধা পড়ে, সে বঁধন মানেনা এ” are exquisite.

Take another piece, that of the অনাহুত (Unasked): A child of beauty calls at a house where there is a gathering of friends. She was not asked to the party, she feels uncomfortable as an intruder, she blushes and begs to withdraw. The poet bursts into a frenzy, asks her to stop, to join the party, and augment their joy. She likens her to the flowers and other gifts of nature which gladden without being asked, and she pleads that her beauty itself is an invitation.

“দেখ মানময়ি, আরও কত কেহ
অনাহুত উপস্থিত
শোনো লো স্তম্ভগে স্বপ্নের মেহ
আপনার আহ্বান গীত;

সৌন্দর্য্য আপন নিমন্ত্রণ-ময়
অপরের কাছে আনে,
সাদর বচনে কেড়ে যেন লয়,
এমনি মোহিনী জানে।

মধুর আলোক, সুহৃদ বাতাস
সুহৃদ পাখীর ডাক
পাতার নীলিমা, কুসুমের বাস
ভাৱা আছে;—তুই থাক।

ভোর আগমনে, দেখ দেখি, মণি,
আনন্দ পূরিত গেছে,
বিশৃঙ্খিত কিনা হরষের ধ্বনি—
“মাখি আজীভূত মেহ?”

The poet is endowed with a great susceptibility to beauty. Beauty is what she calls the reflection of the soul in the mirror of the body. “সৌন্দর্য্য আত্মার দ্বারা শরীর দর্পণে।”

Elsewhere she sings “beauty is soiled by human eye; it blossoms for the Beauty of all Beauties and makes itself an offering to Him :

“যে শোভা ফুটিয়া করে নেত্র অগোচরে,
ভার কিগো বিকল বিকাশ ?
ভাতো নয়; যে সৌন্দর্য্য নিরঞ্জে রহে,
বিকাশ না মানবে তরে;
গোপনে সুবাস, শোভা আজীবন বহে,
নর চক্ষু: পাছে স্নান করে;
বিধাতার আঁখি তরে ফুটিয়া ধরায়,
সৌন্দর্য্যের অর্থ্য করে স্বন্দরের পায়।”

Look at the following picture of a melancholy face cherished by the lover in the shrine of his heart :

“বিষাদের ছায়া স্তম্ভাক্র আননে,
বিষাদের রেখা আঁখির কোণে,
কুসুমের শোভা বিজড়িত হাসি—
ভাঙেও যেনরে বিষাদ খেল।

স্বচ্ছ নীরদের আবরন তলে
নিশীথে চাঁদিমা যেনন হাসে—
ভরল আঘাতে বিকচ কমল
ভুবিতে ভুবিতে যেনরে ভাসে।

• কি জানি কেননে সুহৃদ নয়ন
জ্বরে আমার বেঁধেছে ডোর,
শত মন্দাকিনী দেছে ছুটাইয়া
মক ভূমি সম জীবনে যোয়।”

There is a pathos in these lines which is unrivalled in any poetry written in Bengali. The melody bursts like music upon the throbbing heart of the reader, and he is carried with the stream as he reads it : “Her eyes have streamed forth hundred rivulets in this desert heart of mine.” Has not Tennyson sung?

“I strove against the stream and all in vain,
Let the great river take me to the main.”

Similar passages expressing artistic beauty abound in the collection before us, and as we proceed we shall see that Miss Sen

has touched every line of her poem with the delicate pencilling of an artist.

Miss Sen seems to be a type of the most sensitive and delicate womanhood. She is a ~~sort of~~ fire enclosed in a shell of pearls and possesses the most refined and earnest nature that a woman can claim, but these are the very environments which stand in her way. She is in advance of her age, and is like an idealist unequal to the real world, and who repelled by it, laments over its deficiencies and defects. Her spirit soars with the highest conceptions of life and duty, but the reality and an over-consciousness of the self ~~press~~ her down, makes her timid of comments and gossips, and like a flower in August wind, she shrinks and closes her petals. The routine-life is made for the vulgar or the ordinary. A genius strikes its own path. The highest sentiment of usefulness, the fire of ~~enthusiasm~~ possesses her every moment, but she is hampered by the trammels of society and an over-refinement hinders her to cast it off. This struggle between the ideal and the real she reveals in her delicate poem called পাছে লোকে কিছু বলে।

“আড়ালে আড়ালে থাকি,	হৃদয়ে বৃন্দ মত,
নীরবে আপনা ঢাকি,	উঠে শুভ চিন্তা কত
সম্মুখে চরণ নাহি চলে,	নিশে যায় হৃদয়ের তলে
পাছে লোকে কিছু বলে।	পাছে লোকে কিছু বলে।

বিধাতা দেছেন প্রাণ
থাকি সদা স্তিরমাণ
শক্তি মরে ভীতির কবলে
পাছে লোকে কিছু বলে।”

What a host of thoughts, what true philosophy is hidden in that line “শক্তি মরে ভীতির কবলে” (power is swallowed up by fear). With a mental nature rich in fancy and full of soul, born rather for feeling than acting, more for thinking than doing, more as an artist and scholar than as a hero, her superior mind shows itself as a true poet in this struggle. The timidity is due not to any innate weakness of the soul, but to an overculture, an over-conscientiousness, to the extreme delicacy of her feelings and tenderness of her soul.

“Thus conscience does make cowards of us all
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought;
And enterprises of great pith and moment,
With this regard, their currents turn awry
And lose the name of action.”

It is not difficult to unravel the philosophy of Miss Sen's poetry. Duty and Love are her watchwords, and the noble lesson that she teaches to the patriot, reformer, lover and man is that we must live for others. She begins with groping in the dark or the shadow (ছায়া) and her tender soul awakens with a search for the cause of things.

“নিবিড় বিনিনে হেথা হোথা
দেখা যায় আলোকের রেখা,
কে জানে সে কোথা হ’তে আসে?
কারণের কে পেয়েছে দেখা?”

She seems to be contented at first with the few streaks of light that we receive in our dark path of the world,

“অন্ধকার কাননের মাঝে,
বতটুকু আলো দেখা যায়
এস সখে, লভি সেইটুকু
এস, খেলা খেলিব হেথায়।”

but the full splendour comes upon her by inspiration and she bursts forth with the faith and hope that we are all children of light and we all burn dimly before the Great Sun of Lights.

“আমরা তো আলোকের শিশু আলোকেতে কি অনন্ত মেলা। আলোকেতে স্বপ্ন জাগরণ জীবন ও মরণের খেলা।	জীবনের অসংখ্য প্রদীপ এক মহাচন্দ্রাতপ ভলে, এক মহা দিবাকর করে ধীরে ধীরে অতি ধীরে জলে।”
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We would ask the reader to pause and think upon this passage. Is not the image rich and sublime like Milton's with a sweetness of spirit which gives it an originality of the highest order? She is dazzled by the Great Light and extinguishes her lamp in veneration. But faith gives her strength and she lets her lamp to be put out with a hope to light it again

“অসীম এ আলোক সাগরে
কুজ দীপ নিবে বদি যায়,
নিবুক না, কে বলিতে পারে
জলিবে না সে যে পুনরায়।”

The first thought that troubles her, is, that man is destined for sufferings in this world

“বাড়না—বাড়না—বাড়নাই সার
নর ভাগ্যে স্থখ কখনো নাই।”

But she recovers her spirit and boldly questions "What! Is not happiness meant for man?" and the light comes to her and she sings:—

"We must sacrifice our self for others, there is no happiness like that."

<p>"পরের কারণে স্বার্থে দিয়া বলি এ জীবন মন সকলি দাও, তার মত সুখ কোথাও কি আছে? আপনার কথা ভুলিয়া যাও</p>	<p>গেছে বাক্ ভেঙ্গে সুখের স্বপন, স্বপন অমন ভেঙ্গেই থাকে, গেছে বাক্ নিবে আলোর আলো গৃহে এস আর ঘুর'না পাঁকে।</p>
<p>পরের কারণে মরণেও সুখ; 'সুখ' 'সুখ' করি কেননা আর, বতই কানিবে, বতই ভাবিবে ততই বাড়িবে সুখের।</p>	<p>বিবাদ—বিবাদ—বিবাদ বলিয়ে কেনই কানিবে জীবন ত'রে মানবের মন এত কি অসার? এতই সহজে সুইয়া পড়ে?"</p>

The solution of the great problem of her life is thus vividly expressed in the concluding stanza of her poem সুখ (Happiness)

"আপনারে লয়ে ঈশ্বর রহিতে
আসে নাই কেহ অবনী পরে
সকলের তরে সকলে আমরা
এত্যেকে আমরা পরের তরে।"

"None has come to this world to be engrossed with himself, we are all for others, every one of us."

The truth once discovered the poet knows how to use it, and she takes a solemn vow that she will live for others. This grand and living truth permeates all her writings. It is 'the key-note of her music, the burden of her songs. The whole of the poem called সুখ is a masterpiece which would repay the reader thoroughly.

In a living soul, more in a genius like the new poet's, it is but natural that the vow once taken will carry her in the onward progress of spiritual life, and her hankerings after light, her aspirations for the non-ethereal did actually lead her to the good; the noble vow of a life-long duty to others received sweetness and unction from the Great Spirit of all spirits to whom she fervently prayed to extend a helping hand. In this, she is treading in the footsteps of Tennyson and reaching to those of Browning. In treating of the trials, difficulties and dangers of the heart, she thinks with Tennyson that the most formidable temptation is to indulge in passion at the expense of duty, and the maxim of life she pledges for is that she will live for others. But like Tennyson,

she does not stop there. The enthusiasm of the artist carries her beyond herself to God; and the intensity of her passion for the good of others creates in her an infinite aspiring which becomes the pledge and fitting initiation of a never-ending movement of advance Godward through the infinite future. An awe steals upon her. She is silent, she hears a voice

“ বিশ্ববস্ত্রে কি মধুর গীত
অনুদিন হইছে শ্রবিত,
পশিকেছে নীরব আশ্বাস;
অন্তহীন দেশকাল পূরি
বাঞ্ছিতেছে আগরণী তুরি
আহ্বানিছে কি জানি কোথায়।”

With doubt and fear she asks her heart—“*Where are you leading me?*” and ends with a hope that the All-good Providence with his manifested love will guide her steps.

“ অকল অতল ঘোঁষ এ সংসার পারিবারে
ভাসাইয়া ক্ষুদ্র তরঙ্গ, দিবালোকে, অন্ধকারে,
অবিরাম, অবিশ্রাম, মানব চলিয়া যায়,
নাহি জানে কোথা গাবে তরঙ্গের দায়, ঘণ্ট;
অদৃশ্য যে কর্ণধার কাটায়ে তরঙ্গ গ্রাস,
চালান তরঙ্গী তার; ভেদিয়া অধার রাস,
উজল নক্ষত্র সম যার নরনের ভাতি
সম্মুখে দেখায় পথ আনিলে তামসী রাত্রি;
অধিতে মানস স্বর্ণ অনলের মাঝ নিয়া
যাহার অদৃশ্য বাত মানবেরে যায় নিয়া;
অপের মধুর স্বাদ করিতে মধুর তর
চতুর্দিক বিধান যার; তাঁহারি স্নেহের কর,
সকট কটকারণো, মকড়মে, অন্ধকারে,
যাবে না কি লয়ে মন হুরবল হাত ধরে।”

So her ideal—লক্ষ্য তার (The guiding star) does not allow her to stop at the landmark; she perpetually aims at the highest object of life, which being attained generates a new series of aspirations and new endeavours in her. Her ideal therefore always recedes from her grasp and raises her from the attainable—the actual.

“ দিগন্তের অন্তে গেলে নাগাল পাব কি ওর।”

It is interesting however to notice that the poet does not lose her energy and enthusiasm in her struggle for the ideal. Her love of the good, her passion for the beautiful sustains her throughout. With the new year, she resuscitates, she buries her past and begins

a new life with new aspirations. She is conscious that time is fleeting :

“ সাগরে বৃন্দ মত উন্নত বাসনা বত
 স্বপ্নের মতো শত ছন্দে মিলার,
 আর দিন চলে যায় । ”

The past year did not fulfil her hopes, and she describes its passing away with a touch of pathos :

“ আপনার বেগে, আপনার মনে,
 কোণার, বরষ চলিয়া যায়,
 অপূর্ণ মনো রহিল কাহার
 দেখিতে বারেক ফিরে না চায় ।

দেখিবারে তাহা। সুহৃদের তরে
 খানিল না গুর অন্তের পথে
 আই যায় চলে, ওই যায় যায়
 মৌরুহ্যতিমর ক্রতগ রথে ।

কায় নরনের ফুরাল না জল,
 শুকাল না বাতাসের ক্ষত
 কাহার স্বপ্ন নিশীথে দিবার
 জলিছে দারুণ চিত্তের মত,

বরষের পর, বরষ বাইছে
 বিদায়ের কালে চরণে তার
 কত প্রাণ তাজি, কত আঁধি দিরা
 গড়িছে তরল সুকূতাভার ;

আপনার বেগে আপনার মনে
 অশ্রুসিক্ত পদে চলিয়া যায়,
 শোনে না কাহারও রোদনের রব
 কারো মুখ পানে ফিরে না চায় । ”

We are all drifting away: “Is there no one,” she enquires, “to guide us in this helpless and miserable course?” A voice within answers ‘yes,’ and she begins the new year with the enthusiasm of a hero, under the clasping arm of the Providence.

“ কৃপা হস্ত কার, অক্ষুট আলোকে
 দেখিতেছি আছে জড়ারে সবে,
 আই তাত ধরে উঠি পড়ে পড়ে
 কেন আর ভয় পাইগো তবে ।

উঠিয়া পড়িয়া তাজিয়া গড়িয়া
 বরষে বরষে বাড়ুক বল,
 হুটুক না পারে হুটা তুচ্ছ কাঁটা ?
 বহুক না কেন নয়ন জল ?

নূতন উদ্যমে নূতন আনন্দে
 আজি তো গাহিব আশার গান,
 নূতন বরষে আজি নব ব্রতে
 আবার দীক্ষিত করিব প্রাণ ।

In this struggle for a spiritual life, the enthusiasm of the poet has evidently calmed down to a serenity of soul, and it awakens in her touching sympathies for her fellow-companions of the same career, as well as for the fallen ones.

“ আবারে দিওনা দোষ, নূতন সঙ্গীত
 উদ্ভাসক নাহি যদি হয় ;—

শান্তি সে পৌঁছলি আলো, মুহু সাক্ষানিলে,
নহে বড় বজ্র বিহ্বল্যর।”

* * * * *

“ ধীরে ধীরে চলি, আর ধীরে নাহি গান,
চারিদিক চেয়ে চলে বাই
মুহূৰ্ণ পথিক বারা তাহাদেরি কাছে
এ আমার সঙ্গীত শুনাই। ”

* * * * *

“ বর্জিকা লইয়া হাতে, চলেছিল একসাথে
পথে নিবে গেছে আলো, পড়িয়াছে তাই;
তোমরা কি দয়া করে, তুলিবে না হাতের ধরে
অর্ধ দণ্ড তার লাগি বাঁধিবে না, তাই। ”

তোমাদের বাতি দিয়া প্রদীপ জালিয়া নিয়া,
তোমাদের হাত ধরি হোক অগ্রসর,
পক্ষ মাকে অন্ধকারে হৃফলে যদি বাও তারে,
আঁধার রজনী তাঁরি রবে নিরন্তর। ”

* * * * *

“ পথ ভুলে গিয়াছিল, আবার এসেছে কিরে,
দাঁড়ারে রয়েছে দূরে, লাজে ভয়ে নতনিরে;
সম্মুখে চলে না পদ, তুলিতে পারে না আঁধি,
কাঁছে গিরে, হাত ধরে, ওরে তোরা আন ডাকি। ”

The poet may grow weary and old, but she hopes to retain the fire of her spirit. When the body fails, the soul will sustain her, and she returns to the old burden of her song that she has consecrated her life for the good of others, and that she lives and will for ever live for their weal and woe.

“ এ দেহ তব্বর দেহ, বৈকে থাক, তেজ থাক
সবল এ হস্ত পদে বল থাক—নাই থাক
বাঁটিতে না পারি যদি, দেশের জীবনে জীয়া,
অপরের স্বপ্ন হুঃখে স্বপ্ন হুঃখ বিশাইয়া
শ্রেয়ব্রত করিব পালন। ”

The patriotic poetry of Miss Sen, which consists in three pieces, *vis.*, বিসর্জন or বা আবার (Renunciation), আশার স্বপ্ন (Dreams of Hope), and রজনীর স্বপ্ন (Cry of Woman) is

inferior to Hem Chandra's and is in imitation of him. The last is an appeal for the oppressed coolie woman and in the first she repeats her vow to live for others or for the country.

“মরিষ তোমারি কাছে, বাঁচিব তোমারি তরে,
মহিলে বিবাদময় এ জীবন কে বা ধরে ?
বহু দিন না বুঁচিবে তোমার কলঙ্কভার,
থাক্ প্রাণ, থাক্ প্রাণ, যা আমার, যা আমার।

The young poet, when in the flowery field of love, is in her own element and is therefore at her best. In a poet, passion is a master faculty, the art of composition, good taste, appreciation of truth depends upon it; one degree more of vehemence destroys the style which expresses it, changes the character which it produces and breaks the framework in which it is enclosed. Herein lies the secret of Miss. Sen's power, the source of her merit. She is full of the wealth, of ardent and eager love, but it is always subdued and under control. The majority of men have only weak emotions: We live mechanically, three-fourths of things leave us cold; we come across her love-songs, we are transformed, our lives are doubled; our soul had been vegetating, but now we feel, suffer and love with her. Yet she has not the feverish sensibility of a woman or an extravagant poet, who rails and weeps at fits and starts and spends herself for no good. Her sentiments raise a torrent of new emotions which communicates its violence to the mind, and shakes our sluggish souls, but the shock is entirely internal. True, her love-poetry is an intoxication, but the intoxication instead of cracking the soul gives it a new birth by generating a tone of renunciation in it. It touches and melts; she makes us weep, absolutely shed tears, but the tears are genuine, because they bear fruit and do not leave a vacuum behind. They bring in a spirit of sacrifice, of self-abnegation which is the groundwork of all true love and they transport us to a world of loving and disinterested spirits.

Let us take her poem চাহিনা (I don't want). It is a delicious food for the soul. It reveals the fine and sympathetic nature of the poet, a heart full of ardent love, not for any particular individual, but for nature and human kind.

“কর কাছে বাই, কর কাছে গাই
আমার হৃৎকের হৃৎকের কথা
সরাসরে নীরবে ছুঁদি বধনিকা
কাহারে দেখাই কি আছে তথা।

চাহিনা চাহিনা কতবার বলি
চাহিনা স্তব্ধ চাহিনা সখা,
চাহিনা করিতে যেহ বিনিময়
আপনারে জাল বাসিব একা;

প্রকৃতি জননী, প্রকৃতি ভগিনী,
নিঃসর্গ আমার প্রাণের সখা,
আমারে ভূষিতে ফুল বৃহৎ হালে
নাচে জলে রবি-কিরণ লেখা।

চাহিনা চাহিনা কেন বেন কেন
ছুটে ছুটে বাই নরের কাছে,
কহি নরবের হুইট কাহিনী,
~~কিছু~~ দুঃখ বাঁ কিছু আছে।”

The poet would not exchange her love with any one. She will love herself, she will love nature—the flower and the sky, the sunny rays and moonbeams that play on the water; but her kind and sympathetic nature acts like a loadstone and draws her to man and society.

The first yearning in the path of love is for a friend, or companion: Emerson says, “We talk of choosing our friends, but friends are self-elected.” The like selects the like, the magnanimous the noble, the spiritual the sublime. In her dreamy path of love, the poet selects her fellow-passenger in spirit. It is not by his face that she knows him, but by his soul and heart.

“তুমি বোর বদেনী, বজন—
এ জনমে কিবা জন্মভরে
আত্মার আত্মার পরিচয়
ছিল, তাই হেন মনে পড়ে।

দেব ভণে চন্দ্রের তরে
বেশা হ’ল ভালই হরহে;
পাথের ছিলনা বেশী কিছু,
দীর্ঘ পথ সমুখে রয়েছে।”

অন্তঃ কর্ণে গান লয়ে বাই
স্বৃতি ফুলে নরনের জল,
অন্ধনেত্রে প্রেমের আলোক
কীণ প্রাণে কতটুকু বল।

Exterior is not a proper indication to base friendship upon. “Are you the friend” asks the philosopher “of your friend’s buttons or of his thoughts?” The poet hits upon the truth. Her friends have come to her unsought. Read the language of her inspiration: “The heart knoweth;” she ignores the face that conceals the soul.

“মুখ বার চিনে রাখি, চিনি না ছদ্ম তার
অকথিত ছদ্ম ভাবা সাধা নাহি বুঝবার।”

Hitherto the fire of love was smoking, it now bursts into a flame.

“দূর হ’তে দেখে বার দেখে তারা ধূমরাশি—
আগুন দেখিবে যদি, দেখেনো নিকটে আসি।”

This is however a very unresponsive world. Friends such as we desire are dreams and fables; the union of true friends is rare; the poet feels the freezing coldness of the actual the barriers that fortune or fatality presents; and she is thus led to the conception

of disappointment in love. She feels the pangs which an unrequited lover has to bear and asks fate not to intervene and part two souls that magnetically attract each other. The more she feels the electric shock, the more delicious the first encounter of two in thoughts and feelings seem to her.

“অথবা একটি প্রাণ, আপনারে করে দান—
 আপনারে দেব ফলে অপরের পার;
 সে না বায়েকের তরে, ভুলেও ক্রক্ষেপ করে
 সবলে চরণ তলে দলে চলে যায়।
 অনরাধ পূরিত তবে শুভযুগ কবে হবে,
 একটি প্রাণের তরে আর একটি প্রাণ
 কাঁদবে না সারা পথে;—প্রাণের মনোরথে
 স্বর্গ মর্ত্যে কেহ নাহি দিবে বাধা দান ?”

The bruised heart however does not droop down under the heaviness of disappointment. A sublime hope, a spirit of renunciation sustains her and she presents us the charming picture of a love for the sake of, love only—the picture of Scott's Rebecca, of George Elliot's *Sarah Bede* or of Aisha of Bankim Chandra's.

“তোমারে আপনা দিয়া, অতি ভিরপিত হিয়া
 আশিত চাহিনা প্রতি দান।
 হুরে রও উর্ড়ে রও, দেবী হরে পূজা লও
 পূজিবার দেহ অধিকার।”

* * * * *

“হয়ত আজ্ঞাত সারে
 গারকে পড়িবে মনে,
 হয়ত বা ভুলে অক্ষ
 দেখা দিবে ছনমনে।

“তা' হ'লেই চরিতার্থ
 জীবন-জনম-গান
 তাহাট বখেট মম
 প্রণয়ের প্রতিদান।”

How boldly she meets the possibility of a separation. “We must part,” she says, “because this life is duty.”

“যাব যদি বাইবারে হয়
 হই কেনে আমরা হ'জন
 এ জীবন ছেলে খেলা নয়
 হৃদয় তপস্যা এ জীবন।”

ছাড়াছাড়ি—কতি নাই তা'তে;
 হ'জনর আকুল হৃদয়,
 দেশ হিত তপস্যা সাধিতে
 টুট যদি শত খান হয়—
 তাই হোক !”

What a depth of feeling and sentiment, what tenderness of heart and what sacred outpourings do these words contain! She is resigned to her fate; she sacrifices herself to duty.

The poet is a master of her art and she attempts to give a categorical description of what love is in her সে কি (What is it?)

“আসক্তি বিহীন ও ~~অস্বাভাবিক~~ সুমাগ,
আনন্দ সে নাহি তাহে পৃথিবীর মাগ;
আছে গভীরতা তার উবেল উচ্ছাস,
হৃদয়ে সংঘম বেলা উর্ধ্বে নীলাকাশ;

উজ্জল কোমলতলে অনাবৃত প্রাণ,
বিষ প্রতি বিষ কার প্রাণে অধিষ্ঠান,
ধরার মাঝারে থাকি ধরা ভুলে যাওঁতে
উন্নত কামনাতরে উর্ধ্বদিকে চাওরা।

পবিত্র পরশে বার মলিন হৃদয়
আপনাতে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করে দেহাঙ্গর,
ভক্তি-বিহ্বল প্রেম দেব প্রতিমা
প্রেমিয়া দূরে রহে নারে ছুঁইবারে;

আলোকের আলিঙ্গনে আঁধারের মত
বাগনা হারুয়ে বার চক্ষু পরাহত;
জীবন কণ্ঠী—গীতি, নহে আর্তনাদ,
চকল নিরাশা, আশা, হর্ষ অবসাদ।

আপনারে বিকাইরা আপনাতে বাস,
আত্মার বিস্তার, ছিঁড়ি ধরনীর পাশ।
হৃদয় মাধুরী সেই পুষ্পভোমর,
সে কি তোমাদের প্রেম?”

I am not sure that if scrutinised by logical tests, faults can not be traced in this attempt of the poet but with all its faults it must be acknowledged that it has the ring and passion of Shelley. Elsewhere she says “love is the awakening of the soul, it is a new birth and a regeneration.”

“এগর সে আত্মার চেতন,
জীবনের জনম নৃতন
স্বপ্নের স্বপ্ন সেখান।”

She knows that “all the pleasures are not worth the pains of love” She enjoys those pains and she would not throw off the garland of love, because it has some thorny flowers in it.

“সে যে গৌণেভিল এক কুসুমের হার,
মাকে মাকে কাঁটা তার কেননে জড়াবে গেছে,
টানিরা না কেলে কাঁটা, মালা গাছি হেঁড়ে গাছে।”

Miss Sen's picture of despairing love, of secret grief, leaves an ineffaceable impression upon her readers. She has a painter in her and she paints these pictures with her happiest touches. Her little poem "বেশী কিছু নয় (Not much)" is an instance in point. The plot lies in a nut-shell. A young ardent youth joins the progressive movement of the Theistic or Christian Church in Bengal, and is cut off by his family. His head is full of visionary ideas, of the ideas of duty and conscience. He conceives the mightiest designs and the most extensive plans of regenerating his country, of reforming the Hindu society, of uprooting the evils of caste system and early marriage, and of helping the cause of widow-marriage. The fire within him receives fuel from a lovely young girl, with whom he has fallen in love, who is devoted to him—who cherishes him as the great ideal in whom all her ideas would be realized, all her sentiments find expression.

"সে প্রাণের কত ভাব আমাতে ঝুঁজিত ভাষা,
আমাতে ঝুঁজিত সিদ্ধি সে প্রাণের কত আশা;
দিবা দৃষ্টি, চাহিত, সে, সবল চরণ মম
আশ্রয় ঝুঁজিত অগ্নি আমাতে ইন্ধন মম।
চিন্তা, দৃষ্টি আশা আর অগ্নি আকাঙ্ক্ষা হয়ে,
সে মোরে দেখাবে লগ্ন, আমি তারে বাব লয়ে।"

Suddenly comes a cloud over him; he is involved in debt; the tears of his brother and old mother prevail upon him; he is retaken within the pales of the Hindu society and becomes a victim to early marriage. He is a wreck: One evening while sitting on the bank of a lake, the picture of his first love haunts him; he wants to steal a glance over her; he proceeds to her parent's home; his heart throbs. What does he see? The creeper that twined all her tendrils round him and rooted her roots in him lives no more, she has been crushed by the the tumbling wall round which she crept:

"মৃদুল ললিতলতা ভগন প্রাণীর বাহি,
চাকি তার জীর্ণ দেহ উঠিছে আকাশ চাহি,
সে শোভা ক'দিন থাকে? হৃদিনের বর্ষবাত,
অসার নির্ভর সেই সহসা ধরনী সাত
তার পতনের তারে গেছে প্রাণ লতিকার—
এইত আমার কথা—বেশী কিছু নাহি আর।"

Miss Sen apparently belongs to one of the reformed societies of transitional Bengal. All her ideas and sentiments are as chaste and delicate as any enlightened society could be proud of, and the good taste of her writings adds credit to her community and to her

friends. A child of reformation she cannot conceive that love can grow in early marriage, and a child-wife is a subject of pity to her. The synonym of wife in Bengali is সহধর্মিণী *i.e.*, a partner in spiritual life. Is the child-wife her husband's companion of life, of his spirituality? With the inspiration of a true poet she answers: "What a sarcasm lies hidden in that word! There is no unity of souls in a child-wife and her mate."

"অলঙ্কারে সহধর্মিণীয়ে—কি বিকল্প জানে অভিধান।—

অলঙ্কারে গৃহিণীয়ে যোর ঢাকিয়াছি, মাছি আর স্থান।"

"এ আমার বিলাস সাধন, আশ্রয় সঙ্গিনী এতদুঃখ।"

Elsewhere says an unhappy wife.

"শৈশবে দৌহারে লয়ে বেঁধে দিল হাতে হাতে,

বাঁধিতে নারিল তারা হৃদয় হৃদয় সাথে।

জ্ঞানের আলোকে নাথ ভুলি হলে অজান,

অজ্ঞানের অন্ধকারে আমি তো বেঁধেছি বর।"

মহাশ্বেতা (Mahasveta) and পুণ্ডরীক (Pundarik) are the largest and most finished pieces of our young poet. This time she takes the classical for her subject. She caresses the most tender and delicate feelings with care, hits upon the touching and curious incidents and makes them into pastorals or idyls. The consummate art with which she paints the half blushes, the youthful simplicity and passionate mood of feminine beauty marks out a prominent place for her in the gallery of poet-artists. মহাশ্বেতা (Mahasveta) is one of those flowers which only bloom in a virgin imagination. The vase in which the flower appears is oriental, but the plant which produces it has had its sap from the best English poetry—from Tennyson and Browning, from Shelley and Keats, Wordsworth and Burns.

মহাশ্বেতা (Mahasveta) begins with a touching and graceful dedication to a fellow-student of the poet, another young lady-graduate with whom she read the classical story in her school. "The old school days" she sadly sings "will not return to us"

"সাহিত্যের স্বপ্নর কাননে,

একসাথে বোঁধে,

গছের বালিকা নেহারিয়া

সুখ তার বোঁধে।

তুমি আমি দু'রে দু'রে আজ,

সত্যি আমার,

একসাথে সে কাননে হোঁরা

পশিব না আর।"

The story of the piece is simple and is recited by মহাশ্বতা (Mahasveta) herself to a guest, in a broken voice, like the music of a harper who is engaged in setting in order the strings of his harp and therefore plays ~~many~~ many breaks.

* যোষি শোকোচ্ছাদ
খামি পামি, খামে বখা বাসক অকুলি
হিন্ন তব বীনা মাঝে যুগ্মবাবে তার।”

The tender ~~child~~ ^{maiden}, just opening to youth,

বালিকা আচ্ছিন্ন আমি হৃদয় আমার
কলিকা প্রফুল্ল পুষ্প এ ছুরের মাঝে.
এক রতি আলো কিবা জীবন্ত সমীরে
আজ কিবা কাল সেই উঠিবে ফুটিয়া
হেন কুহুমের মত—লালিত বতনে।”

the beloved daughter of a prince, goes with her mother to a lake called অচ্ছোদ সরোবর (Achhod sarober), is fascinated by the beauties of the park around, by the four dreamy eyes of two tender-aged fawns playing and staring at each other. The scene is laid in a lovely woodland fitted to raise all tender emotions in her bosom.

— বসন্ত আপনি
নিরন্তর কিশলয় লতা বিকচিত্ত
তবুর ছায়ায় পাতি পুষ্প আন্তরণ
কামিনী শেফালী আর বকুলের দলে.
স্নাত শুভ্র তবু'পরি আছিল ঢালিতে
পুষ্পাসার।”

One of the fawns is hit by an arrow, she melts into tears, nurses her and when is thus softened and melted into pity, the dreamy eyes of young পুণ্ডরীক (Pundarik) meet hers. The young man advances towards her, makes her an offer of a bunch of celestial flowers (পারিকাত), is spell-bound and his string of beads (অকমাল) drops down at her feet. She picks it up and involuntarily puts it round her neck. The cool companion of Pundarika পুণ্ডরীক observes this momentary change and he upbraids him for it. “It is an idle complaint, friend” he answers “nothing serious.” He steps up to the girl and prays for the return of his beads, and she being confused restores him her chain of pearls instead. What mistakes does love often commit and yet they lead you to the truth and the good! By a divine affinity blind love selects its own mate. By exchange

of necklaces Mahasveta has sealed her fate with Pundarik's, she is in fact married.

This frank and artless delicate figure is a genuine child of nature. A few more verses and we see ~~the~~ fresh rosy face blushing all over, and her bright eyes ready with tears; she is confused, she casts down her eyes, the poor innocent heart is troubled; and her mother's tender and loving eyes invokes a blessing upon her.

“কুসুম পেলব হিরা লভনে শুকার,
জগতের বস্তু হুঃখ ইহাদের তরে,
বহে একাধারে কল্পনা, প্রণয় হুঃখ।
সেহ মধু দিয়া গতিয়াছ যারে
রেখ সে কুসুমে মম চির অনাহত।”

The first breeze of love has struck upon the calm sea of her heart and waves of thoughts are heaving up in it; the sweet music of love is awakening her soul to a consciousness of new life.

“রবি অন্ত যার যার, জ্বলয়ে আমার
শত তরঙ্গের জীড়া ধামিতেছে ধীরে;
আলু খালু শক্তি চিন্তা ভাঙ্গিয়া ছিঁড়িয়া
একটি মধুর স্পষ্ট জীবন্ত স্বপ্ন
খেলাইছে শান্তি চিতে; একটি সঙ্গীত
মুহুতম,—অতি দূর গ্রামান্তর হ’তে
নিশীথে ভাসিয়া আসে যেমন লহরী,
কাপারে প্রোভার স্তম্ভ জ্বলয়ের তার।”

Suddenly one night she receives an assurance that her love is responded by Pundarik and a new era starts in her young life.

“স্তম্ভে হুঃখে যুগপৎ কাঁদিল লহন,
জীবনে আমার যেন নবযুগ এক,
আরম্ভিল সেইক্ষণে; সেই দিন যেন
সহসা জীবন কলি উঠিল বিকসি।
অনভ্যস্ত রবিকর, শিশির সমীর,
জ্বলয়ে নুতন বাণী, আনন্দ নুতন।”

and she folds her hands up to the moon, and makes a gift of herself to Pundarika.

“সাক্ষী তুমি, পিতঃ;
শশাঙ্ক রোহিণী পতি, আজি এ জ্বলয়
সঁপিতেছে পুণ্ডরীকে তনয়া ভোমার;
স্বপ্নে, হুঃখে, গৃহে, বনে, ঘোবনে, অরণ্যে,
আমি তাঁর, আমি তাঁর জীবনে যরণে।”

"Love prays," says Emerson, "it makes covenants with eternal Power in behalf of its dear mate."

The union which is thus effected rebuilds a new world for Mahasveta. It makes all things alive and significant. Nature grows conscious. Every bird on the boughs of the tree sings now to her heart and soul. The union has expanded her sentiments and bathed her soul with a new and sweeter element. She feels kind to her servants and dependants. Her passion flows towards Pundarik like a torrent which flows to the sea, fertilising the lands on both its banks.

"প্রতিকণে অনুভব করিতাম মনে,
উবেলিত হৃদয়ের প্রতি রাশি মম
হইতেছে উপচিত, সদা প্রসারিত;
সকলি লাগিছে ভাল; সখী দাসীজন,
সুগ, পক্ষী উদ্ভাসনের প্রতি তরু লতা,
প্রিয়ত্তর প্রতিকণে; যে প্রেম প্রবাহ
প্রবাহিত বেগতরে পুণ্ডরীক পানে,
বাইছে সে বিলাইয়া বারি তীরে তীরে।"

Such love as this is angelic. But the following love-imbued expression of Pundarik is inimitable.

"উর্দ্ধ হ'তে বেধিলাম উঠিছে উৎখলি
নীররাশি নীরবির, সমগ্র হৃদয়
ভরল প্রণয় রূপে উঠিছে উৎখলি।
শত কর প্রসারিয়া সাদরে চন্দ্রমা
যেন আস্থানিছে তারে; আকুল অলখি
চাহে যেন আপনারে উর্দ্ধে লুকিবারে।
সলিলে মিশিছে আলো, তরঙ্গ উজ্জল—
উচ্ছসিত প্রেমে গুল্ল জ্যোতিঃ স্বরণের;
পৃথিবীতে বহু মূল, বেটিত বেলার,
পারে না সে আপনারে করিতে মোচন;
রহে দূরে প্রণয়িতা, একের আলোকে
আলোকিত অন্য হিয়া; স্ত্রী নিরধিরা
এক আপনার ছায়া অপর হিয়ার।
পূর্ণ খেতা মহাখেতা, সাগর সমান
এ হৃদয় উবেলিত স্বরণে তাহার
বেলা, বাধ, নিম্ন উর্দ্ধ আছিল না কিছু।"

A message comes that Pundarika is dying for her; she starts from the palace of her father. Her innocent heart knows no guile. Her companion points out the indelicacy of a young lady, a princess in going out in quest of her lover at the dead of night. She

pauses and thinks : but the stream leads her on, and the poet who sang

“শক্তি মরে তীতির কবলে,”
now sings:

“সংশয় বিমূঢ় আমি রহিছ নিশ্চল।
বুহুর্ভের মাঝে জ্বরে আদিল বল;—
স্বাধীন নির্দোষ চিতে কর্তব্য সন্দেহে
আসে হেন, রৌদ্র বেগ, করি উল্লসন
সর্বজন কুরমার্গ, নূতন পহার
লয়ে যায় আপনারে।”

She is too late; when she arrives on the spot, her lover is dead, what a shock to her tender soul. It breaks her down and she swoons away. When she awakens, she resolves to die; but her immortal love revives her, gives her strength, and an echo from heaven resounds:

“তন বৎসে, যারে ভালবাস, তার লাগি
ভালবাস তার প্রিয় জীবন তোমার;
সাধিরা সমাধিভূমি কর নিরমল
হিরা তব পূণ্যবতি। ভালবাস যারে,
ভাল তারে বাস, সতি, বিরচে, মিলনে
চির কাল, প্রণয়ের এপারে ওপারে।
প্রণয়ের পথ ইহ দুঃখ সমাকুল
কঠিন প্রণয় ব্রত, তপস্যা হুস্তর।
তার পর—বিশ্বেদেব প্রেমের আকর—
প্রণয়ের মনোরথ পূরিবে তোমার।
কর সাধ্য করে তিন্ন প্রান্নি যুগলে ?
কালের অন্বেষ প্রেম, প্রেম মৃত্যুর।”

She desists from her resolution, makes a sanctuary, where she devotes her life to the sacred memory of her lover for years, till he regains consciousness and they are happily united. Thus ends the story. It is the old story of Kadamvari, but in a modern garb. In this allegory the poet means to teach us that immortal love awaits for its departed mate and rejoins him in the next world.

Pundarik is valuable for giving us an insight into the poet's ideas of education, spirituality, and marital life. Pundarik's love is only a counterpart of Mahasveta's, and we have already given our readers some cue to it. There is a quiet vein of spirituality in the poet's musings. True devotion, according to the poet, consists in the absence of desires, in not seeking for happiness in heaven, but in the resignation of all desires to the will of God:

“আমি আকাঙ্ক্ষা বিহীন,
নাহি চাহি স্বর্ণ স্বৰ্গ তপস্যার কলে
আপনার প্রভু হ’তে চাহি নিঃস্বতর,
উৎসর্গিত প্রাণ মন চাহি ব্রহ্মপথে ।”

Being a woman of sound learning she knows in what true education consists. It is in the decision of character. “Knowledge,” she says “is easy to acquire, but it is difficult to reduce it to life : Let your life be a duty—an incarnation of virtue and wisdom.”

অধ্যাপন, অধ্যয়ন নহেহে দুক্কর ;
দুক্কর চরিত্রে শাস্ত্র করা প্রতিভাত।
নীতিধর্ম অধ্যয়ন করিলে যেমন,
প্রতি কর্মে, প্রতি বাক্যে, প্রতি পাদক্ষেপে,
তোমাকে সে সব যেন করে অধ্যয়ন
সর্বলোক । প্রায়াসবিধি বিতীর্ণ সংসারে
ধরি কর্তব্যের পথ চলিবে আপনি ।”

Miss Sen's thoughts on household life against asceticism is consonant to the general tenor of her mind.

“কেমনে মরিব, সখে, দুইটি জীবন,
হুটি আত্মা একীভূত, দ্বিগুণ বহিত,
হবে না কি সঞ্জীবিত দ্বিগুণ জীবনে ?
অমৃতের অধিকার বাড়িবে না আর ?”

“এ যদি না হয়, সখে, স্বরগের পথ,
চাহি না স্বরগ বাস ; এ যদি বন্ধন,
নাহি চাহি মোক্ষ আমি ; এ যদি গরল,
চাহি না অমৃতরাশি, না চাহি জীবন ।”

If this married life, a family, is not the true path to heaven, she does not want to be in heaven ; if this be a lie she does not care for salvation ; if this be poison, she would not taste the nectar.

We have done. Want of space and time does not allow us to wander any longer among the flowery field, that this expert garden-er, the new poet, has created for us. Our plain prose can give no idea of the magnificent aspirations, the glowing thoughts, the brilliant scintillations of genius, the innumerable gem-like passages of pathos, and the passionate rushes of language with which her collection is replete. We invite our reader to her pages and ask him to select according to his taste and liking. Let us however recapitulate what impressions she has made upon us : We associate her name with all that is beautiful, with all that is artistic, with all that

gives the highest conceptions of life and duty. She in company with Rabindra Nath Tagore has started in fact the transcendental movement in Bengali poetry. We admire her genius and art, are enamoured of her paintings and beautiful colours and we are elevated by her pure tastes and lofty ideal. In saying so we do not undervalue her predecessors in the same field. Michael Dutt rose to the highest flights of majesty, and his position in Bengali poetry is that of Milton. Navin Chandra's flowing verses may be luxuriant, but they are extravagant and his thoughts are artificial and frivolous. His position in Bengali poetry corresponds to that of Byron in English literature. Poet Hem Chandra's poems have the fire of patriotism like Scott's and the sarcastic vein of Burns; but he was alone in the field and continues to be so. His poetry did not stir up followers in literature. With all these authors Bengali poetry is rich in decorations and sceneries, in fictitious and operatic sentiments,—the authors are undoubtedly clever men, but they have drawn their ideas less from heart, than from head. Miss Sen does just the reverse. Her precursor is Rabindra Nath Tagore. It was Rabindra Nath Tagore who brought about the radical change to Bengali literature, and Miss Sen is trying to perfect it. Having had to fight with the difficulty of creating a taste for the change, Rabindra is often diffused and he works upon a subject threadbare, dwells upon every labyrinth of a thought and leaves nothing to the reader to think and ponder. Miss Sen takes the cue from him but condenses and pends up her ideas and sentiments. Rabindra Nath has again the tendency of using too much of art in his subject. Miss Sen throws out the artificial like canker in a flower. She finds her objects in commonplace things, in an invitation, in a social incident, or in a child, and when she picks up one, her genius gives it a quite psychological character. Her motto is, Life is Duty and Love. Duty is sweetened by the tenderness and affectionate ardour of her soul, and her love is sustained by noble aspirations. She has in fact brought philosophy and life to Bengali poetry; and in this consists the merit of her production, the secret of the revolution that she inaugurates. She brings the same element to Bengali Literature that Cowper and Burns introduced in English poetry and that Shelley and Keats impassioned. She is the child of the age in which she lives—the child of New India, of new life and aspirations of the country. But with the soul of a genius which goes beyond the age, she gives indication of a noble heart that will purify the coarse present, and of an intellect that will mould the future.

KEDAR NATH ROY, M.A., C.S.

PROBLEMS OF RELIGION.

It is a fashion with the religionists almost everywhere to cry down Science, or to refuse to it the hearty welcome it truly deserves. The St. Mivarts and Gladstones are ready to receive the clearly established truths of Evolution with modifications and restrictions, so that the new truths may not clash with their old and cherished beliefs. Truth triumphs in spite of the incoherent ravings and dissonant clamours of ignorance and prejudice, and science, therefore it gains ground every day. Finding it impossible, at this time of the day, to check the progress of science, or disown its due claims, attempts are being made by the so-called religionists, to reconcile science with the old systems of beliefs. Theological bias sets their ingenuity to work, but keeps them lamentably blind to the simple truths preached by the new gospel of Nature. Though the method of solving the problems of religion, in this gospel of sweetness and light, is extremely simple, it is a matter of wonder that the old and crude methods should still be resorted to. Our endeavour in this paper will be, 1st to show the utter ineffectiveness of some of the old methods for coming at the truths of religion; and 2nd, to draw attention to the important fact that *the only way to Light is to follow the track of Science*, shaking off all bias and prejudice.

It may be that we may err, but still we should keep ourselves persistently on the road chalked out by Science, as all other methods of inquiry (as we shall presently see) fail, and Revelation, Biblical or Vedic, proves to be but a collection of some fantastic hits at truth, clothed in language of authority and passing current in the name of pure truth. Sir Henry Roscoe, in his presidential address at the British Association (1887), referring to the charge, so often brought against Science, as to the uncertainty of the results of its inquiry, concludes with these words: "If God should hold in his right hand all truth, and in his left hand, the ever active desire to seek truth, though with the condition of perpetual error, I would humbly ask for the contents of the left hand,

saying, 'Father, give me this, pure truth is only for Thee!' " Truly so. No Rishi, no prophet, no Messiah can reveal to us pure truth. We shall try to show, that the light of Science, however faint, is real *Light* and not the *ignis fatuus* of Revelation or Metaphysics; and that if we follow its guidance we shall ever be on *terra firma* and never be led astray into any miry pool, though we may not actually reach the goal.

I

To our first point, I shall not be very wrong if I assert, that it was M. Comte who first in clear terms denounced metaphysics; and I believe, his censure is very proper. Metaphysics is wrong in its fundamental assumptions, and also in its results. Let us examine some of the fundamental points, upon the validity of which depends the validity of the conclusions.

The first point with which metaphysics starts is to ascertain the origin of knowledge. It is assumed by the metaphysicians of the most approved school,—the *a posteriori* school I mean—that our knowledge has its origin in sensations. J. Dewy, for establishing German Idealism, which, however, equally fallacious, has very ably exposed the unsoundness of this proposition. I cannot do better than to quote him in his own language:

"All our knowledge originates, from sensation. Very good. But what are these sensations? Are they the sensations we know: the classified related sensations—*this* smell or *this* colour? No, these are the results of knowledge. They too presuppose sensations as their origin. What about these original sensations? They existed before knowledge, and knowledge originated and was developed by their grouping themselves together. Now, waving the point that knowledge is precisely this grouping together, and that therefore to tell us, that it originated from grouping sensations, is a good deal like telling us that, knowledge originated knowledge, that experience is the result of experience. I must inquire again what these sensations are. And I see but this simple alternative, either they are known, are, from the first element, element in knowledge, and hence cannot be used to account for the origin of knowledge; or they are not, and, what is more to the point, they can never be. As soon as they are known, they cease to be pure sensations we are after, and become an element in experience, of knowledge. The conclusion of the matter is, that sensations which can be used to account for the origin of knowledge or experience, are sensations which cannot be known, are things in themselves which are not relative to consciousness." (Mind, vol. XI, No. 41.).

Strange conclusion, indeed! Our knowledge originated from some unknown something named sensations; and upon this shadowy nothing the structure of metaphysics is raised! Being rotten in the seed, metaphysics is rotten throughout. The metaphysicians of the *a priori* school fare no better. They too, to ascertain the origin of knowledge, advance the very same thing with only a slight modification in the form of the statement, which rather makes the case worse. Same innate first principles in the *mind*, they say, in conjunction with the materials furnished by our sensations, give rise to our knowledge. Let us see how far it bears examination. *Mind* cannot be considered to have any existence apart from sensations, which are states or conditions of consciousness. Therefore, to assume on the one hand a *mind*, with inborn forms of knowledge; and on the other, to predicate sensations to the mind as conditions of knowledge, is to argue fallaciously in a circle.

Another fundamental point of metaphysics, which is made much of, and which is credited with soundness enough, for its use in establishing or disestablishing the existence of God, as the schools vary, is the theory of Idealism. It is asserted in this theory, that the Ego or the self, has the recognition of nothing besides its own conscious states; that things, as they are in themselves, cannot be known; that we know the objects only so far as they conform themselves to our cognition; and that, thence it is the conclusion that the external world, as the object of consciousness, is nothing but our own mind, ejected outside, located in space. How far we are warranted in making *Ego* the starting point, we shall soon see; let us see here, whether the theory itself is of any worth.

Francis Ellingwood Abbot, who has attempted to controvert this theory of Idealism in his "Scientific Theism" has put this very pointed question, to which neither the *a priori* nor the *a posteriori* school has any reply. "Why should the series of sense phenomena or sensations or consciousness in general, be, what it is? Why should the senses and understanding conspire to give a coherent appearance of objective knowledge, when no objective knowledge is possible?" The only reply, he further points out, is Fichte's, *vis*; "That the apparent objects of knowledge are given by the subject to itself, according to some inscrutable law working subtly beneath consciousness itself." Certainly the reply is consistent with the common premises of Idealism; but is this the solution of the difficulty? What we found in the explanation of the origin of knowledge, is found here too. Sensations, being ques-

tioned close, become unknowable nonsense, and the cause of the coherent appearance of objective knowledge, we see now, *is an inscrutable law, beneath consciousness*, i.e., of which we are not conscious! Science, on the other hand, tells us that there is an objective world, independent of our consciousness, of which we know something, and will know more. Something has conformed to our consciousness, and that is the object of our definite and positive knowledge; while others, which have not, are still realities, and we believe in their existence. The former knowledge is quantitative and the latter qualitative, that being the only difference. Example. Sir W. Thomson weighs the Hydrogen-atom approximately in the fraction of a gramme, 109312 octillionth of a gramme. It is a calculation which passes the inner consciousness of an Idealist; but it is true, as the result of an accurate mathematical calculation. Thus we do believe in the existence of things not conforming to our consciousness. Moreover, before the evolution of any organism with consciousness, there was creation; and there is no gain-saying of this hard truth or geology. But the Idealists argue, that, as we know only that which we are conscious of, the existence of the pre-natal-consciousness-strata presupposes consciousness. This is partly silly, and partly a truism. True, that knowledge itself is a relation between the knowing and the known, and that nothing can be known except as it is known by the knowing faculties. But what is that? It shows nothing but this, that human knowledge is inadequate to conceive the whole universe, which is denied by none. But how comes this, that because we know by the knowing faculties, consciousness, therefore, is presupposed in the existence of things? A fruit that eats sweet, presupposes eating with relish for its existence. Does not our coming to knowledge of a certain thing at a certain point of time, rather prove that the thing existed before that time?

One more sample of the sanity of the metaphysicians. This I give from a quotation by Herbert Spencer. "To philosophise on Nature is to rethink the great thought of creation," is a principle of Oken in common with Hegel. On this principle Oken proceeds to account for the origin of creation: "The highest mathematical Idea, or the fundamental principle of all mathematics, is Zero. Zero is in itself nothing. Mathematics is based upon nothing; and *consequently* arises from nothing. Out of nothing, *therefore*, it is possible for something to arise; for mathematics consisting of propositions is something in relation to zero." I cannot resist the temptation of quoting along with it Spencer's very fine and witty remarks on it. Asserting first, that mathematics has its origin, not

in Zero, but in our knowledge of Identity, Spencer writes: "It is by such *consequently's*, and *therefore's*, that men philosophise, when they 'rethink the great thought of creation.' By dogmas, that pretend to be reasons, Nothing is made to generate Mathematics; and by clothing Mathematics with matter, we have the Universe. And here, indeed, we may see illustrated the distinctive peculiarity of the German method of procedure in these matters,—the bastard *a priori* method—as it may be termed."

These, I hope, will very well serve to show what rational explanation of the universe we may expect from the *metaphysicians*. As the metaphysicians start always from *Ego* and its activities, the results of their inquiry, however accurate, are always involved in darkness and error.

There is another class of thinkers, neither exclusively metaphysical nor exclusively scientific. We proceed now to examine the method of procedure of that school, in respect of the solution of the problems of religion. The stock argument of this school is what is called the Design argument. At the appearance of the Evolution theory, the validity of which is unquestionable, it has killed itself with its own hands; but from its ashes has arisen a phoenix, of course kin in blood, assuming the name of the Teleological argument, though certainly a long life of 500 years cannot be predicted for it as for the fabulous bird. The Teleological argument, differs only but slightly from the design argument; what are asserted in particular in the Design argument, are asserted, in general cases, in the Teleological argument. In the face of the theories of Natural Selection, Survival of the Fittest and Heredity, it is foolish to advance that a certain organism is destined for a certain environment and *vice-versa*; so, there is only a little shifting of the position—though on the very same line—in Teleology, in the assertion, that, "there was original fitness in things," by virtue of which there could be any definite development possible. But what does this argument mean? Any thing beyond this, that the world as it is, is as it could be? It will suffice to say, that the environment as a whole, is not favourable for every organism to grow and live; some grew but died a premature death (where no design is assignable); some lived longer, but died in the long run in the struggle for existence; only those that could survive, have survived. Is not, in the face of these facts, any pretension to a knowledge of the Design of God, ridiculous and blasphemous in the case of the religionists? One, without the attributes of God, cannot make out any design in any part of the creation whatever. Things are, as they are, and that is all. Spencer very truly remarks, that volumes

might be written to show the impiety of the pious. The method has already become old, but I make a passing mention of it only, in my way to the scientific method—the last and true way—to seek for any solution or approach to solution of the problems of religion.

Now, about Revelation. On close examination it is found (it is a twice told tale), that the books of revelation are nothing but myths. Christians, with considerable reason, point out the mythical character of the Hindoo revelation; so also the Hindoo of the Christian; but strange, that they are blind to the ~~laws~~ laws of their own articles of faith! What does this show, but a peculiar bias in regard to something which is one's own. Faith in revelation is fast dying out; we consider it, therefore, useless and unchivalrous to shoot down a dying enemy.

II

To the constructive side of the argument. As mind is known only by its actions, and as actions again depend wholly upon physical material movements, or are indissolubly connected with nerves, muscles, tendons and bones; and as we find the mind, in spite of all its dependence upon the body, to be something peculiarly other than the body itself, because of its "attention" and "unity of Idea," we cannot help calling it unknowable. Therefore, we will not start now, on any philosophical inquiry, with the subjective presupposition of the Ego and its contents; but with our positive knowledge of the objective relations of things. What was once attenuated into a "permanent possibility of sensations" is now regarded to be a very solid reality. Thus, the method of procedure as adopted in metaphysics, is wholly reversed here. We see clearly that, as far as simple existence is concerned, the world exists independent of human consciousness; for Geology teaches us that, the world had had its existence with its actions and changes, long long before the first germ of life, the minutest of protozoa was generated or organised, measureless æons of time had rolled away, before consciousness as a thing developed in animals. A vast eternity, passing our conception, is behind and before. Human existence may be swept away, organised life maybe extinguished, but as we have studied the laws of Nature, the "the great world" will "spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change." "The old order changeth," only, "giving their place to new." The laws of motion, no one could be so foolish as to say, will cease to act, when human spectators or consciousness in general will cease to witness them. What are we? Merely a part—a very minute and subordinate part—of the Universe. Our consciousness, intellect, moral faculty

—any thing you may name, have all been evolved, along with our organism, out of the materials of the universe.* We were not, and now we are ; that is, we have been created or evolved ; for we could not create ourselves. What we know of the world besides our own selves, is the external world or the objective something. We do not know all of this world, but it is knowable ; and our knowledge of it "grows from more to more" every day. Our knowledge, again, of this world, is nothing more or less than the perception of the relations of things. These relations of things are formulated in science, as scientific propositions and truths. Bearing these words in mind, let us proceed, and see, what a grand result we arrive at.

A law or a principle, a harmony or laws or a harmony of principles, has been working from eternity, and will work to eternity, organising and disorganising things. The *atoms* of the universe, do *they* work independently this way ? No ; for they are subjected to some laws, and are bound to act under some laws. Go on continually dividing an atom (Spencer's happy illustration) in your mind, for an atom will ever leave a factor to be divided mentally, you will come to an insignificant last point, unknown and unknowable ; but still you find a law, a principle, acting behind it. All our knowledge, we have said, is of relations of things ; and to know relations is to recognise laws. Push these laws a little further, apply with precision the scientific method of generalization, these laws will coalesce with each other, and will be reduced to a harmony, —will be transformed into one broad principle of the Universe ; for if there be no harmony in the action of the different laws, how can one machinery—this universe — be systematically worked ? Still more. We feel, we see, that we are neither this law, nor any part of it. This law, as working since eternity or the beginning (if any beginning is to be conceived), and as guiding the universe from point to point, is something which is not ourselves, the mover of ourselves, the creator of ourselves, for every thing owes its origin, change, dissolution and what not, to this principle—this law—this something. Mathew Arnold calls it " The eternal not ourselves," and none but Mathew Arnold, a critic and a poet, could give such a happy term to it. Suspecting that we may call this law God, it may be argued here, that laws as inferred from things, cannot have any existence, independent of or abstracted from things. True. We can form no idea of the laws, if they are not

* No special proof for this is necessary or called for, being the established truth of the science of the day.

laws, of things ; but if we call the laws, things ; or the things, laws, it becomes all a meaningless humbug ; for the things are to act under, and must be governed by the laws. Then, again, what holds good of ourselves in particular, holds good too, of the universe in general ; for, we are but a part of the universe. We have said above that we know that we did not or could not produce or create ourselves ; consequently the universe too, we must be led to think, has proceeded from something. Even Herbert Spencer, the champion of Agnosticism, showing all the theories of creation untenable, has admitted this thought unavoidable, that the universe must have proceeded from something ; but the how, the why and the when of it, he says, is beyond our conception. Thus then, the universe must have proceeded ; and since it has proceeded, it must have proceeded from something ; for, out of nothing, we cannot conceive anything to have come. But as it has proceeded, this very act of proceeding, because it is an act, is subjected to and governed by a law ; and the law in the beginning, must be, and is, the law throughout. The law, we cannot come to, truly, if not through things ; but that matters little. It is an unavoidable logical conclusion, and that is the point, that this law is the creator, the mover, the very life of the universe. Spencer says, that pushing matters further and further on, we come to one unknown and unknowable something, from which the universe has proceeded. But we see that, in any case, in any pushing off of matters, a law, giving harmony and progress to things, cannot be avoided. Moreover, as it is inferred from the known relations of things, of the universe we know something of *this law*. Thus, this first principle of the universe is not unknown and unknowable wholly, but is related to our consciousness partly. We come to a *law*, but *what is that law* ? We do not know, we cannot say, our very conception itself partly fails ; to personify it, we see Him, in *His* works in Nature, that is all. Call this mighty First Principle, God ; for verily it is our Creator. But I fear the Theists would object ; they would say that this law must have (1) *personality*, and (2) moral qualities, to be the proper God of admiration and worship. Let us see what this law has.

1st, *Personality* : it will be a mere repetition to say that the law of the universe, to which we have given the name God, has been working since the beginning, and will continue to work, to guide every action and every change of this universe, ever and ever. Every moment then, we are at the mercy of this law. If we do not appreciate this law, and appreciating, do not adjust our physical, intellectual and moral existence to the principles of

that law, we will be crushed down to death. Every moment, we therefore, owe our very existence, to our rightly appreciating that law; or, in the language of theology, we can live, if we make His will, our will. Lewes Morris sings:—

"Come joy or grief, come right or wrong,
In good or evil, Life or Death,
We are the creatures of his breath."

If 'personality' conveys any meaning, has not then God a personality? And have we not then an unavoidable intimate personal relation with God? To know Him, is to know the principle of life; if then, we are to live (as certainly we are to), eschewing evil as much as possible, our end should be to know Him, to make His will our will, in whom we live and move and have our being.

2ndly.—moral qualities:—Life," defines Herbert Spencer in his principles of Psychology, "is the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external things." The world, every one must admit, progresses with this continuous adjustment of internal relations to external things; and again, as we cannot conceive that there should be any end or annihilation of this world (though it may proceed through multifarious changes), we may most logically advance that this world is a *perfect organism*. It is an organism, because it is living according to the definition of life; and *perfect*, because it has never any annihilation. There is no denying of the fact that there is, in this world, "weariness, the fever and the fret, when men sit and hear each other groan;" and that here "beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes, or new love pine at them beyond tomorrow." But this does not shew that there is any thing wrong or rotten in the principle of the law of the world. Particular organisms may grow and die, or change shapes every moment, but the world, considered in its totality, grows and only grows, through all the changes, aye, even through dissolution. Man, particularly considered, has, it is true, his conventional advantages and disadvantages of life; but what are they in relation to the world as a whole? When the world is not a whit loser for that, but is ever advancing forward in its existence, how can there be any imperfection in the principle of the world, since imperfection ever brings about dissolution? Spencer rightly interprets the miseries and troubles of this world, to be incidental to progress. Thus then, the universe (and hence) the law of the universe, is perfect.

Another point along with it. To live, and to live honestly, are convertible terms; for, that, which is the principle of life, and

not of Death, is the perfect and right principle. We see then, two things together: Law of the world or God, is perfect; and we can live in His world if we are honest, *i.e.*, if we make His will our will. Some sort of living, we find it verified, tends to preserve us and Society; while another brings about death and dissolution. But as the world never dies, but lives only; it is under the guidance of a life-giving law; and life, we must remember, involves honesty. Why then should we be afraid of a big term, "Anthropomorphism" to pronounce that *the perfect, not ourselves, eternal principle of the universe, or creator of the universe*, (to use the happy expression of Matthew Arnold) *maketh for righteousness?* What other moral quality we should still be after, to stir our admiration and devotional feeling? The highest living for us, is, we see, to live honestly; that is, to allow ourselves to be led by the right principle of the world, which is uniform and unrelenting in its course. Higher and nobler than this, we know no preaching of any religion existing. These ideas, certainly in the main, prevail in many religions; but *Science* preaches it now, in terms perfectly quantitative.

Thus we see that *Science* reveals to us a God, eternal and perfect, creator of things, possessing a definite personality. To know Him and to act according to the laws dictated by Him, are the ends of our life; and to Him we are to humbly resign ourselves, saying, "Thy will be done on Earth, for we are mere creatures in Thy hands." Our sorrows and miseries, we do not know what they are; we know simply that it is the will of God that we should suffer, and moreover, in spite of our sufferings, the world will be led on and on to progress by Him; why and where, we do not know: sing we therefore, with Tennyson, in reverent faith:—

"One God, One Law, One Element,
And one far off Divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

BEJAY CHANDRA MAZUMDAR, B.A.

THE DURGA PUJA

Durga puja, the first of the Hindu festivals in the country, has just passed off with its usual eclat. It is celebrated with much pomp and solemnity and is full of rejoicings and merriments. Dear relations and friends gather from all parts of the country on this happy occasion and exchange of friendship and good feelings makes up for the gap of a twelve-month.

The festival was instituted by Suratha one of the Solar Kings of Oude (Ajudhya) who is said to have reigned in the antique period of the Satya Yuga. This festival is celebrated in the spring season and is therefore called the vernal festival (Basanta puja). That which takes place in autumn and hence called the autumnal festival (Sharodia puja) is more prevalent at the present time. It was instituted in imitation of the former by Rama of the same race of kings as Suratha so far back as the Treta Yuga. His object was to propitiate Durga, the tutelary Goddess of Ravana king of Ceylon (Lanka), who had seduced his beloved and devoted wife Sita, as without it he could not hope to cope with his powerful enemy. The end was secured, Rama vanquished his aggressor and recovered his consort. This forms the subject of one of the 7 parts of the immortal epic poems the Ramayana.

The different images represented for the occasion are chiefly Durga, Lakshmi and Saresvati (her friends), Kartik and Ganesa (her sons), and Asura a demon. To Durga are assigned 3 eyes and ten hands: the former indicating her knowledge of the present, past and future and the latter her might pervading all the 10 directions. They represent a war known as Devijuddha which is said to have taken place between the goddesses and the demons and to have resulted in the complete extermination of the latter. It is related that at that period the demons became very mischievous and oppressive and that the war was undertaken to deliver the country from their intolerable cruelties. The sacrifice of animals offered to the goddess simply represents the destruction of the demons. The festival lasts for 4 days, the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th days after the new-moon, and on the last day the images are drowned in water with considerable pomp.

This is a brief account of this grand festival as given in the Hindu Mythology. But to look into it in a philosophical spirit Durga evidently represents God in all his wisdom and power, and Asura the brute passions of man. Hence the war in reality indicates the struggle which constantly rages in the breast of man between his divine and animal propensities. At the same time it conveys the deep moral of the ultimate triumph of virtue over vice. The Arjyas of that period in their fertility of imagination bodied forth these ideas and the different powers which are brought into play in this struggle, attired in the most striking garb.

The Arjyas of old yielded to no nation on the face of the earth in their religious propensities. Irrespective of their prayers and meditations at stated hours of the day they did nothing, however little it might be, without offering their tribute of thanks to Him Whom they owed their life and well-being. But at the same time they were extremely imaginative in their nature ready to assign to objects such affinities as do not actually exist. The object of the festival was no doubt of a purely religious character, though in course of time it has been for the most part degraded to mere sensualities. To the superficial observer of the present day it might indeed appear no better than a child's play, yet it is full of significance in the eyes of the true thinker. Human nature, however, exalted it may be by culture, must still remain full of frailties and imperfections. Entirely to dispense with all external symbols in the contemplation of the Invisible though it may not be impossible must be admitted to be extremely difficult. Should this fact be held to apply to the cultured few with how much greater force must it hold good in respect of the mass slumbering in the gloom of ignorance. These are content to worship the Deity through the medium of external objects and it would be absurd to require them to do away with it and to adore Him by abstract meditation. The knowledge of the mysteries of life it is not advisable to impart until the moral part of the nature is developed sufficiently to keep the animal part under control. This it strikes me is the essence of the marvellous parable that the tree of knowledge was forbidden to our first parents and that their disobedience "brought death into the world and all our wocs."

Abstract contemplation of God or theism as it is popularly called cannot probably be the universal religion of the world. Observe mankind from one end of the world to the other and you will find that at the early stage of the society no nations of any age or clime have

been able to go up to the Most High without some extraneous aid of one kind or another. In the Purans God is described as invisible, infinite and devoid of all form and form is attributed to Him simply as a relief to those who are incapable of comprehending Him as an abstract idea. For the mass of the people therefore superstition is a help instead of a hindrance to religion. Lord Bacon seems not to have been quite correct when he said that atheism is better than superstition. The atheist denies the very existence of the Godhead, while the superstitious man simply in his ignorance assigns to Him forms and attributes which do not properly appertain to His Divine nature. The one is a vain desperado full of conceits and misconceptions, whereas the other is an ignorant bigot, yet full of meekness and dependance.

KRISHNA KUMAR SEN.

AFTER ISANLULA: A MEMORY.

O hero-sons of that proud race
Whose virtues still, from age to age,
Throughout our glorious history's page,
Shine forth with such excelling grace :

2.

Responsive to stern duty's call
Ye answered true : and proved then
Before the eyes of wondering men
How noble could be e'en your fall.

3.

Surrounded by the savage tide
Of numbers countless as the sand,
Round the old flag you took your stand,
And battling bravely, bravely died

E. H. S.

REVIEWS.

THE STANDARD LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY—ANNUAL REPORT for 1890.

The prominence into which life Assurance Companies have come is illustrated by the number of companies that are now in the field, the tempting inducements offered by them, their vast outlay in advertisement, and keen competition between the rivals. With commendable exertions they are endeavouring to adapt themselves to all classes of men, and to bring the benefits they offer within the reach of all. Only the other day we happened to glance upon a discussion as to the possibility of assuring lives without previous medical examination. We are not aware of results of this discussion, and whether any Assurance or Insurance companies have ventured to break through the long-established practice. But the reference is only to show what efforts are being made to induce men to insure their lives.

The old Insurance Companies merely promised the payment of a certain sum on the death of the person whose life had been insured. The present practice of promising payment either at death or at a certain age is of recent date. You pay a certain amount monthly, quarter, half-yearly, or yearly, and at a prescribed age (55 with the company under notice) the amount assured for is handed over to you. If you should happen to die before reaching this age, the amount is paid to the person or persons you have authorized to receive it. Thus you are provided for in your old age with a comfortable *bonus*, or your relatives are relieved from absolute want. These are the benefits of Life Assurance.

The standard Life Assurance Company have during their 64th year—the year under review—issued 2,671 policies out of 3,048 proposals for Assurance. Of these 2,671 (representing a sum of £1,379,002), 838 are Endowment assurances, that is, the policies are payable at a certain fixed age, or at death, if earlier. This represents an increased proportion as regards the whole business, and we can scarcely doubt that the proportion will rise year by

year, as the double advantage apparently balances the slight increase in the rates payable monthly.

The success that has attended the Standard Life Assurance Company during the past year may be judged by the following facts.

The new sums assured exceed the average annual amount, and have only once been exceeded; the average amount assured under each policy is £6 in advance of last year's; the number of claims paid is fewer by 38, and the amount less by £132,767; the accumulated funds have increased by £353,643, and have now reached the sum of £7,343,956; and the annual revenue has increased by £45,000.

These figures are striking, and become all the more so when we consider how many rival companies exist, and what fierce competition prevails. That the number of claims paid is less, in spite of an increased and increasing claim roll, shows how careful the company's agents are in selecting lives for assurance. We notice that during the past year they declined 377 lives from those offered; and this care is a guarantee that the affairs of the company are in good and safe hands. The company, however, are not satisfied that the idea of life Assurance, especially in the Endowment or Investment branch, has been sufficiently grasped by the people; it "has not yet taken that firm hold of the public mind that it ought to do, and that it has already done in some parts of the United States of America." We wish them every success in extending this idea, and have much pleasure in giving whatever publicity we can to a company that is not only old and well-established and of vast wealth, but whose influence reaches from Canada and Mexico to South Africa, the East Indies, and the borders of the Empire at Shanghai.

Milton's Lycidas and Sonnets, edited with Biographical sketch, Introduction, Notes, Criticisms, &c, by B. N. Dey. Calcutta, 1890.

This little book is better printed than most others of its kind, and the general "get-up" is very creditable. The price is within the reach of every student, and no student will grumble that he has received less than his money's worth. The Biographical sketch and the Introduction are slight, and the criticisms are limited to the comments of Dr. Johnson, Mr. Stopford Brooke, and Sir Egerton Brydges. Surely there are commentators and critics of higher standing, and of more practical service. The same remark

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A BENGALI STUDENT ON ENGLISH SOCIETY.

The following extract from a letter addressed to his father by a Bengali student at the Edinburgh University is interesting less for the originality of the writer's views than for the light it throws on the working of a youthful mind when brought into close contact with European civilization. It should be laid to heart by the rising generation of Indians; who are too apt to mistake a disrespectful attitude towards constituted authority for a sturdy independence of character. "I have long been thinking," the lad writes "of giving you a detailed account of what I have seen and heard in this country since my arrival, but I have hitherto failed to do so. It has always puzzled me what to write and what not to write. To-day I am going to give you three conclusions which I have drawn as to the peculiarities of this country as contrasted with our own. We all know that England is a civilized country: but have we ever asked ourselves that most important question:—In what does her civilization consist? What are the chief characteristics of the English people which mark them out as civilized? No one questions their outward prosperity. Their wealth is an established fact. The poorer classes among them may compare with those who think that they are living in pomp and splendour in India. Where there is extreme wretchedness here the fact can be easily accounted for. The cause is no other than drunkenness. A man with health and strength can readily earn

ten rupees a week. The wages of labourers in England cannot be compared with ours. The amount which a street sweeper gains is more than thousand of *bhodralok* exist on. Go to the house of a man who lives by the labour of his hands, and you will find that it contains many comforts and some luxuries. On Sundays, you will find it difficult to distinguish between a gentleman and a porter by their dress. The two sit side by side in church. One cannot fail to observe that amongst the causes of English prosperity free labour is the most prominent. The proverb runs here that there is no dishonour in honest labour. With us a true Brahmin would imagine himself dishonoured by working as a shoe-maker or street porter. He would die rather than adopt such trades. Here, the butcher's son ascends the pulpit and preaches before gentlemen and ladies. The children of the upper classes, too, select such avocations as suit their taste and capacity. No hereditary profession or rigid caste distinctions are tolerated. Honest labour is regarded as honourable. But the civilization of England does not consist merely in the prosperity of the country. There are deeper elements at work. We all know that a characteristic of people only partially civilized is an absence of rule as moulding character and governing action. The savage man acts in accordance with his impulses, what are called his whims. He acknowledges no law as controlling him. The advent of civilization brings with it law and order. The former savage is no longer wild, but regulates his acts by fixed rules of conduct. The English nation is civilized because, in the first place, it is governed both in its individual and national life by a definite code of laws, written and unwritten. I have not yet met a single individual here who has no idea to-day what he will do to-morrow. Men and women alike revolve round a wheel of regular duty; their work is not at random, or by fits and starts, but steady and methodical. The second characteristic which may be noted is an extreme independence of character: but it is manifested by a high respect for others who deserve respect. A man is conscious of his own dignity: and that consciousness makes him tenderly regardful of his neighbour's self-respect. The great courtesy of the English people in nearly every class must strike every Indian who sets foot in the country. In personal conversation, in social gatherings, shops, offices—wherever I go I am deeply impressed with the manners of the people. They take delight in showing politeness to others. How strange is the contrast with us! When we have recourse to offices and indeed to many shops, we know too well what sort of behaviour to expect from men in authority.

They delight in assuming airs of superiority. Lacking as they are in self-respect, they do not know how to respect others who seek their aid. Now if you go to any place of business in Edinburgh you will find people laying aside their work to run after you and render you service. If you lose your way and ask it of a by-passer or a policeman, what reply do you receive? Not a stupid stare, or brutal taunt: but courteous advice. I have had men accompany me through several streets to show me the proper direction. People feel themselves dignified in assisting others. The characteristics not confined to any individuals or classes. It runs through the national life. It is further exemplified in the relations that prevail between master and servant. I have sometimes found difficulty in distinguishing between the two. A servant holds himself bound to perform certain definite duties punctually and faithfully for his master in consideration of the payment of definite wages. The relations between master and servant are business ones, based on contract. Such a thing as personal ill-treatment is unknown. A master is as responsible to law and public opinion for his conduct towards his servant as he is in the case of any other man. He must return thanks for every piece of service rendered. He must preface all demands by the little word "please." From this you may infer that respect for the independence of man has become habitual and constitutional in English Society. The third characteristic is a reverence for women. A man who is drunk and reeling in the street will instinctively shrink back before a lady. Girls either alone or in batches move about freely in public with uncovered faces; and do not fear the slightest insult. Half of those employed in the shops are women. That Indians have no proper feeling of respect for women is a deep-rooted belief in England: I hear it again and again said that our females are imprisoned, repressed and systematically ill-treated. I was lately struck dumb at hearing from a quite common man an exaggerated description of the sufferings of our widows and the horrors of suttee! The notion is ingrained in the people's minds, and it does an infinite amount of harm. One of our professors, in the course of a lecture the other day, while speaking of the honour we should pay to women, selected India as an instance of a country in which the other sex were treated with scant respect. Before you talk of being politically free yourselves, they say, emancipate your women."

F. H. S,

MUHAMMADAN PIRS.

The word Pir means an old man or a holy man. Pirs are prominent persons, who have acted an important part in the economy of the religion of Muhammad. Their persons are considered sacred—their lives holy, and they are often credited with extraordinary powers of the mind. They are believed to have the power of healing the sick, removing barrenness from women, and working many other wonders. They are among Muhammadans what the Saints are among Catholic Christians.

The Sepulchres of the Pirs, or Durgahs, as they are called are looked upon as places of great sanctity. Multitudes of persons resort to them—some expecting to be healed of the maladies they suffer from, some to obtain the objects of their desire, and others to attain a holy life. Attached to these Sepulchres are persons whose duty it is to keep a lamp or lamps constantly burning, at the tomb of the Saint. Many of these Durgahs have lands called Piran assigned to them for their maintenance and for keeping them in good order. The incomes from these sources are not inconsiderable, and spent generally in feeding the poor and in other charitable purposes. The lands were allotted to them by the Muhammadan Emperors and Governors, and they have not been resumed in most cases by the English Rulers of India.

The number of the Muhammadan Pirs is by no means small. To write even short notices of them all would require greater leisure and wider research than I can at present afford to devote to the subject. I have, therefore, selected a few only of the most prominent Pirs, whose lives form the subject-matter of the present paper.

MUIN-UDDIN CHISHTI.—This is one of the most noted Pirs in Muhammadan India. His name is venerated not only by Muhammadans but also by Hindoos. His Sepulchre at Ajmir is a place of great sanctity. Both Muhammadans and Hindoos flock thither every year to offer oblations. There are fanatics who go even so far as to carry a stone or a brick from his tomb and place it in their

own houses, which in turn become places of pilgrimage. Both Madhaji and Daulat Rao Scindia, rigid Hindoos though they were, made rich presents to this tomb, as well as to the Pirzada or priests attached to it.

“Khaja Muin-uddin Chishti was the son of Gaiyas-uddin Chishti of the race of Husain, and consequently was a Saiyid (syed). He was born in Sejestan in 537 H. (1142-43 A. D.). He was only 17 years old when he had the misfortune to lose his father. The spiritualist Ibrahim Canduzi took pity on him and impressed on his mind the importance and superiority of the spiritual doctrine and thus made him seek for the way of contemplation. He did not delay to plunge himself into the most ardent devotion and most severe practices of austerity. When 20 years old, he derived some religious benefits from his intercourse with Shaikh Abdul-Kadir Guilani. Afterwards when Sultan Shahab-uddin Gouri conquered India and came to Delhi, he resolved to pass his days in retirement, and for this purpose repaired to Ajmeer, where a great many persons obtained their religious end by following his instructions. He died in 636 H. (1239) after having lived 96 years. His tomb is still to be seen on the bank of the Jahlara, in the city of Ajmeer.”

Almost all the Emperors who reigned in Delhi, after the death of this Saint, visited his Durgah and offered oblations to it. It is said that Akbar, that great and good Emperor of India, went several times on foot from Agra to Ajmeer, in order to visit this tomb. In the Memoirs of Jahangir, that Emperor thus writes about his father's visit to Ajmeer:—

“Until my father attained the age of 28 years, all his children lived only one astronomical hour after their birth, and this circumstance was a subject of profound affliction to him. He offered to the throne of the Almighty numerous and incessant supplications in order to obtain the object of his wishes—an heir. While he languished in that state of anxiety, one of his Amirs, who had unbounded respect for Durvishes, and confidence in their influence, one day said to him that at Ajmeer, near the tomb of the venerable Muin-uddin, there lived a Pir,—distinguished alike for the purity of his life and refinement of manners—who has no equal not only in Hindustan but in the whole world. In the heat of his zeal and hope, my father declared that if Providence gave him a Son who should survive him, he would walk all the way from his capital, Agra to Ajmeer,—a distance of about 200 miles, to carry his vows and offerings to the tomb of the holy Saint. As the resolution of my father proceeded from a sincere heart, precisely 6 months after

the death of the last of my brothers, the Most High made the humble author of these memoirs enter on the scene of existence on Friday of Rabi (premier) of 978 H. (18th August 1570).,

"Faithful to his engagements, my father—whose abode is now in the heavenly mansions—accompanied by some of the most noble Amirs of his court, set out from Agra, and, travelling on foot 5 *kos* a day, he presented himself, on his arrival at Ajmeer, before the tomb, which contained the remains of Muin-uddin. When he had performed his devotions, he sat down on the ground and thought to go and find out the Durvish, to whose piety and merits he was indebted for having obtained the object of his ardent supplications. The pious recluse was named Shaikh Salim, and my father entering his abode placed me on his arms, supplicating him to pray to God for the preservation of his dear infant. 'As you have placed this infant on my arms,' said the Durvish, 'I name him Muhammad Salim.' 'My father, accepting these tokens of interest on the part of the Durvish, as happy auguries very favourable to his hopes, returned to his capital, whence he continued to keep up for 40 years a correspondence and very intimate relations with this holy Pir."

The members or Fakirs of the order or *punth*, at the head of which is placed Muin-uddin, are called Chishtiyah. They are chiefly found in Afghanistan and the Panjab. Salim Chishti belonged to this order as well as several other persons renowned for their sanctity, as Saiyid (syed) Shah Zuhur.

Following the example of Akbar, Hyder Ali, the renowned Sovereign of Mysore, called his second son 'Tippu' after the name of a venerable Pir in the Carnatic, for whom he had very great respect.

CUTB-UDDIN. This personage is one of the most celebrated of the Muhammadan Pirs in India. He gave his name to the famous monument near Delhi, which is known by the name of *Cutb minar* or the minaret of Cutb, this superb and majestic edifice, the theme of several Indian poets, is sinking they say more and more every year. Near the shrine of Cutb are several beautiful houses forming a square with a well in the middle. These houses belonged to the last Sultan and the princes of the royal family, who came sometimes to visit the tomb of the Saint for devotion. Shah Alum and several members of the family of Timur lie buried in the town of Cutb. The Emperor Akbar II built there a mausoleum for himself and his wife. "Khadja Cutb-uddin Bakhtiar Kaki, son of Khadja Kamal-ud-din Musa, was born in Fargana. God deigned to draw him to himself

from his tender youth. The prophet Khizr appeared to him in a vision and imbued his soul with the celestial light. At the age of twelve, he saw in a vision Khadja Muin-uddin Chishti, whom he regarded from that time as his spiritual guide, and, having wished to enjoy his society, he set out to join him. Arrived at Bagdad, he found there several holy persons, from whose society and conversation he derived great spiritual benefits. He then came to Multan, where he united himself in love with Baha-uddin Zakariya, and, learning that Muin-uddin resided in the dominion of Sultan Shams-uddin Altamash, he repaired to Delhi. Muin-uddin, on his side being warned by a divine inspiration, came also to that city. There the two elected of God, who were already attached by some spiritual ties, met and interchanged their thoughts. They did not, however, remain long in the same place. Muin-uddin retired to Ajmeer, and Cutb to Delhi, where a large number of persons received by his means an abundance of divine grace. It was there that on the 14th Rabi (premier) 630 H. (29th December 1232), he quitted this perishable world to go to enjoy the joys of eternity. His tomb lies about 2 miles from the city of Delhi."

The tomb of Cutb-uddin is often frequented by numerous pilgrims. The following description, given by the Hindustani poet Faiz, shows the sort of people who go on such a pilgrimage.

"I passed a day near the tomb of Cutb-uddin. I saw there a lively trades-woman pretty as a dancing girl and beautiful as a fairy. She sold *bang*, beer and wine, but at the same time she scanned minutely what passed in the mind of her customers. There was there a wonderful gathering of people. The guitar and the violin resounded from every side; everywhere the intoxicating liquors were sold. Some crippled persons stood erect as wax candles. Several persons and some slaves, whose ears carried the rings of servitude, conversed together; while others worse for the wine gave blows and kicks to one another and were even ready to draw the sword. The beautiful tradeswoman, who had attracted my attention, wished to fly from this scene of confusion; but before she could do so, she was inhumanly hacked to pieces. The full moon of her beauty which was at its apogee, went to vanish in the perigee of death * * * *. Every body was astounded by this fatal event, which happened towards the evening. Some were duped by curiosity; but several infamous villains perished.

O Faiz, fly from such despicable persons, remain day and night in the company of the good."

SHAIKH BAHU-UDDIN ZAKARIYA, son of Shaikh Cutb-uddin Muhammad, was born at Kotkaror, a town in the district of Mul-

tan, in 565 H (1169-70). While yet an infant, his father died. He, however, continued to occupy himself with the study of the spiritual science and soon became an adept in it. Wishing to see the world, he travelled through Iran (Persia) and Turan (Turkey) and came to Bagdad, where he became a disciple of Shaikh Ghahib-uddin Surawardi. He remained sometime in Bagdad, where he succeeded his teacher in his spiritual dignity. Leaving Bagdad, he came to Multan, where he took up his abode, and where several persons received spiritual favors by his instructions. It is said that a close friendship subsisted between him and Shaikh Farid-uddin Shakarganj, with whom he lived several years in Multan. A Pir from Turan brought a sealed letter to his address and gave it to his son, who delivered it to his father. Zakariya opened the missive, and, while reading it, he gave up his ghost to his Creator. Whereupon a loud cry was raised in the house and they said 'the soul is united to the soul.'

Several miracles are related as performed by this saint, which it is needless to record here. He was buried in Multan, where his tomb forms one of the places of pilgrimage. Shaikh Sadr-uddin, his son, succeeded him in his spiritual dignity. He made like his father a great number of disciples, several of whom were distinguished for their piety and virtue. He left this world in 909 H (1309), and was succeeded by his son Shaikh Rukn-uddin, who walked in the footsteps of his father and grand father and who after his death was buried in Multan.

SARWAR.—Sultan Sarwar, son of Saiyed (syed). Zainulabadin, was brought up from his tender age in piety and abstinence. In his youth, he acquired great purity of heart. Having been obliged to fight against the army of the idolators, he fell as a martyr with his brother in battle. His wife died of chagrin and his son followed his parents in the tomb, so that they were all buried in the same sepulchre, which is called 'The tomb of the Martyrs.'

A story is related of this Pir, which deserves mention here. A merchant returned from Candahar to Multan, and when he came near the tomb of Sarwar, his camel broke its leg. Much embarrassed as to how to transport the burden of the animal, he addressed his prayers to God on the tomb of this Saint, and soon the animal's leg was healed. The grateful merchant made an oblation, and having reloaded his camel, proceeded on his journey. The news of this event spread far and wide, in consequence of which the tomb of Sarwar became a place of pilgrimage. It is said that among others a blind man, a leper and an infirm person, who visited his tomb, were cured of their infirmities by the grace of

God. These miraculous cures increased the popular faith in Sarwar, so that, at the beginning of every winter, thousands of people come from distant parts to place their offerings on the tomb of Sarwar. Four miles from Sealkote, in the Province of Lahore is a place called Dhonakal, which is consecrated to Sarwar. Every year, men and women come in great numbers from different parts of India to place their oblations there.

Sarwar gave his name to an order of Fakirs, who call themselves Sarwariyah or Jalâli, probably from the first word of his honorific surname.

ABDUL KADIR.—This holy person was born at Jil near Bagdad in 471 H (1078-79). He received the mantle of religious initiation from the hands of Shaik Abu Saiyid. He was endowed with great virtues and the gift of performing miracles. A large number of persons, full of faith in him, became his followers and thousands of individuals were by his agency instructed in the esoteric doctrine of the Muhammadan religion. Even at the present day his sanctity is admitted and his name held in great veneration. The name of Shaikh was given to him for his great knowledge and virtues. He was a Saiyid of the race of Husain. He lived 90 years and died in 571 H (1175-76).

Abdul Kadir is the author of several works on mysticism. He is venerated throughout *Islamdom*. He is much respected in Algeria, where the famous Abdul Kadir, who defied the power of France for a long time, was named after him. In that country there was a cenotaph of this Saint, which is now demolished. His veritable tomb is to be seen in the centre of Bagdad.

G. C. MAJUMDAR

THE PEERLESS PANNA.

Rajasthan is a veritable land of wonders. Its brave people have performed prodigies of valor in defence of their country. There has been only one Leonidas in all Greece, but every Rajpoot city can boast of dozens of patriot heroes. Tod very justly observes "there is not a petty state in Rajasthan that has not had its Thermopylæ and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas." But it is not only in the matter of love of country that the Rajpoots stand so very conspicuous, their devoted attachment to their king also is of a sacred character. The Rajpoot looks to his chief as to a divinity and is enjoined by his religion to show him the greatest reverence. To borrow the common language of Hindu poets, the Rajpoot king shines among his subjects as Indra among the Devas. As a consequence of that enthusiastic devotion, the Rajpoot clings to his sovereign in all circumstances, and it is only in extreme cases that he stands against him or contributes to his fall. This unflinching fidelity is not confined to the person of the king, it extends to the children of his loins; and it is not only the men but also the women that vie with each other in this respect. A very brilliant instance of the latter kind is furnished by the incomparable Panna, a Rajpootnee of the Kheechee tribe.

It was the year 1533 A.D. Vicramajit was on the throne of Mewar. He was certainly not a worthy son of the great Sanga. By his insolent and arbitrary conduct he had become simply unbearable to his proud nobles who in sheer disgust showed signs of disobedience. Bahadur, Sultan of Malwa, with the view of taking advantage of this state of affairs in Mewar, marched against the Rana who was then encamped at a place in the Boondi territory. The latter advanced to give battle, but not being supported by his kinsmen and vassals, was obliged to fall back. The invader then hastened to Cheetore and laid siege to it. The city fell, but not till after the garrison had fought tooth and nail for it. In the fort was the infant Uday Sing. But he was saved and taken to a secure retreat.

It is true Cheetore fell into the hands of the victorious Sultan; but it fell only to be restored to its rightful sovereign. This was done by the chivalrous Emperor Humayun who was the *Rakhi-*

band-Bhai, the bracelet-bound brother, of the princess Karnabati; and who had pledged to protect her child Uday Sing. The Emperor abandoning his conquests in Bengal came to Rajpootana, expelled the foe from Chectore and restored Vicramajit to his ancestral throne.

It soon appeared, however, that the impetuous Rana had not profitted by sad experience. He resumed his old insolent course of offending the nobles, and even went to the length of striking in open court the good old Pramara, Karimchand, who had been of much service to his father in his misfortunes. This last act, outrageous as it was, exasperated the haughty aristocracy who in a body rose against him, and inducing Bunbeer, the natural son of the heroic Prithwi Raj to accept the throne, removed from it its unworthy occupant. The interval between the dethronement and death of a king is unfortunately very short, and the same sun that witnessed the coronation of Bunbeer also witnessed the assassination of Vicramajit.

Royalty is oftentimes a silencer of conscience. At least, it proved so in the case of the bastard Bunbeer. A little after he was crowned, the monstrous Rana formed the dark design of removing with his own hands the only obstacle to his ambition, and anxiously awaited the approach of night to put his purpose into execution. But the cries of the females in the *Razala* for the murdered Rana, like the cackling of the sacred geese in the capitol, served to save the last remnant of the house of Sanga from the fell hand of the royal ruffian. Uday was then an infant of about six years of age, and was under the care of his nurse. He had taken his usual rice and milk and had gone to sleep. The sudden screams from the female apartment took the nurse by surprise who became naturally anxious to know the cause. Just at this time the barber cook came in to take away the remains of the meal and informed her of the sad occurrence which had disturbed the peace of the royal household. Fully aware that one murder was the forerunner of another, the good nurse put the sleeping infant into a fruit-basket, and covering it with leaves, entrusted it to the barber, enjoining him to escape with it from the fort. This done, she took up her own infant and placed him in the bed of the prince, when Bunbeer, coming in with a sharp sabre in his hand, enquired for him. The horror of the moment tied her tongue, and she gave a dumb reply by pointing to the cradle. No sooner she made the sign than the deadly steel was buried in the tender body of her babe. A few short groans and life was extinct. The little victim to fidelity was burnt amidst the tears of the late Ranas'

household, who supposed that their grief was given for the last pledge of the great Sanga. The bereft mother having consecrated with her tears the ashes of her much-loved child hastened after that which she had preserved.

The faithful barber had done his duty with the care and sagacity natural to his class. He had left the palace without suspicion and was waiting for the nurse in the bed of the Beris river, some miles west of Cheetore. But the act of fidelity was only half done, it remained to lodge the royal infant in a place of safety. The good nurse successively tried at Deola and Dongarpur; and though both the chiefs were desirous of the honor of affording shelter to their prince, they considered that their citadel was too feeble for such a precious, and not the less dangerous, charge. This disappointment, instead of damping the energy of the nurse, only strengthened her zeal; and pursuing a circuitous route by the help and with the protection of the Bhils, she at length arrived at Komulmer which was then governed by a Jain of the merchant class. Assa Sah, for that was his name, granted her an interview at which she placed the infant in his lap, and bade him "guard the life of his sovereign." The governor, fully sensible of the danger that attended such a course, hesitated, but the ready reprimand of his mother who was luckily present on the occasion, served to remove his scruples. "Fidelity" said the old good matron, "never looks at dangers or difficulties. He is your master, the son of Sanga, and by God's blessing the result will be glorious." Assa Sah took charge of the regal scion, and the good nurse retired, lest the fact of a Rajpoot woman nursing the child of a Jain layman gave a clue to the discovery of Uday Sing. This gem of a nurse who has acquired undying fame by her wonderful fidelity bore the well-deserved name of Panna.

SHUMBHOO, C. DEY.

*OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.*ASOKA.¹

THE great Aryan kingdoms of old in India were Hastinapur, Mathura, Panchala or Kanyakubja, Kashi, Koshala (Oudh), and Videha (Mithila) in North Behar, all which principally formed the Aryaverta of Manu, and was his Brahmarishidesa, or the sacred land of the Brahmans. Next flourished the kingdom of Magadha, or South Behar, the earliest mention of which exists in the Atharvan Veda, when it was an alien land out of the Aryan Pale. Our two great epics record the deeds of the Solar and Lunar Princes. The chronicles of the Magadha kings, in particular of the Maurya dynasty, rest largely on a historical basis. Many facts relating to them are confirmed by foreign testimony. The great fame of Magadha is due to its being the cradle of Buddhism, where the founder of that religion obtained his Budhahood. It is noted next for its having been a powerful Sudra monarchy, the kings of which brought the whole of North India "under one umbrella." The initiative of Sudra rule—a triumph of Buddha's anti-caste preaching—was taken by Chandragupta, the Sandracottas of the Greeks, in whose capital of Pataliputra—Greek Palibothra, Megasthenes lived as an ambassador from Seleucus Nikator. But the greatest of all Magadha kings was Asoka, the subject of the following sketch. Execrating his memory, the Pauranic authors have ignored him in their records. But his history is largely preserved in the *Mahavansa* of Ceylon, and other Palī works. The *Diviyh-avadana* and *Asoka-avadana*, two books of the Nepal Buddhists, furnish us with many particulars of his life. They form the source from which the great French scholar Burnouf has drawn the materials of his *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indian*. The German Professor Lassen has compiled an account of Asoka in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*. In English, there is an interesting summary by Sir Erskine Perry, a judge of the Bombay Court,—and an elaborate manual by Hardy. Much valuable information is derived from the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang.

The great Indian monarch Asoka was otherwise called Pyadasi. In the *Mahavansa*, he is styled Dharmasoka. Doubts

once rested on the identity of Asoka and Pyadasi. Dr. Wilson denied that they were the same person. Major Kittoe also held the same opinion. But the term *Pyadasi* is an appellative meaning "the benevolent," or "pleasant looking," which, says the *Dipwansa*, the oldest Pali historical work, was applied to Asoka. The question of their identity is now a settled matter.

Under the early kings, the capital of Magadha was Rajagriha, near Gaya. It was so in Buddha's time. But his contemporary Raja Bimbisara, had commenced laying the foundation of Pataliputra. In the reign of Ajata Satru, his ministers Sunitha and Vasyankasa, fortified this city against the Vriggi, whose capital, Vaisali, on the other side of the Ganges, that prince had a great mind to attack. This stronghold rose a short time before Buddha's death. By the time of Chandragupta, the seat of government had been transferred from Rajagriha to Pataliputra, when, as described by Megasthenes, it was "8 miles long and one and a half mile broad, defended by a deep ditch and a high rampart, with 570 towers and 64 gates." Asoka was born in Pataliputra. But the year of his birth is unknown.

His grandfather Chandragupta ruled over an extensive empire up to the Indus, where the Macedonian garrisons had been ceded to him by Seleucus; and had made the Prachii (Greek Prasii) the most distinguished people of all the Indians in their day. His father Vindusara likewise made several conquests. His mother Subhadraangi, was the daughter of a Brahman of Champapuri, the capital of ancient Anga, whose story has the touch of a romance. Of rare beauty, and foretold to be the queen of a great king and the mother of a universal monarch, Subhadraangi was brought and presented to Raja Vindusara by her father. The princesses received her with jealousy, and allotted to her the duties of a female barber. Lying thus neglected, like Nur Jehan in the haram of Jehangir, she one day acquitted herself in her duty so much to the satisfaction of the king, that he offered to grant her any favour she might ask. On being taken aback by her request to share the royal bed, he was reminded of the circumstances under which she had become an inmate of his zenana. He then married her, and made her his chief Rani. She bore him two sons, the first of whom was named Asoka, or he who set his mother's heart at ease.

Far from inheriting any portion of his mother's beauty, Asoka had an uncomely appearance. In addition to it, he had an unruly and violent temper which made him called by the opprobrious name of Chanda. He was placed under the instruction of an astrologer named Pinglavatsa, who predicted his future great-

ness. It is stated in the Mahavansa, that unable to control the turbulent prince, his father sent him into honourable banishment by appointing him viceroy of Malwa. From Ugein he was deputed to Takshasila, or Taxila, near the Indus, where his energy suppressed an insurrection of the people. He had an elder step-brother called Susima, who created disturbances that made him go into exile, and recalled Asoka to the seat of the empire. Shortly after his return home, his father fell ill and died. Susima had the first claim to succession. But taking advantage of his absence in far off Taxila, and of the powers of regency with which he was vested during his father's illness, Asoka secured to himself the possession of the throne in 263 B. C. Susima returned to enforce his claim, but meeting with opposition laid siege to the capital. Asoka defended himself with success, and overcame his brother through the exertions of his able minister Radha Gupta. He followed his triumph by measures of safety involving a liberal use of the sword. His ministers scrupling to carry out his orders, he himself "lopped off the heads of all the trees in the royal garden, with their fruits and flowers." Not a kindred was left alive to cause him disturbance in the future. The sanguinary step resembled the proceedings in the history of Indo-Mogul succession.

Left undisputed master, Asoka engaged himself like his predecessors in conquering expeditions. He is one of those Maharaj-Chakravarti monarchs, who exercised suzerain powers over a vast empire extending from Kapurda-giri beyond the Indus on the north-west, to Dhauri in Katak on the south-east, and from Guzerat on the west, to the banks of the Bhagirathi on the east. But in the third year of his reign, an important event took place which made him a changed man altogether, and gave a new color to his life and administration. He had been brought up in the Brahmanist faith, and in observing its bloody rites and sacrifices. But in 260 B. C., he publicly renounced that faith, and embraced the religion of Buddha; which united a philosophic notion of the Deity with the inculcation of the most humane principles for the happiness of mankind. The circumstance that first turned Asoka's attention to Buddhism, was the high impression made upon him by the exemplary character of one of its followers, called Samudra, who was the son of a rich merchant, and was born on the sea in the course of a voyage. Having barely escaped with his life from the hands of pirates, he had turned a Yati, or religious Buddhist beggar, subsisting by alms. The monarch next had recourse to another Yati, named Yasas. Subsequently, he took to the study of the new religion under a Yati of the Kukuta Vihara, in the suburbs of

Pataliputra. By his advice, he sent for the holy Upa Gupta from the Urumunda Hill, who initiated him in the Buddhistic tenets, and became his spiritual guide. Asoka completed his study by a pilgrimage to all the principal scenes of Buddha's life and labors, under the guidance of his Guru. His religious peregrination was followed by his public conversion, and invitation of a Yati, named Supindola Bharadwaj, from the Mandar Hill, near Bhagulpur, to preach the true religion in his empire.

The change of religion is a most important step for a sovereign. Asoka took that step not from any royal caprice or political motive. It proceeded from his sincere conviction in mature years. He felt home the truth of the doctrines—they found an echo in the inner depths of his soul. On his conversion, like Constantine to Christianity, he proclaimed Buddhism to be the religion of his realm. And Julian, the apostate, did not set himself to revive Heathenism with more zeal and industry, than Asoka endeavoured to propagate his new religion with the enthusiasm of a second founder.

He entered upon his work not merely with religious fervour, but with the comprehensive organization of an intelligent prince. He spared no trouble or expense, but brought all his energy and all the resources of his vast empire to bear upon the furtherance of his object. Unlike the prophet of Islam, and strictly after the example of the great founder of Buddhism, he adopted moral suasion alone as the instrument for its diffusion. The ground before him was difficult to break. His own queens sympathized not in the matter. His own uterine brother Vitasoka not only dissented, but engaged himself in active opposition to his views. The programme for action therefore was forecast with great judgment. It commenced with setting in motion an itinerant agency which preached to the people in every place of public resort through their vernacular tongue. Officers, called Rajakas, were appointed for this business. They were "to promote the good of the people, to obtain information of their condition, to enjoin observance of the law, and to prevent its infraction quietly and firmly by gentle persuasion; it would seem that they were not allowed to employ severe punishments. They were directed to station themselves near tops of pipal trees, so highly revered by Buddhists; and as these trees are found usually in the neighbourhood of villages, and by their grateful shade afford an excellent baiting-place for travellers, the Rajakas could not select a better locality for their mixing with the people, and ascertaining their condition. Their duties were not confined to this object however, they had to ex-

pound the ordinances of the law to the faithful people." Under the regime of Asoka, the Buddhist Church exercised its authority over every part of his empire; and every town, every village, and every family becoming educated in its tenets gave it a recognised status of ascendancy.

The second step of procedure was to issue proclamations, such as did not perish from memory immediately after the beat of the *tom-tom*, but remained constant objects before the eye, exhorting the people to follow the example of their sovereign. They were inscribed in deep-cut characters upon stone monoliths set up in all the great cities of the realm—at Vaisali, Kesariya, (near Betia) Navandgarh, Sravasti, Kashi, Prayaga, Kosambi, Sankissa, Ahichatra, Srughna, Mairastrā (Mirat), and other places. Those who have travelled in the North-Western Provinces, must have witnessed some of these remarkable pillars standing in the compound of the Benares College, in the Allahabad Fort, and at Firozabad in Delhi. The people of Calcutta will remember to have seen a fragment lying for many years at the foot of the stair-case in the Asiatic Society's Rooms, now removed to Delhi to complete the original column. These pillars are nearly alike, being cylindrical shafts of granite of the average height of 40 feet, with a diameter of upwards of 30 inches. They are some of them surmounted with the figure of a lion, as at Kesariya and Navandgarh; or of an elephant, as at Sankissa. The Asoka-pillar so conspicuous at Delhi, is now called *Feroz Shah's Lat*.

A third means resorted to, was the putting up of inscriptions engraven on rocks on the four corners of the empire—on Kapur-di-giri, in the Esufzi country; on the Khalsi rock, near where the Jamna has come out of the hills; on Girnar or Junagiri, in Guzrat; and on Udaya-giri and Khanda-giri, at Dhauli, near Katak. Some forty of these royal mementoes have been discovered—there may exist others, but which have not turned out to notice. With a word or two, either mutilated or effaced, most of these inscriptions remain legible after upwards of 2000 years. The Khalsi inscription, upon a large quartz boulder, is found in the best preservation—it has helped to clear up the doubts about certain names not well readable in the others. The matter, generally contained in some twenty lines, is verbatim the same in all of them—it chiefly relates to the erection of hospitals and other charitable institutions. In the times when the art of printing was unknown, and mankind knew not to speak through the Press—when placards and printed notifications had yet a long time before them to come into fashion, these widely scattered edicts on stone fixtures and enduring in-

scriptions on rocks served to proclaim the ukases and gazette the orders of the great Buddhist king of India. The writing was in Pali, or the ancient Magadhi language. Long become obsolete, the hieroglyphic characters mocked the efforts of generation after generation who looked at, and tried to read, them. In the entire silence of history and tradition, in utter ignorance of their origin and object forgotten in the lapse of time, native popular opinion could scarcely have done better than identified the pillars with *Ram-ka-chari* and *Bhim-ka-lat*—the walking-stick of Rama and the club of Bhima. But the time at length came, when the riddle which had puzzled the wits of many an Œdipus was solved—when the incomprehensible mystery veiled in disused Pali was explained to the world. The German Professor Lassen was the first to read the unknown characters in 1836. In the following year, James Prinsep, who had long made them his study, also achieved their decipherment in India. "He happened to notice the brevity and insulated position of all the inscriptions sent from a particular temple; and, seizing on this circumstance, which he combined with a modern practice of the Buddhists, he inferred that each probably recorded the gift of some votary. At the same time when he made this ingenious conjecture, he was struck with the fact that all the inscriptions ended in the same two letters; and, following up his theory, he assumed that those letters were D and N, the two radical letters in the Sanskrit name for a donation. The frequent recurrence of another letter suggested its representing S, the sign of the genitive in Sanskrit; and, having now got hold of the clue, he soon completed his alphabet. He found that the language was not pure Sanskrit, but Pali, the dialect in which the sacred writings of the Buddhists are composed; and by means of these discoveries, he proceeded to read the hitherto illegible inscriptions."*

The decipherment resulted in important disclosures. Centuries after their date, the inscriptions stood revealed as great landmarks in the void of Indian history. They have enabled us to rescue much valuable information. From them have we come to know the several vernaculars prevailing in that day—to learn numerous minute facts which "give the very age and body of the times—their form and pressure," and place before our mind's eye an image of Asoka's reign, with an accurate view of Indian life at that period. Great light has been thrown on a part of our history purposely left obscured in a haze. The Brahmans ignored all Bud-

* Elphinstone's History of India.

dhist history in their writings. They meagrely noticed the reign of a monarch who was unfavourable to their interests.

Besides thus publishing the grand principles of the faith by means of pillar-edicts and rock-inscriptions, Asoka also raised commemorating Stupas and Viharas in all the places—at every hill, and stream, and city, made holy by Buddha's visit and teaching. "The holy Upagupta volunteered to point out the sacred spots. He identified the venerated Sal tree, which had given support to Maya Devi at the birth of the infant Sakya. Other holy sites were also indicated, such as the *Bodhi-drum*, or the sacred Pipal tree at Buddha-Gaya, under which Buddha sat for six years in meditation; and the Sal tree at Kusinagara, beneath which he obtained *Nirvana*, besides various spots rendered famous by the acts of his principal disciples, Sariputra, Maudgalyana, Kasyapa, and Ananda. To all these holy places the pious king allotted large sums of money for the erection of Stupas. Upagupta then pointed out the holy place of Bakkula at Kosambi. 'And what was the merit of this sage?' asked Asoka. 'He lived,' answered Upagupta, 'to a great age without once having known disease. 'On him,' said the king, 'I bestow one farthing (Kakani)' because the fewer the obstacles the less the merit." The four principal Stupas rose at Kapilavastu, Buddha-Gaya, Sarnath, and Kusinagara—the four principal scenes of Buddha's birth, Buddhahood, *debut* with the Dharma-chakra, and Nirvana. Many such religious structures were founded in other parts of India. Their number in Magadha was so great that it was called the Land of *Viharas* or Monasteries, now Behar. The monastery at Nalanda, near Rajagriha, grew to such a vast seat of learning and piety that "ten thousand monks and novices of the eighteen Buddhist schools here studied theology, philosophy, law, science, especially medicine, and practised devotions." None is spoken of in Eastern Bengal, which must have been an alien country. Asoka's stupas were all stately buildings either of stone or brick, being generally 200 feet high. Many of them existed at the times of Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, and they disappeared mostly in the 11th and 12th centuries, when Brahman persecution and violence rose to sacking, burning, breaking down, or appropriating the holy sanctuaries to their own use. The only vestiges remaining of them in our day, are huge earth-covered mounds, such as are witnessed in the Topes of Manikalaya in the Panjab, in the Tilas of Mathura, in the Bhilsa Topes in Malwa, in the Dhamek at Sarnath, and in the ruins of Rajagriha and other places. Asoka supported no less than 64,000 Buddhist priests in his religious foundations.

The most meritorious of all his acts, was the convocation of the third Buddhist Council, in the 17th year of his reign, or 246 B. C. The first Synod was held shortly after the death of Buddha by five hundred of his disciples, at Rajagriha, in B. C. 543, when the Tripitaka, or the Three Baskets, the first sacred books of the Buddhists were collected by his successor Maha Kasyapa. The second Synod, in which 1,200,000 *Bhikshus* or devotees had assembled, took place at Vaisali, in 443 B. C. The third Synod was convened by Asoka, and presided by Mogaliputra. It was held at Pataliputra by a thousand elders, who adopted the most important resolutions. They determined in this council to "propagate the faith by missions to foreign parts, and to extirpate the heresies which intriguing Brahmans, insinuating themselves into the Viharas under the guise (in the yellow robe) of Buddhists, had been studious to introduce amongst the faithful." Officers, called Sthaviras, or Leaders, (the Thero of the Mahavansa), were appointed to undertake the duty of foreign propagandism. Up to this time, Buddhism had not penetrated into the Dekhan. The dominion of Asoka in that direction extended as far as Malava and Saurashtra. Beyond lay the kingdom of Maharashtra. This name does not occur in Ferishta until the middle of the 14th century. But Ptolemy speaks of the great mart of Tagara (Deogiri) as early as the 2nd century. Still earlier, in the reign of Asoka, there is mention of Maharashtra, where was despatched the great Sthavira, called Maha Dharmarakshita, who effected the conversion of 1,70,000 men, and under whom "10,000 priests devoted themselves to a spiritual calling."

Towards the north, Asoka's propagandists made their way into the kingdoms on both sides of the Himalayas. They preached with great success in Kashmir and Gandhara, where they brought about an important religious revolution. The people there were given to serpent-worship, imported from the wilds of Scythia. This odious religion entirely died out of the land before the purity of Buddhism and the sanctity of its precepts—a fact that is recorded in the inscriptions, and is dwelt upon in the native history of Kashmir.

Out of India, the missionary efforts of Asoka were directed to "the utmost limits of barbarian countries"—to Aparantaka,* a place not yet made out, but supposed to be on the western fron-

*A place called Aparanta is mentioned in the Junagiri inscription. Barygaza is mentioned there as *Asva Katcha*, or *Bharukacha*. See "Rudra Dama Inscription at Junagiri." in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal for January, 1892.

tier; to Suvarnabhumi (Barma)—Ptolemy's Golden Chersonese; to Lanka, then called Tambapani (Greek Taprobane). Between this island and the Indian continent there existed an intimate intercourse in those early days. The speed with which the vessels plied between the two countries is a remarkable fact. "Thus the ambassador from Ceylon embarks at Jambuloka near Jaffna, and in seven days makes the north coast of Bengal, which, although it would be respectable work for a modern clipper, is perhaps not too much for a native craft, such as we now see them in the fishing boats of Bombay harbour during the south-west monsoon."* The river-journey from Tamralipta (Tamluk) to Pataliputra was next made in another seven days. To Ceylon, "Asoka despatched his own son Mahindra, a youth of twenty, who had devoted himself to the priestly calling and a missionary life with an enthusiasm equal to his father's." He was sent with a branch of the Bodhi-drum, or Buddha's sacred *pipal* tree, said to be miraculously found in a golden casket of the Maharaja. In seven days the young prince sailed from Pataliputra to the mouth of the Ganges, whence in seven days more he arrived at Jaffna on the coast of Ceylon. Mahindra's efforts were crowned with unprecedented success. Raja Devanampriya and all his royal household, who belonged to the Aryan race and followed the Brahmanical worship, received *the wheel of the law* with the utmost alacrity. The women requested for a female ministress, and Mahindra brought over his sister. The branch of the Bodhi tree was planted at Anuradhapura. Ever since Asoka's mission, the Singhals have remained the staunchest votaries of Buddha, upholding his religion in its purity more than any other people. Many centuries later, when Raja Salivahan reigned in Ceylon, Srimantâ, the hero of the Kavi Kankana, tried to shake his faith by the story of the miraculous *Kamalâ Kamini*, in other words, with *Sakti-ism*. But his audacious attempt brought on him cruel incarceration for several years.

The Khalsi inscription is found in a more perfect state than those engraved on the Kapurdi-giri, Junagiri, and Dhauli rocks—"especially in that part of the 13th edict which contains the names of the five Greek kings, Antiokoks Yona (Antiochus) Turamaya (Ptolemy), Antigona (Antigonos), Maka (Magas), and Alikasunari (Alexander)." The mention of these names clearly points to the existence of a friendly intercourse between the sovereigns of the Gangetic empire and of the Greek monarchies into which

* Sir Erskine Perry.

the conquests of Alexander had been broken up—an intercourse that encouraged Asoka to undertake the introduction of Buddhism into their territories. With Antiochus, Asoka had concluded a treaty of friendship in B. C. 256. So intimate were his terms with that Yavana king, that he placed a Yavana Governor, called Tushaspa over Saurashtra. *The prospect of improved commercial relationship prompted the different Greek monarchs to lend a favourable ear to the proposals of the Indian Buddhist Raja. To their toleration may be traced the origin of the worship of a Battus or Buto in Egypt, of a Battus in Cyrene, and of a Boetus in Macedonia—names appearing to be corrupted from Buddha. The name Aparantaka seems to carry the signification of regions near the setting sun. Probably it alludes to the kingdoms in the far West on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Egean. However it may be, there is no question of the progress of missions despatched to Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, and Macedon, where the salutary precepts of Buddhism silently worked a lasting revolution in the sentiments of their people. No wild theory is put forth by stating that the spirit of those precepts was largely imbibed by Christ, and deeply tintured the doctrines of his religion. So virtuous a monarch and sincere Buddhist, Asoka can scarcely be believed to have perpetrated a falsehood by his insertion in the Girnar inscription that "the king of the Yavana. and, further through him, four kings, Turamaya, Antigona, Maga, and,† universally follow the prescripts of the Law of the god-beloved Raja." "This mention of contemporary Greek monarchs," says Sir Erskine Perry, "is most important for Indian history. Maga, king of Cyrene, died 256 B. C.; Antiochus 2nd of Syria, 247; Ptolemy 2nd of Egypt, 246; Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia, 239; and it is not improbable that Asoka sent ambassadors to all those monarchs on ascending the throne in 263 B. C. We learn, from the Greek authorities, the desire which the Selucidæ and the Ptolemy's displayed to open up diplomatic relations with the powerful Hindu kingdom on the Ganges; and, although we may ascribe to oriental vanity Asoka's statement as to the adoption of the Law in the kingdoms of the West, we may well imagine that the enlightened and tolerant Greek monarchs, in their desire to attract eastern commerce to their new empires, would readily encourage Asoka's efforts at proselytism."

* The said Rudra Dama Inscription.

† The name of Antiochus has disappeared from this inscription.

The same author also observes that "a remarkable institution was created by Asoka in the 17th year of his reign, and which deserves the more notice, as the want of a similar office has often attracted the attention of statesmen in England. Officers, called *Dharma Mahamatra*, or Ministers of Justice, were appointed to superintend the promulgation and observance of the law in all parts of the kingdom, and of allied states. They were directed to be in attendance at all public places, at markets, and even in the *Zenanas* of his own family. *Mahamatras* also appeared to have accompanied his sons, and other great officers as advisers, when placed in charge of a province." In other words, a State Department was erected to watch over family life and the morals of the people—a machinery that civilized governments in our century may do well to imitate.

From a religious point of view, the most important work accomplished in the Third Council, was a Revision of the Buddhist Tripitaka. "Asoka collected the Buddhist sacred books into an authoritative version, in the Magadhi language of his central kingdom in Behar—a version which for 2000 years has formed the Southern Canon of the Buddhist Scriptures." The fourth great Buddhist Council was held in 40 A. D. by the famous Scythian king Kanishka, who ruled "from Agra and Sind in the south, to Yarkand and Khokand on the north of the Himalayas, and held his court in Kashmir. The Scythian monarchy of Northern India came in contact with the Buddhist kingdom under the successors of Asoka. The Scythians themselves became Buddhists; but they made changes in that faith. The result was, that while the countries to the south of India had adopted the Buddhist religion as settled by Asoka's Council in 246 B.C.; the Buddhist religion, as settled by Kanishka's Council in 40 A.D., became the faith of the Scythian nations to the north of India, from Central Asia to Japan."*

Asoka had brought his whole soul into the matter. Still he reproached himself with negligence and laches. He complained of having kept himself indifferently informed of what was going on. To provide against the future recurrence of this conduct, "he appointed special officers called *Prativedaka*, or informers, who were at all times to bring him intelligence, whether he was in his private cabinet, or amusing himself with his wife and children, or promenading in his garden, so that he might at once despatch the affairs of state." All orders issued by himself, or by his Mahamatra,

* Dr. Hunter's *History of the Indian people*.

were first of all laid before a Council of State for their opinion on the subject. He was not satisfied with his own exertions, and exhorted his sons and grandsons to observe the same course. "There is no content to me," he says, "in the discharge or completion of business, and the noblest thing to accomplish is the good of the whole world. * * * All my efforts are to remove sin from created beings, to make them happy here below, and to enable them to gain heaven hereafter. For this purpose I have inscribed the present law; may it be long preserved—and may my sons and grandsons, and my great-grandsons in the same manner strive after the good of the whole world. This is difficult to accomplish without the greatest exertions."*

Thus, by the most comprehensive measures available under the civilization of his age, the devout monarch incessantly laboured to propagate the new religion he had embraced. In that religion, piety and charity are synonymous. From the moment of his apostacy, he consecrated his life to the promotion of the spiritual as well as the earthly good of his subjects. He exerted for their physical well-being to the utmost of his power and means. He opened throughout his empire royal roads, with milestones, such as are spoken of by Strabo. He planted these roads with mango-trees and pipal trees for affording shade to the traveller. "At the distance of every half krosa (kos), he dug wells, and rest-houses for the night. He did not limit his cares to men alone, but, in accordance with the fundamental law of Buddhism, the *Ahimsa*, extended them also to animals. To numerous birds and beasts, terrestrial and aquatic, he showed especial favour, and absolutely forbade the killing of certain specified classes." In many places, he founded hospitals and *dharmaśālas* for the use of man and beast. "The chief end of his exertions however was the increase of *Dharma*, in the comprehensive sense of the word which Buddhists ascribe to it; for with them it signifies not only the religious law, but also the law of nature and duties of every kind. This increase was to be effected by the observance of the two great branches of duty—submission to the law, and freedom from sins. To the first branch belong charity, liberality, obedience to elders and teachers, respect to Brahmins and Sramans, kind treatment of servants, and other similar virtues. Under the second branch, the chief duties are the non-destruction of any fabricated thing, and non-killing of any living being: under this must be included anger, cruelty, cowardice, envy, and similar bad passions."

* The Girner inscription.

Happily for mankind, Asoka reigned for the long period of 37 years. Though it were to be wished that we had possessed more copious materials for the history of his interesting reign, still it is a matter of some satisfaction that the insufficient accounts in which we are permitted to indulge, are borne out by deponents of unimpeachable testimony. They are not like the Pauranic accounts half substantial and half apocryphal, but authenticated as it were by the hand and seal of Truth itself. Asoka is one of the greatest monarchs of Hindu history. He does not take rank with heroes and conquerors, but as "one of the justest and most benevolent rulers of mankind." If one were asked to select from the long history of royalty the prince who was the truest father of his people, he would surely name Asoka. His government may be described in modern phraseology as carried on the great Benthamite principle of "the greatest good for the greatest number." It is the best comment on Pope's idea :

For forms of government let fools contest ;
 Whate'er is best administer'd is best :
 For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight ;
 His can't be wrong whose life is in the right :
 In faith and hope the world will disagree,
 But all mankind's concern is charity.

The title of Pyadasi was conferred upon Asoka as expressive of the beneficent character of his rule. The natural consequences of his steady and virtuous administration were domestic union and amity. Under his sway the different kingdoms and communities lived as one people, with common views and desires. No hostility disturbed the land—the sword was put into the scabbard. No bloodshed stained the altar—the sacrificial knife rusted from disuse. The weary rested their limbs at public houses : the halt and blind were fed at public expense. A paternal government looked to its ailing subjects. And under the prevalence of vegetarianism, animal life was safe from human gastronomy. The empire flourished in peace and prosperity, offering the prospect of universal repose. It was a great epoch in the history of human happiness. Religious men, under the name of Sophists, are spoken of by writers in Alexander's army. Megasthenes mentions a class by the name of Germanes—the same as Sramanas or Buddhists. Hitherto, their numbers bore an inadequate proportion to the population. But Buddhism was now legally established by authority, and diffused by example and exhortation. Its precepts were universally

adopted and practised. The land teemed with Stupas and Viharas, and holy Buddhist shrines became frequented *tirthas*. Asoka tried to convert all mankind to Buddhism. But the sullen impatient Brahmans kept themselves aloof in a corner. They beheld with alarm the progress of their formidable enemy, and felt that a sentence of overwhelming destruction had been pronounced against their orthodox faith. But they feared the power of that enemy more than their arguments. Dissembling their hatred, the Brahmans remained in inflexible resolution, and silently prepared for a re-action.

Asoka died in the year 226 B. C. From his long reign and his having been a grandfather, we may safely conclude that he was well in years. Nature had made him a most energetic character and education refined away its grossness. His life was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Buddha. Fa Hian, speaking of his palaces, says, "the palaces of the king within the town have walls the stones of which were put together by the genii. The sculpture and the carved work which adorn the windows are such as cannot be equalled by the present age: they still exist." Asoka had several sons and grandsons. He was succeeded by his son Suyasa, who, according to the Vayu Purana, reigned only eight years, and was followed by his son Dasaratha, a prince well brought up in the example of his illustrious grandfather. In the year 178 B.C., the Maurya line was succeeded by the Sunga dynasty, commencing with Pushpamitra, a Brahminist king and noted persecutor of the Buddhists, for whose extirpation he offered "a reward of one hundred dinars for the head of every Sramana." But Buddhism was so widely and deeply rooted in the land, that it outlived his hostile efforts for twelve hundred years.

AN IDLER.

MORALITY AND INTEMPERANCE.

IN the July number of this Magazine there appeared an article entitled "Open Questions in Morality" which concludes with the following passage :

"The drink question is really a question of ethics either sectarian or universal. Oddly enough, the legislature confronts it with a particular *fiscal* policy. The sufficiency of that policy and still more its relation to religious autonomy are not fit to be taken up at the fag-end of a magazine article. But it is well-known how a Christian Missionary has seen fit to take up the ethical question quite apart from religious differences. No doubt, he has been so actuated because *Temperance has now come to be recognized in Europe as a principle of Universal Morality.*" The author of the above-mentioned article has, in this passage, quite conclusively shown that Temperance is a moral principle quite independent of particular castes or creeds. From the above it will be evident that Intemperance or Drunkenness is a sin against Universal Morality and I intend to discuss, in this article, the way how this hydra-headed evil of Intemperance can be counteracted by Moral Education. What with the fostering of the out-still system by the Government and what with the spread of English education, this vice of drunkenness is spreading, day by day, all over India and is counting, among its victims, the best and the noblest of the Indian peoples. The system of education that is, at present, in vogue amongst us is responsible in a great degree for the spread amongst our young men of many evils besides drinking, such as Agnosticism. A godless education—like the one that is being imparted to us—is sure to leave on the young minds many bad impressions. The evils resulting from such a system of education will be best perceived from a perusal of the criminal statistics. A certain number of offences are committed by confirmed criminals, but a large proportion of others are committed whilst the perpetrators are under the influence of drink. The ranks of this class of offenders have been considerably swelled, of late, by the great decrease in the price of country-brewed wines and by the opening of a large

number of distilleries throughout the land. Many of the offences against public and private morality have their origin in the spread of this vice and, if we trace the life-histories of the perpetrators of these offences, we shall be sure to find that they all begin from a common fountain-head—the habit of drinking. Many remedies for counteracting the evils of this pernicious habit have been proposed and discussed but none of them appears to us to be so potent as Moral Education. All offences against morality have their origin in the want of proper moral education amongst the people of the land. Many young men, from lack of moral training, go astray in the very prime of youth—a consequence which, in nine cases out of ten, might have been prevented if they had had the benefit of knowing, in their earlier years, the nature of the evils which generally arise from betaking one's self to sinful courses. If regular lessons on moral subjects as obedience to parents and other superiors; the evils of intemperance; reverence for the Great Author of the Universe; and other topics of a kindred nature were given to our little children in the lower forms of our schools, a great deal would be done towards ensuring their future happiness. The evils arising from sinful courses ought to be impressed on the minds of the young people, while, on the other hand, the happiness resulting from a virtuous life should be pictured to them in vivid colors. The spirit of disobedience is, at present rampant amongst our young men. Now, what is it that has produced such a spirit amongst our rising generation? Surely every one will agree with me when I say that it is this godless education which has given rise to all this. The older people amongst us were remarkable for their obedience to their parents and to their other superiors. How is this fact to be accounted for? The fact is that the only education which they received consisted in learning the simple truths of morality as inculcated by the Shastras, the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. In those times, those simple stories, (which are nothing but “truths severe by fairy fiction drest”), the sufferings undergone by the heroes and heroines of antiquity for the sake of truth alone, and noble acts of self-abnegation, went straight home to men's hearts. In the place of this we have got English education, *minus* its moral teachings. What is presented to us every day is the scamy side of English civilization. English education has taught us its vices while we have failed to imbibe its virtues. Though the habit of drinking wine was prevalent among the Indians from the remotest antiquity up to the fifth decade of this century, yet it was not indulged by them very largely during the pre-University days. Since

the foundation of the Indian Universities, the consequently rapid spread of English education and civilization and, still more, the importation into India of enormous quantities of European wines have resulted in the conversion of the Indians from a sober race into a wine-bibbing nation. Those amongst us, who are in the habit of taking large potations, urge, in extenuation of their conduct, the fact that the habit of drinking prevails to a great extent in England. It is true that in England intemperance is prevalent to a greater extent than in any other country. But these people forget that drinking ardent spirits is a *sine quâ non* to the sustenance of life in cold countries like England, while wine is not at all a necessary of life in such a hot climate as that of India. The flow of drink in England would have assumed still greater proportions than it has now, had it not been for the anathemas which the English clergy hurl from their pulpits every day against the habit of drinking. It would have gone on increasing rapidly had it not been for the beneficial influence of the numerous Temperance Leagues and Blue Ribbon Societies that have been founded all over the country to counteract the pernicious influence of the demon of drink. So it would appear that moral teaching as conveyed by the sermons of the English clergy and as inculcated by the organs and the tracts issued by the temperance societies has prevented the habit of drinking from assuming still greater proportions. But how is the habit of consuming larger quantities of ardent spirits than is necessary, that still retains its hold upon the English people, to be accounted for? The reason of this is not far to seek for the system of training under which British youths are brought up is certainly rotten to the core; and this canker has become so deep-seated that even the potent remedies of the English clergy and the Temperance Leagues fail to reach it. So what is calculated to remedy this evil is the imparting of a sound moral training to English boys. I shall show, further on, that this remedy is also necessary to put a stop to the rapid increase of intemperance in India.

Some of the people, who indulge in copious potations, alluded to above, urge that, as the ancient Indians including their gods were addicted to the habit of drinking, it is very natural that their descendants should also indulge in it. That our forefathers were wine-bibbers is true for the famous antiquary Dr. R. Mitra says that "the earliest Brahman settlers were a spirit drinking race and *indulged largely* both in Soma beer and spirits. To their Gods the most acceptable and grateful offering was Soma beer." Again: "But Sanskrit literature, both ancient and mediæval, leaves no

room for doubt as to wine having been very extensively used in this country at all times and by all classes."* But this habit of the ancient Indians is to be accounted for by the fact that the early Aryan settlers in India had come from a very cold region somewhere near the Caucasus Mountains, from which also the progenitors of the present English race had proceeded to Europe. But the moral teachings of the Buddhists and the discountenance of the habit of drinking by the Buddhist emperors of India put a stop to this increase of drunkenness in ancient India. With the advent of the Mahomedans into this country the flow of drink has gone on steadily increasing, for the Mahomedan Emperors of India were one and all addicted to this habit of drinking. Though wine was used by the ancient Pre-Islamitic Arabs, † yet, after they were converted to Islamism by Mahomet, its use was strictly forbidden by the Prophet for the Koran says: "They will ask thee concerning *wine* and lots: Answer:—In both there is great sin, and also some things of use unto men; but their sinfulness is greater than their use."‡ Again: "O true believers, surely *wine*, and lots, and images, and divining arrows, are an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper."§ Disregarding these ordinances against the use of wine, the Mahomedan conquerors of India not only gave themselves up to the excesses of drinking ardent spirits but also introduced the Persian and other wines into India and encouraged their use by the Hindus. Since that time the Hindus of India have imbibed the habits of drinking which were still further increased by the introduction of English education and civilization into this country. The present English Government is very truly responsible to a certain extent for this increase of drunkenness by reason of its countenancing the out-still system. The seeds of drunkenness have been sown broadcast all over the land and have taken firm root in the soil, and* now no legislative enactment for abolishing the out-still system will be able to eradicate the evil from the land. It is only the stern anathema of the moralists that can at all put a stop to this increase of drunkenness. It is only sound moral training, imparted to our boys during their tenderer years.

* Vide "The Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India" in "Indo-Aryans" by Rajendra Lala Mitra LL.D. C.I.E. Vol. I. page, 390.

† Vide Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol XIV page, 164.

‡ Vide Sale's Koran Edition "Chandos Classics"—page, 23.

§ Vide *idem* page 81.

that can at all remedy the evil that is eating into the vitals of our nation. The two principal methods of moral education are teaching by precept and teaching by example. The parents and the school-masters, who are frequently in charge of large numbers of young people, should not only adopt the first method but must also have recourse to the second. They should inculcate to their young wards the thousand and one evils that result from addiction to drink, the numerous ailments, the moral and social degradation, the loss of money that are the inevitable consequences of addiction to intemperate habits. They should also try to impress these moral precepts upon the "young ideas" under their charge by the mention of remarkable examples of moral ruin brought about by drink, which they might have come across in the course of their daily life. They should also teach them that, by drinking wine, men not only put an enemy into their mouths to steal away their brains but also encompass their moral and social ruin and ultimately bring themselves to a premature death. How many prosperous families have been reduced to the very verge of poverty by this dreadful habit? How many men of great promise have been brought to an early grave by this demon of drink? How many men in the very flower of youth have been led to the commission of horrible deeds by this habit of taking distilled damnation? How many homes have been rendered cheerless and gloomy by the drinking habits of its master? All these examples, pregnant as they are with lessons of the greatest moral import, should be held up before these young people by their moral trainers. The moral trainers should also impress upon the young ideas how society views these habits with feelings of great repugnance, and how it abhors those who are in the habit of indulging in the flowing cup; for the essential part of moral education is not teaching in the ordinary acceptance of the term but the public dispensation of punishment and reward. They should tell them that society hates drunkards and honors sober men. It will go a great way towards impressing this precept indelibly upon their minds for the influence of society in moulding the characters of men is very great. The moral trainers should also teach their young wards that temperance is a principle of universal morality, that it is a virtue recognised by all civilized nations of the world and inculcated by all codes of moral principles and that its practice is productive of much good. They should also, in the same breath, show that Intemperance or Drunkenness is an offence against morality and that indulgence in this habit is looked upon with feelings akin to loathsomeness by all civilized people. It is in this way and in this way only that the disease which is

eating into the very vitals of our nation can be successfully checked in its germinal stage and ultimately eradicated from the system. It is not by the passing of legislative measures but by the moral training of our young hopefuls that the rapid increase of intemperance can be checked for, in that case, the axe will be laid at the very root of this pernicious habit.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

**THE BREATH: ITS SCIENCE CONSIDERED
PURELY FROM A HYGIENIC
POINT OF VIEW.**

The Hindu *Rishis* of old seem to have given their long and careful investigation to the subject of breath. They treated it as a separate science and dealt with it so elaborately and with so much precision that it is simply marvellous. The Indian of the present day, blinded by the brilliant light of Western teachings, will, I am afraid, laugh at this exposition. But what I shall say here are some practical points and any one can make experiments if so disposed.

The science of breath has been made a part of the Yoga system; in short, it is a sort of stepping stone to Yoga. But in the following pages I intend dealing with it purely from a hygienic point of view apart from that of the Yoga-system which to the general reader may be uninviting. I may be permitted here to say that I myself have been a student of this science for the last few months and have attained some success with regard to its practice.

The following have been collected partly from the *Hatha-dipikā*, *Pavanvijaya Swarodaya*, *Pātanjal Yogaçāstra*, and partly from my personal experience. A perfect control over the exercise of the breath is said to secure perfect health and long life. The economy of breath has been spoken of as the greatest of all the economies. To diminish the frequency of breath, to shorten its length, to change its course in different directions as we shall see hereafter, are said to be the best means of prolonging life and preserving health and youthful contours up to a ripe old age. For the breath is the life of man; its regulation preserves life, its waste hastens its decay. All sorts of excesses cause breath to flow rapidly and prolong its length. During times of illness too, its equilibrium is disturbed. It is said that the number of inspirations and expirations of man is measured. The person whose breath (inspiration and expiration) flows 16 to 17 times in a minute or a thousand times in an hour lives to the age of one

hundred and twenty years with a perfectly healthy constitution. By [excesses and other reasons, the regularity of the breath is disturbed and the period of human existence is curtailed in proportion. The more the breath is regulated the longer the life is prolonged.

The *çāstras* are of opinion that there are three principle *Nādis* or magnetic sources in each human frame. The *Uttaragītā* has the following as to their locality:—Outside the *Meru-danda* (spinal chord) there are located on the left side the *Idā Nādi*, and on the right, the *Pingalā*, and within it, the *Susamnā*. The *Idā* is called the moon, the *Pingalā* the sun, and *Susamna* the *Váyú*.

It may be remarked here that the breath never flows equally through both the nostrils; a few minutes' investigation will verify to the reader the truth of it. The breath in the human body, like the tide in the sea, is affected by the movements of the moon, the sun, and the other celestial bodies, but especially the former, whose influence upon the tide is also the greatest. The breath flows either through the left or the right nostril for a certain period during the day and the night, and is regulated according to the wane and the increase of the moon and rarely flows through both. The *Idā Nādi* flows through the left nostril, the *Pingalā* through the right, and when both the nostrils are flowing, which happens rarely, the *Susamnā* is said to be flowing. There are diurnal as well as fortnightly variations of the breath. In each nostril the breath lasts generally for one hour ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *dandas*), *i.e.*, the breath changes its course 24 times in both the nostrils during one cycle of the sun. It is really wonderful to see with what minuteness the old *Rishis* studied this science of the breath. They made it a sort of barometer to indicate good or bad health before its occurrence, for improper and untimely changes of the breath is the prognosis of future bad health and disease. The breath was also used as a perfect indicator of time. A friend of mine, one whom I cannot disbelieve even if I can disbelieve my ownself, knew a man, an old Brahmin of age and experience, who, when asked what O'clock of the day it was, could, by a mysterious examination of the length of the breath and the nostril through which it was flowing at the time, tell the exact hour of the day. The common people used to regard him as a seer, the less reverential as a wizard, but the old Brahmin very confidently assured my friend, for whom he seemed to have taken some fancy, that it was only a reading of the breath.

I shall quote here a few lines from the letter of a correspondent published in the *Indian Mirror* of 4th October 1890.

This will serve as a concise outline of the science of breath. "The breath falls usually to the length of 8 to 12 fingers from the nostrils.* In singing and eating it falls to the length of 16 fingers, in walking 20, in sleep 24, in sexual intercourse and in violent exercises, 30 or more.

"To attain long life, one should endeavour to shorten the breath below the normal length by *Kumbhak*, i.e., by gradual practice of taking in fresh air through the mouth or the nose by processes to be mentioned hereafter, and keeping it in the lungs so long as perspiration does not break out.

"The moon is supposed to have an influence on the breath according to her periodic changes.

"The following table will show at a glance the fortnightly variation of the breath from the left to the right or from the right to the left nostril in a perfectly healthy man according to the changes of the moon.

"Increase of the moon (*çukla-paksha*) I, II, III, 4, 5, 6, VII, VIII, IX, 10, 11, 12, XIII, XIV, XV (full moon).

"Wane of the moon (*Krishna-paksha*)—1, 2, 3, IV, V, VI, 7, 8, 9, X, XI, XII, 13, 14, 15 (new moon).

"The Roman figures (in the above) indicate the left, the other figures the right nostril.

"He who can, by inserting old cotton, make the breath flow through the left nostril by day, and through the right nostril by night successively for 12 years, shall enjoy health and youth up to a great old age, and shall not be affected by any poison.

"The undermentioned exercises of breath should be made twice or thrice a day.

"(a) Take in pure air by the lips putting them in the form of the bills of a bird, keep it in the lungs, and slowly let it out by the nose.

"The above exercise will increase the appetite, cure chest-complaints, and improve the power of sight and hearing."

"(b) Take in pure air by the tongue like a serpent, keep it in the lungs, and let it out slowly by the nose.

"The above exercise removes depression of spirits, corrects bile, and heals cold.

"(c.) Take in pure air by the left nostril, keep it in the lungs until perspiration breaks out, and then slowly let it out by the right.

* But according to the *Pavanavijaya Swarodaya* the length of the breath is generally from 4 to 16 fingers as the following *çloka* will testify :—

অষ্টাঙ্গুলং বহেদ্বারূনলং চতুরঙ্গুলং ।
ষাটশাঙ্গুলমাহেরং বোধশাঙ্গুলবাকিনং ।

"This exercise assists the Yogins in holding breath for hours together as required by *kumbhaka*."

On the morning after the new moon, that is, on the morning of the first day or *Pratipada* of *śuklapakṣa*, the *Idā Nādi* begins to flow, i. e., the breath flows through the left nostril, changing its course as usual after one hour, as the table above quoted will show. So, on the first morning after the full moon, the *Pīṅgālā Nādi* will flow. This regularity indicates good luck and good health for a fortnight, while irregularity indicates the contrary. Any one can, for his own benefit, change the course of the breath from one nostril to another by placing his armpit on the knee, lying in an inclining posture, or putting something hard under the armpit. If the left armpit is so pressed the breath will immediately flow through the right and *vice versa*. This is also done by stuffing the nostril with some *old* cotton.

The Yoga and Tāntric *śāstras* attribute many things to this knowledge of the science of breath; such as success and failure, birth and death, good and evil, in short, anything that concerns human comfort and discomfort. To deal with them in these lines is impossible. Everything that is *śuva* or good is to be performed when the *Idā Nādi* flows, and anything that is of a crooked nature ought to be performed when the *Pīṅgālā* flows. Here are some practical hints which can be easily verified. The breath through the right nostril being *Pīṅgālā* or the sun has the power to improve the appetite, and digest the food consumed. It corrects the cough, protects the system from weakness after exercise, and keeps the nervous system steady. The *Idā* being the moon increases cough in the system, but is said to be auspicious for any undertaking. The bowels are generally cleared when the *Idā* flows. Anything pertaining to spiritual matters is to be done when the breath flows from both the nostrils or when the *Susumnā* flows.

It has been noticed above that according to the *śāstras* the regulation of breath is conducive both to health and longevity. Now, this regulation of the breath is what is called *Prānāyāma* in the *śāstras*. In the Yoga Aphorisms of Pātañjala, *Prānāyāma* is defined as the interruption in the flow of inspiration and expiration (*śvasapraśvāsayorgati viccheda*) that is "the interruption (*viccheda*) of the two-fold "flow (*gati*) or current in places outside and inside produced by means of expelling or filling of the breath is called *Prānāyāma* or regulation of breath" (Dr. Mitter's translation of the Yoga Aphorisms of Pātañjali published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. B. II. A. XLIX). Dr. Mitter also remarks—"Here the true *Prānā-*

yāma is accepted to be the interruption or break in the flow of the breath. The inspiration and the expiration are the functions of which the stoppage is the most effectual act for the attainment of perfect meditation. It is called *kumbhaka* or quiescence and the longer it is sustained the more proficient becomes the Yogin. When perfect control has been attained in this respect, the Yogin can live buried under earth for months and years without performing any organic function whatever." (*Aphorisms of Patanjala* p. 112). It may be remarked here that the idea of the retention of breath for days, not to speak of months and years, may be revolting to the western conception of things, but the inquisitive reader may get numerous instances of this. Haridas Babaji, Mahatma Trilinga Swāmi of Benares and the Mahapurusha at the Bhukailasa Rājāti are notable instances. Moreover, the reader, if so disposed, can himself practise the retention of breath and is sure to attain success to the extent of strengthening his belief within a few days.

Among others there are two auxiliaries of the Yoga that are to be practised first. The posture (*āśana*), becoming firm, the other auxiliary of Yoga, which is the regulation of the breath (*Prānāyāma*) and of which firmness of posture is the cause, should be practised. With the Yogin this is done for the purpose of fixing the thinking principle to one point of concentration, for, "the suppression of the functions of the thinking principle is called Yoga (*yogaçchittabritti nirodhah*) [*Patanjala*, B I, A. II.] But we are not going to treat of the philosophy of Yoga here; so no more of it now.

Prānāyāma is to be performed after assuming the regular posture and in the manner prescribed in the *śāstras*, and is to be repeated regularly twice or thrice every day. In the *yogaśāstra* the avowed object of this performance is simply the studying of the mind. But all minor works on Yoga and the Tantras generally expatiate at great length on the sanitary and therapeutic advantages of practising it regularly at stated times. The *Hatha-dīpikā* in one place says with regard to it—"All diseases disappear in him who devotes himself to *Prānāyāma* (*Prānāyāmadiyuktena sarvaroga kshayobhavet*).

The usefulness of the practice of *Prānāyāma* from a hygienic point of view seems to have travelled to the far west and the spiritualists of America have accepted it as a recognised maxim of their system. Some Americans and Europeans of culture and erudition are reported to practice *yoga* regularly in the same way as prescribed in our own *śāstras*. Many spiritualists practise *Prānāyāma* under the name of "deep breathing." Mr. Davis,

the author of "Harbinger of Health," himself a spiritualist, gives the following directions for curing diseases through its means.

"First, if your weakness be general, and the blood is loaded with cold matter, lay flat down on your back, and, while breathing *deep, and slow, and uniformly, will yourself become healthy* in your feet and hands, in your knees and elbows, in your hips and shoulders, in your bowels and liver, in your lungs and brain! the heart will take care of itself. In cases where the weakness is generally distributed, all you are required to practice (while so prostrated and respiring) is the art of concentrating your will and desires simultaneously on the extremities first; then work upward and inward progressively; and when, in the lapse of ten minutes of steady, deep breathing, you have reached the brain, repeat the process in the ascending scale, as indicated in the manner aforementioned.

"By this Pneumogastric treatment of yourself, you will receive *spiritual* strength from the air—nothing is more certain! When, by practice, you can *breathe* deeply and heroically, and at the same time put your Will upon the restoration of the general system, the art of fixing your mind upon some particularly diseased part will become less and less difficult. *Consumptive persons*, by simply breathing profoundly, and willing systematically, *may enlarge their chests and lungs beyond the possibilities of disease*. Persons of cold temperature, with irregular habits and bad practices, may "right about face" and become harmonically healthy. Learn to depend upon yourself—use the infallible remedies of Nature—and, in spite of priest or doctor, you will 'pass from death unto life.'

"Time of exercises.—In acquiring this psychological power over the destinies of your bodily state, and in becoming a self-healing Institution, whether home or abroad, it may be necessary to practise (either while on your back, or standing, or walking, or riding,) perhaps three times in each twenty-four hours. Never just before meals, nor soon subsequent to them; but the true time is when chylification begins; about 90 or 120 minutes after eating. The spirit world will aid you, by forming a secret conjunction with the *Pneumogastric* conductor. It is certain, gentle sufferer; do not permit yourself to doubt. Nothing is too good in nature, in matter, in spirit, or in truth." *Harbinger of Health*, by A. J. Davies, pp. 52—53.

C. K. MAJUMDAR.

THE
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LITERATURE IN LOWER BENGAL.

A list of Bengali books which saw the light during the first quarter of 1890 appears as an appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 5th November. It is a record of decadence from the not very exalted standard disclosed by preceding catalogues. The total number passed in review by the custodian of the Bengal Library was only 214, as compared with 341 during the corresponding period of 1889. Nearly every department of literature shares in the decrease. Art has never shed its divine influence on the development of the vernacular. In the first quarter of 1889 its solitary exponent was a cookery-book: during that under review we have a lithographed collection of native music, noted in the European fashion, which is now pretty generally admitted to be superior to the old indigenous systems. Under biography two works are chronicled, as compared with six. I commend one of them to the attention of those charged with enforcing the provisions of the Penal Code which prescribe transportation for life as a penalty for attempting to excite disaffection. It purports to be the life-story of a certain Sayyid, a sworn enemy of England, who is stated to have been expelled from Afghanistan, Turkey and Egypt for preaching a war to the knife against her impious and selfish designs. The writer makes his hero's career a peg upon which to hang violent diatribes against the aims and character of Englishmen. This is, as we shall presently see, by no means a unique instance

of open disloyalty tincturing vernacular literature. It is not possible to deal too harshly with the disseminators of such pestilential trash among a population so crassly ignorant and yet so excitable when an appeal is made to their passions and prejudices.

Fourteen plays were published—exactly half the number noticed in the catalogue for 1890. Nearly all find a motive in Hindu Mythology: and three are portions of an interminable series in which it is sought to dramatize the Mahabharata. We are apt to pity the Athenians of old, who sat out a trilogy under heaven's blue vault with a patience begotten of ingrained artistic instinct. Chinese play-goers watch with sustained interest the development of a story which takes months in the telling. It is doubtful, however, whether any Hindu's enthusiasm would carry him through a representation on the stage of his great national epic. None of the efforts of indigenous playwrights during the quarter possess the slightest interest: a fact to be deplored in the case of a people in whom the dramatic instinct is undoubtedly strong. Fiction maintains an equilibrium, the number of works then classified being 25, as in the corresponding quarter of last year. Few of the new novels exhibit the divine spark of originality; and there are some deserving of the notice of the censor of public morals. *Poison in Nectar* may be described as a faint echo of *Robert Ellesmere*. The hero, like the portentous prig whose heart-searchings have been described by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, is an ardent and highly cultivated youth, who sees in nearly every incident of life an excuse for morbid introspection. "*The Two Sisters*" points the same moral as Hogarth's Idle Apprentice. The twin roses on one stalk choose widely different paths in life. One is born dumb; but having the fear of Mrs. Grundy before her eyes, marries a youth who afterwards gains distinction as a Deputy Magistrate. The other, whose wayward nature brooks no parental control, becomes the Chieftainess of a band of dacoits (!) One would hardly expect to find so highly unconventional a young person ill-treated by a husband: but such is the retribution meted out to her in the story-book. The other novels of the quarter are either feeble imitations of French gutter-literature, or adaptations of such works as *Tom Jones*, *The Corsair* and *Boccaccio's Tales*. A wide field is evidently open to those who would improve the pabulum afforded to Bengali readers.

History makes a beggarly show with one small genealogical treatise, as compared with five volumes during the first quarter of 1889. Educational works, too, fell off in numbers: Only 74 having appeared against 141 last year. The list exhibits the usual array of

primers, mainly reprints of books which have smoothed the path of learning for generations of school boys. One only deserves special notice. It is a history of the English People, written by Babu Ishan Chunder Ghosh on the lines so successfully laid by Mr. Green. The supply of law-books if limited is pretty constant—four having been published as compared with five in the 1889 quarter. Two of them profess to direct the steps of village watchmen and their paymasters the *panchayets* in the right way: and a third is a manual of the multifarious duties imposed on the regular police. The last attempts to afford a clue to that maze without a plan, the law of evidence. The author fondly hopes that his treatise may be of use to the non-professional public; inducing them to offer only evidence to the point, and not to waste the court's time with irrelevant matter. The outturn of medical works is also uniform. Eleven are catalogued: five of which are homœopathic; one is eclectic; and the rest are expositions of that strange mixture of rule of thumb, skill in simples, and gross superstition which makes up *kovirazi* practice. One book in this category would surely defeat its own object. It is a treatise on longevity: and gives a gruesome list of the signs which foretell the approach of death. Such reading would add a new terror to those of advancing age and hasten the advent of the closing scene.

Under "miscellaneous" there appeared fourteen works, a decrease of 16 on the figures of 1889. Within these narrow limits the range is really marvellous. The author of the *method of eating* exploits untrodden ground. He remarks that while cookery-books are legion, the art of consuming food gracefully and digesting it well has found no professors. The process might, perchance, be facilitated by the perusal of another book in their class, which gives the quibs and cranks of a Bengali Joe Miller, named Bishe. *Anglicism* narrates the insolence and ingratitude of a mythical Englishman who arrived in Bengal without the proverbial rupee; made a huge fortune at the expense of native dupes; and straightway kicked over the ladder which had raised him. One booklet under this heading merits commendation—a collection of short papers written by the members of a Bengali Girls' Essay Club. The muse of poetry was slightly more active in early 1890 than in the preceding period. Twenty-one efforts inspired by her were made as compared with 20. Here, again, treason unveiled runs riot. The *Flower of Peace* is an absurd misnomer: for its writer labours to incite racial war. With true poetic license he laments the growing poverty of down-trodden India, and, Tyrtæus-like, lashes the supineness of his countrymen in

hugging the chain of foreign domination. Another poem, called *Hope*, brings down from Olympus to visit India the goddesses of wealth and learning. They find the unhappy land in a famished and senseless condition : but rejoice that one ray of hope is piercing the Cimmerian darkness—shed by Lord Ripon's policy of local self-Government. A third jeremiad, entitled a *Tear-drop*, is qualified by the catalogueist as a patriotic poem. Patriotism of this type wears a strong resemblance to that pinchbeck imitation denounced by Dr. Johnson as the last refuge of a scoundrel. Religion must be in a bad way if the number of books chronicled under this head affords any measure of its vitality. Forty-two only saw the light against 77 during the corresponding quarter of last year. Fifteen are of distinctly conservative tendencies—translations of Hindu epics, the Puranas and the like. Three are Brahmo sermons, and 4 are rhapsodies for the edification of followers of Chaitanya, known as Vaisnabs, a sect which is to orthodox Hinduism what the Salvation Army is to the Church of England. The publications classed as Christian are mainly issues of the Calcutta Book and Tract Society, which printed nearly four times as many tracts during the quarter as all the rival creeds together could muster.

A bird's eye view of Bengali literature would be incomplete without some reference to the periodicals which appear in that language. They number 24, one of which is quarterly, another a fortnightly and the remainder are monthlies. It is characteristic of the truncated development of modern Bengal that with four exceptions all are published in Calcutta. Two of the monthlies are medical reviews, *A Glance at Medicine* is devoted to the indigenous school : *A Comparison of Medicine* is more cosmopolitan, with leanings towards homœopathy. In the latter a *Kabiraj* inveighs against the practice said to be indulged in by English physicians of drenching fever-patients with cold water. It would be more to the point were he to open his batteries on the insane rule which governs the *Kobiraji* treatment in such cases of refusing all nutriment to the sufferer. A large proportion of the mortality in Bengal is distinctly due to this and kindred quackeries. Glancing through the contents of the 17 magazines devoted to general literature we find that the political and social stagnation of this country is exercising the minds of many writers. *Pleasure* opines that it is due to the discord between races and sects. A quarterly given up to the impossible task of dispelling popular errors attributes the evil to the decay of religion. A monthly owned by a Brahman lady is hardly nearer the mark in putting it down to the nation-

al disregard for truth. Bengalis, the writer says, put no confidence in each other; their moral character is still unformed; and they are utterly unfit for representative government. Yet another ascribes the cause to the inability of natives to compete with Europeans and to their ignorance of the value of time. Female emancipation is gall and wormwood to the conductors of one magazine: while another, aims at the moral and social elevation of the sex. Hindus, Brahmos and Christians have each their special vernacular organ: but the followers of the Prophet are still without this medium for the exchange of thought. On the whole, however, it is clear that such embers of life as remain in Bengali literature have taken refuge in the periodical press.

There are few who will not regret the rapid deterioration of a language which all acquainted with it agree in pronouncing a literary tool of unsurpassed excellence. The fact is due to the encroachment of the more vigorous Anglo Saxon which is now taught in thousands of schools to the practical exclusion of the vernacular: which is the language of our Courts and public offices: and, in a debased form, the vehicle of communication in the ever-widening circle of semi-educated native Society. The same process is at work in Bengal as that which profoundly modified the tongue of Alfred and Edward the Confessor during the regime of the Conqueror and his immediate successors.

F. H. SKRINE.



TWILIGHT THOUGHTS.

When the soft shadows of the dying day
Invest the landscape with a sacred gloom
My spirit fondly travels far away—
And loves to linger by that lonely tomb
Where, long ago—it only seems last eve—
They laid my sweet one in the dark cold grave;—
That she was *quite* gone I could *not* believe
And wished to follow her—to die or save !
Such is the despotism of the Love
Indissolubly binding soul to soul !
'Tis said that even that poor thing a dove
Mourns for its mate, and dies to gain its goal !
While *we*, less constant, or of coarser mould,
Forget ? Ah ! No ! but must *live* out the Truth—
Each day's recurring agony untold
Of cruel partings, most felt in our Youth :
For, as we age, and see our loved ones fall
In quick succession 'neath the scythe of Death
Our hearts get hardened, and we *feel* that *all*
Is Vanity—this Life a transient breath—
And that, since *we* too, like them, soon must die—
Is *such* a life worth living we inquire ?
While the heart aches to know the reason why
God made us so—why not *at once* expire
Rather than thus be cheated with the bliss
Of an existence hanging by a thread
Which may be snapped at any moment ? This
Is not the living's land—but of the dead !
To such thoughts left, man would have long ago
Committed universal suicide—
But *Woman*—patient sufferer of woe,
Looking so hopefully on the bright side
Of all things—with her cheerful, soothing tones,
Her gentle touch, her fascinating eyes,
Her deep devotion, smiles, tears, melting moans
Restrained him—for *her* sake He lives and dies !

Oh ! perfect counterpart, yet passing strange
Antithesis to God's great masterpiece—
Cause of his fall and mother of the change
By Jesus wrought—man's bondage and release !
This is why heroes, poets, penitents
In every age and clime have worshipped *Thee*—
And if 'tis wrong—God knows our sentiments—
It is most natural Idolatry !
But I have wandered—Do the dead return
Immortal ? I have seen them face to face—
With a soft bluish innate light they burn—
A living flame of transcendental grace !
The form is just like ours—more soft, more fair,
Lucid, elastic, weird magnificence !
With the same properties as mountain air—
Could we but see it—all intelligence,
They read our thoughts and make us read their own—
Words are superfluous—their looks suffice—
But they converse not till familiar grown—
Quick in their movements and their manners nice.
All this is plainly told in Holy Writ—
From Genesis to Revelation teems
With circumstantial histories that fit
In quite with my experience of such *dreams* ?
Only the sad materialistic times
In which we live have made us sceptical,
Yet I am conscious that these very rhymes
Are oft some spirit's—*whose* I cannot tell—
Because themselves they do not oft reveal
And change their countenances rapidly,
Oft do they only furtive glances steal,
Or make me *feel* they're near invisibly !
Would that the world this perfect evidence
Of the Soul's immortality possessed—
How much affliction would be banished hence—
What joy would it afford—what peaceful rest !
Such knowledge cometh not to *all*—a life
Of concentration, self-denial, pain
Mental and physical—freedom from strife
And all the passions that in bad hearts reign,

But chiefly pureness, faith, prayer, fasting—these
Are indispensable to those who'd win
Familiarity with mysteries
Of unseen things—the worlds without, within !

Death then would lose its terrors—all be plain
That was incomprehensible before—
With each fresh light thus flashed upon the brain
The thirst for Inspiration would grow more,

Till we discovered that our greatest woe
Was our supremest blessing in disguise,
That the dear Lord whom we aspire to know
Is merciful as just and good as wise !

Father of Lights !—in whom no darkness dwells,
Sustaining partner of our sympathies,—
Pardon our weakness when the heart rebels,
Thou quickening strength of all our energies,

So that we may work for, look to, need none,
Know none but *Thee* ! Oh ! blessed God forgive
The coldness of our love—help us to shun
All needless ties and only in *Thee* live,

Having no other principle of life
But the sweet simple love of *Thee*—Oh ! make
Us more than conquerors in the stern strife
Of our probation here—for Jesus' sake !

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—To J. C.—Dear sorrowing friend—How much that I wanted to write for your comfort, and your brother's, has been left unsaid, and if with transparent selfishness, I have dwelt too much on my own old, dead, buried grief it has only been in order that I might identify myself more intimately with your recent affliction—with the wound still bleeding—when all purely human sympathy seems almost a mockery,—would that you believed in the spirit world !—Yet some of my poor "Twilight Thoughts"—dim and visionary though they be, like the uncertain light in which they were conceived and named after, whilst struggling for "more light"—the great Goethe's dying words—on the dual mysteries of Life and Death, good and evil—may be echoes of your own pure mind—save that you would have clothed them in more chaste language ! Peace be with you—your poor brother and the dear babe is the constant prayer of yours sincerely

Monghyr.

CHARLES L. ALEXANDER.

THE MARRIAGE AGITATION.

The age of consent agitation and the leprosy agitation possess one common significant feature. The one as well as the other has arisen with surprising suddenness and from a single case—the former from the death of Phulmani from the effects of violent co-habitation and the latter from the death of Father Damien from leprosy. Agitation commenced so suddenly and upon such a slender basis would naturally be regarded as being more sensational and sentimental than reasonable in character; and the fact that the leprosy agitation, begun almost with fury, has received a check, fully confirms this view of the matter. What the result of the age of consent agitation will be, no one can tell. But it is to be hoped that it will, like the leprosy agitation, pass fully through the stage of enquiry and consideration before it terminates in action, legislative or other. The agitation, it is gratifying to note, has already entered upon that stage. Men of all conditions have commenced to discuss the question of child marriage, widowhood, and the age of consent. As a Hindu of Bengal I consider it necessary to take a part in this discussion.

The question of raising the age of consent in the case of Hindu girls is intimately connected with that of Hindu child marriage. The lowest increase proposed is 12 years. But if puberty is attained before 12, as it is in some cases, any law making the 12th year the age of consent will clearly clash with the Sastras which make co-habitation upon the first occurrence of the menses obligatory. The orthodox portion of the vernacular press of Bengal is opposing, upon this ground, the proposal for raising the age of consent above 10 years, the age, after which, women are, according to the Sastras, in actual or constructive puberty. This objection against raising the age of consent is, from the Hindu religious stand-point, a formidable one, and I do not know how it can be got over. I have, indeed, seen it confronted in another section of the vernacular press of Bengal with such texts as that of Manu, which says that a girl should rather remain unmarried even when she has attained puberty than be married to an

unworthy person. But texts of this description prove, perhaps more strongly than more direct texts, that marriage before puberty is the rule of the Sastras and have apparently for their object the inculcation of the great desirability of finding good husbands for girls. Texts which could be interpreted to mean marriage after puberty might possibly be found in the Sastras. But such texts become rarer as we descend the stream of Hindu legislation, which means that, with the firmer organisation of Hindu society and the fuller growth and finer development of the moral sense of the Hindu people, marriage before puberty began to displace marriage after puberty, the form of marriage which prevailed, perhaps largely, in the earliest and unorganised or imperfectly organised condition of the Hindu community. And such texts exist simultaneously with texts conveying the opposite import, which means—as the simultaneous recognition by Manu of two forms of marriage so different from each other as the Brahma and the Paisacha means—that the older instinctive and spontaneous form of marriage after puberty was recognised by the lawgivers because it partially survived its displacement by the newer intelligent and systematic form of marriage before puberty. Marriage before puberty being thus the rule of the Sastras, and puberty before the twelfth year being a fact, or, at any rate, a possibility, no matter in how many or how few cases, any law or regulation making the 12th year the age of consent in the case of married Hindu girls will be a clear interference with the Hindu law and religion. And in this view of the matter, all arguments in favour of raising the age of consent, based upon such modern medical or other opinion about the age of puberty of Hindu girls as is at variance with the dictum of the Sastras on that point, will appear to be both irrelevant and immaterial.

The question of child marriage, or, as it is better to call it, early marriage, is thus the most important question that requires to be dealt with in connection with the question of raising the age of consent. And the only point in connection with early marriage that needs to be considered in this place is its reason or determining cause. For, when the determining cause of early marriage is truly known, the limits within which interference with Hindu marriage customs, direct or indirect, legislative or other, should be confined and what the character of that interference should be, will also be truly known.

Foreign writers, generally, find in external influences or circumstances the determining cause as well of early marriage as of many other Hindu institutions, such as the zenana

system. That they do so is because they use in their examination of Hindu social history the objective method of criticism which is rightly adopted by them in their examination of the social history of other peoples. Their habit of using that method everywhere else is the cause of their using it in regard to Hindu history too. But there are facts, almost universally admitted facts, to show that the Hindu is, of all peoples, the man who is least amenable to foreign or external influences. That the long Mussulman rule could not alter or affect him, is admitted by most English historians of India. And we have in the convocation speech of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, delivered in the year 1889, the latest, frankest and most authoritative English admission of the practical failure of English influence among the Hindus. And if Sir Comer Petheram's testimony needed corroboration, I think I could not do better than refer the enquirer to the new Bengali literature, the creation of English knowing Hindus, in which moral and political thought is still essentially Hindu in character. It is not at all likely, therefore, that the form of a fundamental and organic social institution like marriage can have been determined among the Hindus by foreign influences or by the circumstances of their position as a people divided amongst themselves or domineered over by foreign conquerors. According to Sir William Hunter, "the marriage system of the Hindoos was slowly and carefully elaborated, with a view to securing the *maximum* security to female life and female honour during the centuries of foreign invasion and internecine war, which, with the exception of brief intervals, made up the history of India before the advent of British rule." There is, in this passage, a view of the civil and political condition of the Hindus before the advent of British rule to which, with great diffidence and the utmost deference to the high authority I have quoted, I beg leave to demur. That the condition of the Hindus since the Mussulman conquests, long after the commencement of the Christian era, was not one of perfect security, may be admitted. But one may still be permitted to doubt whether the insecurity of that condition was so great as to have required, in spite of the strong village system and the stronger family organisation, so radical a change in the marriage system of the country. Indeed, in the Hindu family system, the individual, taken by himself, is almost nothing; the family, taken together, is a fortress. And to all who, like the present writer, feel, on the one hand, the power and the strength of the Hindu family and know, on the other, how small is the measure of personal freedom of action which, in the constitution of the family group, any indivi-

dual male member exercises or can exercise in relation to his own wife, early marriage as a means of providing individual protectors for women will hardly appear likely to have been the means that was adopted by the Hindus, supposing their insecurity since the commencement of foreign conquests was such as to require special measures for the protection of female life and honour. Indeed, the idea of individual protection for woman is an essentially European idea, derived, very probably, from the institution of chivalry, and is both unnecessary and inapplicable in the case of the Hindus. But Hindu history was, according to Sir William Hunter, a history of insecurity not only after but also before the commencement of the foreign conquests. Before those conquests, therefore, it was a history of insecurity arising from continual internecine wars. But considering the remarkable progress which the Hindus made under their own kings in so many branches of learning, in the useful and ornamental arts, and in the completing of a social organisation, incomparable for orderliness and dominated by the idea of the superiority of the spiritual over all other ideals of life, the Hindu period cannot possibly have been an era of incessant internecine conflicts. Nor is there any proof that it was such an era. But supposing it was dire insecurity throughout that period, the joint family system and the relation of the individual to that system will make it as difficult for us to connect early marriage with that insecurity as we have found it to connect early marriage with the succeeding insecurity. There is also this other difficulty to get over, namely, that long internecine wars in other countries, such as ancient Greece, did not affect their marriage systems. The Hindu institution of widowhood, too, stands in the way of our acceptance of Sir William Hunter's view of the origin of early marriage. Widowhood means the very opposite of protection from insecurity, and as it must have been then, as it is now, the lot of a very large number of Hindu women, the argument is hardly very convincing or satisfactory that it was, had recourse to for the purpose of securing protection from insecurity for unmarried female children. In the absence of a moral or spiritual motive for widowhood in the minds of the ancient Hindu lawgivers, it is almost impossible to conceive, except from a purely statistical stand-point, how it could have at all occurred to those lawgivers to prohibit re-marriage to the widow as a means of providing every unmarried female child with a protector. It would have been more natural for them to have created so much unprotected virginity in lieu of so much unprotected widow-

hood. And the fact that Manu does permit widow-marriage but only makes it less meritorious than widowhood shows that widowhood was not a statistical device of the Hindu lawgivers invented for the purpose of giving every unmarried female child a husband and protector.

The view that early marriage in this country is a protective institution is not, therefore, a view that can be accepted as correct. And the most important objection to it is that it makes light of, if it does not practically ignore, the religiousness and spirituality of the Hindu as the most powerful determining principle of Hindu life, Hindu history and Hindu institutions. It is the religiousness and spirituality of the Hindu that distinguishes him from all other peoples and makes the law of his life and civilisation generically different from that of the life and civilisation of other men. It is because religiousness and spirituality makes up a much larger proportion of the Hindu than it does of other men that his actions and institutions are so much more determined by causes arising out of his spiritual nature and so much less influenced by external circumstances than the actions and institutions of other people. In this unique and wonderful spirituality of the Hindu lies the determining cause and truest secret of early marriage. I will relate two stories from the Mahabharat :—

Galava was a pupil of the sage Visvamitra. Visvamitra would take no fee from Galava, but Galava insisted on his taking a fee. The sage grew angry and commanded Galava to give him 800 white horses each with one of its ears of the black colour. Galava went away dejected, for he was a poor man and knew not where or how to get so many horses of this description. After much thought and a good deal of wandering, he went to king Yayati and begged of him the animals he wanted. Yayati said that his treasury was now impoverished and he would be unable to procure 800 horses of the given description. He therefore said that he would give Galava his most beautiful daughter Madhavi and Galava might take Madhavi to wealthy kings who would gladly give Galava any number of horses of the stated description in consideration of the worthy heirs to their thrones they would receive by Madhavi. Galava took Madhavi to king Haryyasva of the Ikshvaku dynasty and asked him to take Madhavi and give him 800 white horses each with one of its ears of the black colour. King Haryyasva said that he would very much like to get a son by Madhavi, but could give Galava only 200 such horses. Galava left Madhavi with the king and took away 200 horses. Sometime after king Haryyasva had got a son, Galava returned to the king to take back

Madhavi. The king made over Madhavi to Galava, whereupon, in virtue of a *vara* or blessing she had previously received from a saint, Madhavi became a virgin. Galava then took her to another king whom she gave a son and who gave Galava 200 horses of the stated description. Madhavi again became a virgin and gave a son to yet another king who gave Galava 200 horses of the stated description. And here the story of Madhavi's recurring virginity ended, because, as Garuda told Galava, the remaining 200 horses could not be anywhere had. (Udyoga Parva, chapters 105 to 118).

The second story is very short. The celebrated Savitri, whose story, it should be noted, is revered as scripture in this country but meets with very scanty regard in Europe, was the daughter of a king. When she attained physical maturity, her father commanded her to choose the man whom she would like to make her husband. Savitri chose Satyavan and said to her father—"I have in my mind made him my husband." But the sage Narada informed her father that Satyavan was fated to die after one year from that time. Her father, thereupon, pressed her to choose another man. But she firmly replied—"When I have once chosen him, he and none but he shall be my husband. I will on no account choose any other man. An action is, first, resolved upon in the mind; it is, next, defined by words; it is, after that, finished by performance. In my opinion, the mind and the mind alone is the authority." Thereupon Narada told the king that her daughter's mind was extremely firm and he would not be able to make her turn from 'this path of virtue,' and went away commanding him to give his daughter to Satyavan. (Vana Parva, Chapters 292 and 293).

We detect, in these two stories, one of the most powerfully determining causes of the Hindu marriage system. The fiction, so to say, of virginity returning to Madhavi at her sexual acquaintance with every new man clearly means that the idea of a woman knowing only one man or knowing a man only in the character of a virgin had already begun to take possession of the Hindu mind. This idea is now found fully developed and rigorously established, at least in Bengal, and it must have been the most powerfully determining cause of the great Hindu institution of widowhood. And the story of Savitri means that a Hindu woman should not know more than one man even in thought, and that, as a consequence, knowing more than one man even in thought* is unchastity or adultery (*Vyabhichar*) for her. This idea of a woman not knowing more than one man even in thought is one of the

* On the same principle Mathew, V, 28—"Whoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

most powerful causes of early marriage, or, as it is more appropriate to call it here, marriage before puberty. Every one, at least in this country, can satisfy himself by enquiry at the proper quarter, that with the attainment of puberty there begins to arise in the female mind a desire for companionship with man or there is every likelihood of such a desire arising in it. And in the working of that desire likings may be formed which, if not satisfied by marriage—and it is certain that they cannot, as a rule, be so satisfied in this country—will constitute *vyabhichar* for the sex. In order to prevent this actual or possible *vyabhichar* or mental defilement, the Hindu lawgivers have ordained that woman should be married before she begins or is likely to begin to desire, that is to say, before she attains puberty. And the Hindu woman, at least in Bengal, is in full, firm and loving possession of this idea of not knowing more than one man even in thought. She, therefore, hates marriage after puberty, and anything that brings about such marriage, directly or indirectly, by legislation or otherwise, will be her confusion and utter disorganisation, will throw her off the very axis of her being, and will make of her a miserable wreck of a great moral, or, rather, virtuous personality. That she has not accepted Vidyasagar's widow marriage, is not because her parents are cruel to her, but because she herself hates widow marriage with all the strength of the truest, grandest and austere monogamist in the world. Her rejection of the great Pandit's so-called reform is, *quoad* herself, a full, free and perfectly voluntary rejection, except, perhaps, as regards the young widow who has never known her husband. And if she ever accepts widow marriage, enquiry will probably show that she has suffered a sad metamorphosis indeed. The habit of desiring or knowing many is not safe habit. It jeopardises morality by robbing it of its most important condition, *strictness which cannot be too scrupulous*.

We have seen that the idea of a woman knowing a man only in the character of a virgin is one of the most powerfully determining causes of the institution of widowhood and the idea of a woman not knowing more than one man even in thought is one of the most powerfully determining causes of the institution of early marriage. And we will now add that these two ideas taken together, and not the so-called mutilation of a Vedic verse by wicked Brahmins, were, or, perhaps, are the determining cause of Sati, which still exists, though not in its old form. It is degrading to think that great human tragedies or heroisms can result from mere literary smuggling. If there was smuggling in the Vedas, it was probably the effect and not the cause of Sati.

The standard of female morality, implied in the two ideas explained above, is a fact in this country. You may ask, whether it is a right standard and whether it ought not to be replaced by a standard less rigid, less austere, less high. To such questions I think that no answer need be given in this paper, in the paper, that is, in which the point most requiring to be known is, what is the standard of female morality actually prevailing in this country? We now know what that standard is and we are able to say that it is this high and pure and austere standard that regulates and governs the morality of our homes, determines the constitution of our domestic and, to some extent, of our social life, and makes the chastity of the Hindu woman proverbial in the world. It, therefore, seems almost certain and the knowledge we have of these matters fully supports the view that if this standard of female morality is lowered or relaxed, no matter by what means, then the very foundations of our life will be so unsettled and with such far-reaching consequences that there will be a veritable break-up of our home and society and unspeakable moral disorder and confusion everywhere. That will be a degradation and a disaster which, we hope, Providence will not inflict upon us.

Of the question, Why have such a high and pure and austere standard of female morality?, though a perfectly irrelevant one, a little passing notice may yet be taken. In so far as the standard is a high and pure standard, I think that no objection can or will be taken to it. In so far as it is an austere standard, I think that it will be enough to say that austerity cannot well be separated from height and purity and that wherever man or woman desires to attain height and purity there austerity is indispensable. Austerity, not asceticism, is at the bottom of all real human excellence, and it is a pity that we, English-knowing Hindus, are forgetting this and therefore want every social arrangement to be made easy and straight for man and woman. To the question which might possibly be asked, Is the Hindu standard of female virtue in conformity with or defensible upon the principles of ethical science? the reply need not be long or elaborate. Men's moral notions are nowhere derived from ethical science or ethical reasoning. They grow irrespective of that science and that reasoning. There is an element in moral notions, furnished by the heart, or the emotional bias, temperament, or constitution of man, or the likes and dislikes of men and women, all of the nature of ultimate facts, not reasoned out or to be reasoned away, and different for different peoples, which ethical science does not embrace. The Hindu notion of female virtue is due to some such ultimate fact or facts, and its

validity will suffer no harm if it cannot be defended upon the principles of ethical science. The notion is one instance of the Hindu habit of going very many degrees beyond other men and of being thoroughly thorough in all matters religious, spiritual and even secular, which a careful study of the true Hindu history, which yet remains to be read and written, is sure to disclose. But whatever it may be owing to, it is a fact and it is history, and very serious harm will be done by ignoring it. To ignore or disregard it and then to alter it would be to shatter the characteristic genius of Hindu womanhood, and that will be a much graver wrong to the Hindu woman and a wrong that will be felt by her far more acutely than any evils of widowhood or early marriage. And it will be a wrong not only to the Hindu woman, but to the whole Hindu nation, some of whose dearest and most sacred interests are, as a matter of course and under the scheme of life, pre-eminently spiritual in character and requiring, among other things, the indissolubility of the marriage tie, prescribed for them in their Sastras, essentially dependent upon the severe purity and austere moral genius of their women. The Hindu marriage system, unlike the marriage systems of other countries, is, in fact, in such organic relationship with other Hindu institutions that, to deal with it, as Indian social agitators and foreign thinkers apparently do, as an institution standing upon an independent basis and complete in itself, must be fundamentally wrong in principle and productive of consequences, for which no wise man should like to make himself responsible.

We now see that the idea of a woman knowing only one man whether in her mind or otherwise is an idea which explains both the parts of the Hindu marriage system, early marriage and widowhood, whilst the idea of protecting woman from insecurity is an idea which may explain one part of that system, early marriage, but will in no way explain the other, widowhood. So, regarded even as a theory, it is best to take the idea of a woman knowing only one man as a true determining cause of early marriage. And if that idea is the reason of early marriage, the fact, which may be admitted for the sake of argument, and of which so much is sought to be made by our agitators, that late marriage was the rule among the Hindus in the so-called Vedic times, becomes perfectly meaningless and immaterial. For, in the first place, the fact has passed away completely and very long since under the operation of powerful moral and social causes, and a return to it would, in the second, mean the abandonment of a superior in favour of an inferior standard of female and domestic virtue.

And this is the place where, I think, I should state, as briefly as possible, the view which is taken by many thoughtful English-knowing Hindus on this side of India of the agitation which is made in this country for abolishing early marriage, marrying widows, giving Hindu wives the right of repudiation, &c. It is this:—In so far as Europeans are concerned in this agitation, it means a condemnation of Hinduism in comparison with Europeanism, a condemnation, in which there is nothing to condemn. In so far as Indians and specially Hindus are concerned in this agitation, it possesses a very serious meaning. The Hindus who engage in this agitation are, mostly, English-knowing men. Now, one of the effects of English education in this country is that it makes its recipients forget the inner man and over-rate the outer man. The English-knowing Hindu knows not or cares not to know that life, according to his Sastras and his ancestors, has a supreme spiritual purpose which demands a fearful sacrifice of the outer man and before which the so-called rights, liberties, personal predilections, individualities, &c., about which even earnest men quarrel in Europe and America, are nothing or need not be very important things. Nor has he, in most instances, any serious spiritual or even social purpose of his own to work out. He, therefore, attaches too much importance to the outer man. He is of a weak moral fibre and has not in him much of that moral sternness and austerity or of that capacity to be stern and austere without which there can be no real greatness, national or individual, spiritual or even earthly. He, therefore, feels more for the body than for the soul, and gives to the likes of the outer man and woman the threatening name of rights and to their dislikes the sensational name of grievances. And he accordingly agitates for the abolition of widowhood and early marriage. He is a spiritual or spiritually designed man materialised by his education; and he is endeavouring to materialise the men and women who have not yet received his education. This view of the Hindu social agitator is one that is seldom publicly expressed and few Englishmen here probably know of its existence. It is not known how the matter stands in Madras and Bombay and what is the standard of domestic virtue in those provinces. But if men like Mr. Justice Trimluck Telang have been correctly reported and if they really represent Hinduism in Southern India, then all that has been written in this paper applies only to the Hindus of Bengal.

The present Hindu practice of marrying girls before puberty is a very good practice. But it is not absolutely necessary, on

that account; to marry them so early as their fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth year. I think that marrying Hindu girls as near the period of their puberty as possible should be our universal practice; and it is gratifying to find that this practice is extending amongst us. But no definite age can or should be laid down for the regulation of this practice, because there is no fixed age at which girls begin to menstruate. Each case must be dealt with by itself, and there can therefore be no legislative regulation of the minimum age of marriage for girls. The marriage of Hindu girls close upon their puberty will put an end to most of the evils of infant marriage, and may in course of time delay puberty and consequently marriage itself to an extent which should satisfy all parties.

The evil of co-habitation before puberty is not such an evil as the agitators say it is. It is not at all a common evil. No bad case of this kind could occur but it should come to the knowledge of us, men of the country, through that most perfect of intelligence departments, the zenana. But there are, I am sure, very few amongst us, however advanced in years, who have heard of many such cases. There might however be and I fear that there are, now-a-days, a few such cases here and there. But legislation will be too gigantic a machinery to set in motion for their prevention. They will disappear with the extension of the new practice of marrying girls close upon the period of their puberty.

The real remedy for this very grave evil should be sought in religious and moral education. We must try our best and we must try heart and soul to make our children better, respecters of social and domestic discipline, and respecters of the Sastras. The instruction to be given them should be given from the Hindu standpoint, because it is only such instruction that can be enforced on the Hindu method. Instruction given from any other standpoint will only increase the difficulty of the present Hindu situation.*

It is thus clear that the Hindu community now stands face to face with a very serious responsibility. It is not, indeed, a respon-

* I will give only one illustration. In that little poem entitled *My Mother* every child in this country is told that a mother's 'care' can be 'rewarded.' This idea of 'rewarding' a mother's care is in direct opposition to the teaching of the Sastras, that the son's debt to his father and mother can not be repaid in even hundreds of years (Manu, II—227) and is repugnant to the prevailing orthodox notion. But the new teaching is easier to follow than the old and it has, therefore, begun to diminish our stock of filial affection and reverence, to produce shameful breaches of domestic morality, and to give rise, in some cases, even to pecuniary assessments and appraisings of the parental demand and the filial obligation.

sibility which they have themselves created. But it is beyond all manner of doubt a responsibility which it is their duty to take up and discharge. The Hindu revival movement and other similar movements, recently started, mean that they have acknowledged this duty and will perform it manfully, earnestly, and with all their might. But the evil to be expunged is already a sore and serious one, whilst the effect of instruction must be the work of time. Let, then, the head of every family, in which loss of discipline has resulted in enfeebled youth and sickly suffering maternity, at once bethink himself of his responsibility for the safety, and welfare of every life under him and take such measures for the restoration of order as his own judgment instructed by the law of his society will demand or authorise.

It is not necessary, in this paper, to consider the question of Hindu widowhood. That question has not acquired prominence in the present agitation. I will, therefore, say only one word in connection with it. It is that, in the opinion of many thoughtful Hindus here, the best reform in this direction would be, not remarrying widows, but stopping the remarriage of widowers except where their remarriage is strictly demanded by the Sastras.

A BENGAL HINDU.

NOTES ON BIRBHUM.

I spent a fortnight in Birbhum, and though there were many things which I did not see, I was able to make one or two interesting excursions. The district has in a manner been made classic ground by the writings of Sir William Hunter. His *Rural Annals* deal chiefly with Birbhum and its Sonthalia borderland, and his recent contribution to the *Contemporary Review* "The old Missionary" contains many references to Suri the civil station of the district. Whoever may have been the original of the old Missionary (if there was an original) there can be no doubt that the author has laid him to rest in the little graveyard at Suri. The orchard with its mound is there, and the great tamarind tree rises up in the centre of the pinfold-like enclosure. Standing as it does in the midst of the graves, and overshadowing and even touching them with its drooping branches, the noble tree seems like a long-robed priest blessing and shepherding the tiny flock of exiles who are gathered at his feet. Arabella Brooke, the Judge's little daughter of the *Cook's Chronicle*,* lies there with the date 6th November 1797 as mentioned in the old Missionary. Nay the old Missionary himself may lie there for the cemetery contains the grave of the Rev. James Williamson in whose character and career we find something akin to the traits so touchingly described in the story. Like Thomas in the last century, Mr. Williamson was originally a ship's doctor, and forsook his profession in order to preach the Gospel. He laboured for forty years in the cause, and died in December 1866. It does not appear that he ever evangelised among the Sonthals.

In the same graveyard there are the tombs of a father and two sons who were struck down by cholera while in all the vigour of manhood, and who died, it is said, within half an hour of one another. Such a triple death may remind us of Laocoon and his

* Hunter's *Rural Annals*, App. C. 422. The cook, Ram Ghulam, seems to have described himself as being eighty years of age, but as he was only a child in arms when the little girl died in the end of '97 he could not have been more than seventy when he gave his statement in 1864.

two sons, but an Anglo-Indian will rather think of another little graveyard in Bengal, that at Jamalpore in Mymensingh, where three young officers are buried, who went out together on a shooting expedition and all died within one week of jungle fever.

To Sanscritists and Bengalis, Birbhum has been classic ground for centuries owing to its being the reputed birthplace of Jaya Deva the author of the *Gita Govind*. Kenduli on the Adji (Ajay, unconquerable) river is said to be his native village, and an annual fair is held there in the month of Magh in his honour. Jaya Deva's poem probably loses much in translation for his admirers dwell chiefly on the melody of his versification. It has been translated into English prose by Sir William Jones, into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold, into Latin by Lassen, and there is also a recent Bengali translation by the Pandit of the Asiatic Society (Hari Mohan Bidyaratna). All seem to agree* that his poem is mystic, but an ordinary reader would as soon believe that Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* was mystic. The comparison with the *Song of Solomon* is surely misleading, even if the latter poem be not, as Nicbuhr and others have believed, merely a Jewish love-song. The opinions of Jaya Deva's countrymen about the object of his song would be entitled to more weight if they had taken any pains to preserve a record of his life. But they know nothing about him, and can only recite such apocryphal legends as that he walked every day to and from the Bhagirathi—a journey of some eighty miles. They are not even agreed as to what century he lived in. Some say that he belonged to the 12th century and the reign of Lachman Sen, while others hold that he was a follower of Chaitanya who, was a contemporary of Luther.

The hot springs of Bakeswar are one of the sights of Birbhum. They lie about twelve miles west of Suri (pronounced Shiyuri by the natives). Their environment is anything but romantic. We come suddenly upon them in the middle of a big rice plain—about the last place where we should expect anything remarkable or abnormal. The Brahmans too have done their best to vulgarise the place. They have built little conical temples all about, they are very importunate, they use the place as a burning-ghat, and they have not even cleared the springs of dirt, or gathered the water into a limpid pool like that at Sitakund in Monghyr. But for all that the phenomenon is too striking not to be regarded with interest. The water comes out of crevices in the

* Lassen however truly remarks that the poet has laboured more to describe sensual love than intellectual longings.

rock, very hot—apparently 20 degrees hotter than Sitakund, for in December 1850 the temperature of the hottest spring was found to be 162.* All round, the air is impregnated with sulphur and indeed the odour of sulphur is the first thing that announces the vicinity of the springs. The water is said to be good medicinally,† and it is certainly good for crops and flowers. Some oleanders on the bank were in full bloom. There is a good description of the place in Bhola Nath Chandra's *Travels of a Hindoo*, but here I must note that Bhola Nath's book is on the whole disappointing. Where he has actually seen a place, his descriptions are very graphic, but I suspect that he often writes from hearsay. For instance I cannot believe that he visited the ruins of Gaur though he says that every one who travels up the river should see them. Had he gone over them he would have given us a racy description in his own words, instead of sticking as he has done, to generalities, and making references to books. Similarly if he had climbed Rohtas hill he would have told us about Rohitashan, and not have made the incorrect statement that Koer Singh's brother defended Rohtas for three months against the British. The great merit of his book is that it describes places which Englishmen have not visited, or at least have not written about.

Rajnagar is another interesting place. It is about twenty miles west of Suri, and is the old capital of the district. By some it has been supposed to be the Nagore to which Bakhtiyar Khilji made a cause-way from Gaur, but this is hardly likely, especially as it seems to be only called Nagar or Rajnagar, and never Nagore. The Mahomedans only got possession of the town in comparatively recent times. Grant in the 5th Report says that Asad-Ullah (father of Baddi-Us-Zaman) an Afghan got it from Jaffer Khan about 1722 as a fief, and on the feudal tenure of defending the marches. Native tradition says that the first Afghan owner was originally the Rajah's darwan, and got possession of the country by corrupting the Rani.‡ Sir William Hunter give his Pandit's version and then adds that the learned Pandit has spoiled a very striking legend, and that he hopes to tell it elsewhere in its proper form. But I am afraid that he has never done this. There is a large and beautiful tank, full of lotuses, and with a jaltúngí, or artificial island and summer

* Sherwill's Report on Birbhum p. 14.

† It does not appear that the water has been analysed.

‡ There is yet another version and one which we shall hope is the true one. This is that the Raja fell in battle and that his faithful queen drowned herself in a tank which is to this day known as the Ranidaha.

house in the centre. The name of the tank bespeaks its Hindu origin, for it is called Kalidaha.

The Hindu dynasty is said to have been of the Brahman caste, and we are told that it was splendid and powerful. But it does not appear that it ever attained the celebrity of the Bishenpore (Vishnupur) Raj in the neighbouring district of Bankura. The Birbhum Rajahs surrounded their capital with a lofty and very extensive embankment, which in part still exists, but they did not attract the admiration of foreigners in the way that Bishenpore did. Holwell, it seems, expatiated on the virtues of the Bishenpore rulers, and Abbé Raynal followed him, and drew an enchanting picture of the Bishenpore oasis as he called it, describing it as an Arcadia and as governed by the gentlest and most hospitable of princes. This singular passage occurs in his history of the East and West Indies, and I may remark in passing that it is probable that Hastings was alluding to this same work when he said (*Rural Annals*, p. 380) that the dreadful famine of 1770 had been made known to the public by laboured descriptions in which every circumstance of fact, and every art of language had been accumulated to raise compassion, and to excite indignation against the Company's servants.*

The Mahomedan family was for a long time powerful, and one member.—Ali Naki Khan—is said to have taken part in the capture of Calcutta in 1756 and to have founded the suburb of Alipore. But the "inevitable hour" of decay has now overwhelmed the family. The last owner mentioned in the Pandit's Chronicle

* Grant has two descriptions of Bishenpore. In one he is disposed to adopt Abbé Raynal's version and says that his and Holwell's descriptions are by no means the unauthorised sketches of a poetical faucy, or of a mind wholly deluded by ideal schemes of human felicity. "The natives of India universally, with the fewest possible animal wants, bloodless in their disposition, patient probationary sufferers under the severest despotism, founded with them apparently in nature, or rendered supportable by the religious doctrine of transmigration, are at once the most passively happy, submissive, timid, inoffensive, orderly, and easiest to be controlled, perhaps, of any race of people in the world

nor are we to be surprised that the Chuars (thieves) of Bishenpore, under the influence of so mild a religion as the Brahman . . . should respect the rules of hospitality among themselves, observe good faith with strangers who solicit and pay for personal protection or passing through their country, or show the most profoundest veneration for the despotic chief."

Elsewhere he shortly says, "This district, (Bishenpore) celebrated by modern speculative historians for the primitive, inoffensive manners of its inhabitants under an Utopian system of internal administration, and distinguished in Bengal as a nest of thieves."

(Rural Annals 438) was Johar al Zaman. He is now dead, and the only thing belonging to his minor son is $1\frac{1}{4}$ annas of the Khanabari. Apparently opium has been the bane of the family.

About six miles N. W. from Suri on the right bank of the Mor (Mayuraksha or peacock's eye) there is a place called Bhandirban where there is a lofty temple to Siva and a most magnificent tamarind tree. It is finer by a good deal than the one in the Suri graveyard, noble tree though that is. I am indebted to Nil Kumar Halder Settlement Officer and son of the well known antiquarian Rakhal Das Halder for the following copy and translation of the inscription on the temple :—

TRANSLATION.

In the year 1676 (1754) of the Saka Era, as approved in the Sástras, a certain Brahman by name Rámnath, born in the tribe of the Bhadurics, having seen the Bhandiswar Siva and become filled with great reverence, and then having for his satisfaction built a temple of brick, beautiful and curiously constructed, clear and shining like silver—dedicated it to the Peaceful Siva—who is Bruhma the Supreme Spirit. O Sankara, his prayer is that he may have devotion towards thy feet and that he may obtain salvation.

SANSKRIT.

রসাক্ষি বোড়শ শকে সংখ্য কে
শাস্ত্র সম্মতে। রামনাথ বিজঃ
কশ্চিং ভাঙ্কড়ী কুল সম্ভবঃ ॥
ভাতীশ্বরং শিবং দৃষ্টা একান্ত
ভক্তি সংযুতঃ। তৎপ্রীত্যার্থে
বিনির্মাণ উষ্টকাময় মন্দিরং ॥
বিচিত্রং রচিতং রম্যং বজ্রভাতং
পরিস্কৃতং। দদৌ শিবায় শাস্ত্রায়
ব্রহ্মণে পরমাত্ম পে ॥ যাচতে
স্বংগদে ভক্তিং যুক্তিং বা দেহি শঙ্কর।

The same gentleman informs me that Ram Nath the builder of the temple was a Sazawal under the Nawab of Murshidabad. The tamarind is believed to mark the birth-place of Rishya Sringa Muni. Bhandirban was his hermitage, and the Mor is identified with the Tamasa of the Mahabharat.

I could not see the rocks of Dubrajpur for want of time. I had many Session cases to try; some of those were from the Sonthal Parganas, and very strange and heinous in character. It struck me that they might have been more satisfactorily tried in Sonthalia for it was very difficult to find competent interpreters. When the trial

of the cases of the Sonthals was first transferred to Birbhum, Government made provision for their being tried in Sonthalia if it was found necessary, but in practice I believe that they have always been tried at Suri. As the district of Birbhum is a small one, probably the Judge could hold Sessions occasionally at Nya Dumka or Deoghar without inconvenience.

H. BEVERIDGE.

NOTE.—It is a curious circumstance that the Christopher Keating who is so often mentioned in the Rural Annals did homage in his latter days to Mahomedanism, and built a mosque at Muradpur in Bankipore. It seems that he suffered from a form of leprosy (*leukodema*) and was cured by the application of some sacred dust from an *Imambara*. His Mahomedan concubine suggested this cure and in gratitude he built the mosque in her name. It appears that it is still known by the name of Bibi Jan's mosque. The Moharam was celebrated there in Mr. Keating's time, and taxias were escorted to Shah Arzani's dargah by a detachment of sepoys. I am indebted for this information to the Rev. Mr. Hyde of St. John's Church. Mr. Hyde's attention was drawn to the matter by a passage in Henry Martyn's Journals where he laments the state of things at Patna and instances the fact of the Judge's having built a mosque and performed Mahomedan ceremonies. As the mosque was built in 1212 Hijra or 1797 the scandal was ten years old when Martyn came to the neighbourhood.

A RAINY SEASON PAPER;

A MIDNIGHT MEDITATION IN AUGUST.

We are in Lower Bengal, in the height of the rains. The frogs are in full chorus in the *tope* yonder. The insect-world has had a high time around my light while I turned over page after page of the diaries I wrote long years ago—twenty-five years ago, and before I had realised that when, on some such night as this, I shall lie with grave-yard grass for my coverlet, our wise old world will have forgotten me, and be all the better for having done so. The resurrection of my old thoughts has saddened me. They do not fit into my life to-day; they constituted my life then. My chamber has been thronged to-night with ghosts. The vanished lights of the past have shone out of the faded ink. The silent voices of a quarter of a century ago have whispered weirdly from the musty leaves, of affections which have changed, friendships which have perished, hatreds which have grown cold, misunderstandings which time alone has, too late, explained away, fears which have proved groundless, disappointments which were blessings in disguise. My brain is seared, and my soul subdued: the past and the dead have been too near me. I can settle to nothing, not even to sleep. I can only muse on shadows, and listen to the wailing of the rainy wind.

It has been raining ever since sunset. The twilight was shorter, and the early hours of the night more gloomy than usual, and the rain is still coming down steadily. The rumble of carriages and the shoutings of their drivers have ceased; and the drenched horses are themselves now gulfed in abysses which sink deeper than the longest plumb-lines of thought. The swelling waves of sound which the church clocks sent forth at midnight to brave the monotonous patter of the shower came through the wild air timidly, softening down their ghostly chimings, and hurrying between the pelting drops which were smoothing out their music: it was only by such airy devices that they still had voice left to tell mortals another day was being gathered up to

take its stand among the haunting shadows of the past. With what mingled feelings does it fill the soul to wander forth on a night like this to some spot which is busiest during the day, and to contrast its present desolation with its vanished life! Or, better still, to select, not the unfrequented streets and by-ways, but some favourite resting place among the green fields, where there hover at all times the spirits of loneliness and silence. Surely the ghosts who love solitude have gathered up their ghostly *impedimenta*, and have deserted their old haunts, leaving the waste places lonelier in the night-storm!

Fancy's eye shall traverse the busy thoroughfares, which now are a dead level of puddle and discomfort. No wheel-ruts are visible. The dirt-heaps have been washed down into the gutters, and the rough pebbles by the road side exist conjecturally where the water breaks into ripples above them. If the city had been deserted for years, the traces of recent traffic could hardly have been more completely obliterated. And as all these things bear testimony in their own way to significant facts, it seems as if the rain had washed away a page of history. From the pictures it has left, the geologist knows that rain has blurred the hieroglyphics in many pages of "the great stone-book." With no unwarrantable stretch of fancy, to-night's rain seems to be steadily defacing a page of the history of to-day. If the tracks of my footsteps left in dusty roads, and across green fields, were to become suddenly and distinctly visible, they would reveal a self-traced record of the monotonous course of my life. We all, in many ways, unconsciously to ourselves, leave our individual marks on the hard face of this world, from which we could gather the truth about ourselves more reliably than traces of character are said to be detectable in hand writing. As it is, only the angels' eyes see that which so closely concerns us, and we pass heedlessly by. To-night's rain is washing out myriads of memorials far and near. Would that it could wash out from the soul the trail of old and forgotten sins, and the stains with which guilt has tarnished the spirit's lustre! If it rained on thus for the rest of my days, I should still feel that the promise of hope given to the early world in rainbow-lights was for ever redeemed, for the guilt freed heart would once more revel in the buoyant gladness of its sinless childhood!

Passing away from the city, and calling memory to the aid of fancy, I know what this rain storm is like on the rivers far inland. I know that there are mat-roofed boats, in clusters of twos and threes, along the mud-banks at intervals of six or eight miles, where they are made fast for the night as snugly as possible.

Three or four hours ago, by a dim rude light, the dusky figures of the boatmen might have been seen in each boat crowding round their rice-laden platters, and contentedly eating the same description of food, in the same primitive style, which met with the approval of their orthodox fore-fathers fourteen generations back. The greasy little *chirag*, though its glimmer gave the uncertain light in which the forms of the remoter world are most apparent, was necessary: if they had dared to eat in darkness, a shadowy, uninvited guest would have joined each of them at his evening meal. The atmosphere round them was chokingly full of wood-smoke, which could not force a way through the saturated mats of their roof into the dull weather outside. Around them hung to dry the few strips of dirt-stained cloth which constituted the whole wardrobe of the crew! On this rainy evening they spoke little; and that little was chiefly about money, the principal topic of conversation with the classes which have least personal acquaintance with the radical evil. Their evening meal finished, the drenched boat-men huddled themselves together, as I know from the receding voices which whispered to me while I read my old diaries, some flinging themselves to rest on the grain bags composing their cargo; others stretching themselves out for the night on the narrow passages constructed of split-bamboos, and which form the only thing on board which approaches a deck. They are certain to enjoy a sounder and more dreamless sleep than often tortures the restless nights of the civilised races. As they dropped off, the last sound which lulled them away was the monotonous patter of the shower on their leaky roof, and the roar of the rain on the river. Sleep on: it may be that your grosser natures are at all times more akin to sleep, and the things pertaining thereto, than our delicately organised systems, and the endlessly, wearying trains of thought which rack us. You will arouse yourselves tomorrow, long before the morning sun peeps over the high bank which shelters you cosily under its lee; and as the fresh river breeze blows away the light smoke from your gurgling *hookahs*, you will pull out the rude pegs which secure you to the bank to-night, and start off refreshed to continue your leisurely prosecuted voyage!

Accompany me to-night in fancy to the crowded cemetery. The rain falls there with a muffled patter, and the blast wails and moans sympathisingly over the last sleep of the dead. How bravely our loved ones rest through the storm! When nature wrought her great change on them, we who once wrapped them close in the warmest folds of unselfish affection, sought to hide them away out of

our sight ; and we brought them here, and left them here—desolate. Solemn thoughts are awakened in us as we peer into the darkness that shrouds their tombs. What shall our creed be to-night ? If it be the materialist's nightmare dream, we shall recognise our lost ones in the wisps that gasp up phantom-like from the sodden earth, and cast phosphorescent gleams on the wetted graves, and along the gilded lines on the tablets. If it be the wild fancy that the soul loses its individuality in the universe, then are the voices of our past borne to us in the moaning sounds that rise around us, we know not whence ; and the glare of the lightning on the low horizon is the quenched love-light of the soft eyes which waked a higher life in us. If it be the superstitious no-creed of a dark age, our troublous faith will detect those who have gone before flitting restlessly among the tombs, or, hurrying to and fro above the graves, weaving ceaseless dances in the air to the dreary music of the rainy winds. I prefer to think of them as being not here where their mortal forms have mouldered away. Surely they have left this desolate graveyard to minister cheerfulness, and to awaken kindly smiles as of yore in the old, lighted home ; or to brood peacefully in angel-shapes over the sleep of us who are still in the flesh, battling it may be even in our dreams with the manifold temptations of the earth-life. What imp of darkness dare assail us when conorts of such guardian spirits stand round our nightly rest to shield us with a love that has triumphed over death ?

Memory on this rainy night brings up visions of lonely men, who in secluded factories sat down this evening to a solitary dinner ; and on whom, when the evening meal was concluded, two or three cleanly dressed and respectful Brahmin writers waited. They read letters in Bengali from stations before the judges of which interminable law suits are pending ; letters from seed-merchants ; from the *naiibs* at the outfactories ; it may be from the great *cotee*, the head office, in a city which exceeds in dimensions and facilities the limits set to it by the fancies of even these men. They received instructions from the solitary European whose nearest neighbour is seventeen miles distant, and then they left him ; and as their voices grew fainter in the darkness through which they passed to their distant homes, a servant brought in the newspaper which had arrived by dak during dinner. His master plunged into its columns for refuge. Later on according to established custom, a portfolio, pens and ink were brought ; one or two business letters were written ; something was ordered from a tradesman whose advertisement had suggested a want never felt till it was perused to-night. The letters were

folded up leisurely, addressed and stamped; and an order, which echoed through the silent rooms, was given to light the lamp which was to conduct the lonely man to his bed-chamber; then followed strict injunctions to see that the freshly written epistles were started off before dawn by the regular factory dak runner. These duties performed, the solitary sauntered about; looked out musingly into the storm; and finally he "turned in." With the rain for his lullaby he was wafted into dreams of a remote land beyond the silver seas; and the weird glamour of visions, blending the past with the present, restored to him, in the place of his exile, the unbroken circle of his early home—his home as he knew it before death and separation had reduced its numbers, and hushed its merriment. Would that he could wake to find his vision realised!

In the jungle which spreads not far from the sleeper, the shower with the blast for its impetuous driver, is rushing with a noise like a river bursting its bounds. Among the dripping leaves the birds clutch the rocking boughs where they roost with a grip which almost fixes their tiny claws into the softened bark. The bear and the jackal have skulked along the jungle pathways, and they, too, are standing, drenched and pensive, under the creeper-festooned trees. The lithe snakes, driven out of the crevices wherein they lurk by an intrusive element against which their own envenomed bite is harmless, have glided silently and swiftly along an ever-winding way, and you will find them on such nights as this mounted among the branches in the brushwood. The restless monkeys are clinging nervously to the thicker boughs of the most thickly leaved trees; they are actually at rest at last! Are they dreaming of mischief? Of the execution of plotted raids on fruit-gardens? Of airy leaps in the flickering sunlight; of long marches through the green pomp of forests which echo back their ceaseless chattering? Only a few sheltered cicadas and crickets are awake, and their voices are well-nigh drowned by the rushing rain. What is the burden of their mysterious song, poured forth so determinedly? Does it hymn the praise of that great old race which found beauty in all things, and heard it in the cicada's shrill chirp not less than in the solemn wheeling of the quiet stars? Does it tell of the beauteous mystery of all this visible universe; of the glorious loveliness of bud and blossom which perish in the bursting where no human eye may ever chance to note them; of the misty shadows which the moonbeams cast around the humble children of nature when tingling silence broods over the wilderness? Of none of these things. What then? Have they sung

through all the ages with no meaning in their unchanging melody ? Not so ! He who listens will hear a requiem on the vicissitude of mortal things, and weird ideas of the infinite eternity will rise like phantoms on his soul. His spirit will be driven forth on the trackless wastes of thought, wherein it will find no place of rest ; and whence it will return, wing-weary, trembling, and humbled to the familiar voices of the earth for refuge.

I can sympathise with rain-clouds. When they fling their gloomy pall over the land, I can look up to them as to things, which like myself, will have an end, things which are not infinite, however exhaustless may seem the store-house from which they are flung forth to-night. The gloom may depress, but it does not overwhelm me as the starry heavens do on a cloudless night. How ceaselessly those restless lights then quiver ! How vast is the unfathomable gulf which lies between them and me ! I may soar up in fancy, but I am ever an eternity behind, an infinity below the stars ! They are placed beyond the taint of human infirmity. They are above the reach of human passion. It does not seem to be so with the rain-cloud and the night-storm. They are torn with fury ; they hurry along as if they feared that, like the frail creatures over whom they weep themselves away, they too would be wearied and lifeless ere their mission was accomplished. For they come to gladden the earth ; to quench its feverish thirst with bright draughts of sparkling water cooled for the purpose in their vapour-hung chambers ; to wash the hot dust off its furrowed face ; to pour into it the fresh young life and the renewed vigour which they bring down from heaven ; to make it burst forth anew with the green beauty of leaflet and waving blade, and the delicate tinting of fair flowers ; and to perfume its blossoms with the balmy breath of nature's eternal infancy. Is this their only mission ; is this all they are doing to-night ?

ARTHUR DIGGES.

THE HEART OF MAN.

[*From the German of Schmidt von Lübeck.*]

Throughout Creation's vast domain,
What is the purest, brightest gem?
The pearl of pearls without a stain,
On Nature's starry diadem?

Her master-work which baffles Art,
The greatest marvel that we see?
—It is Man's warm, impassion'd Heart,
When kindl'd into ecstacy!

Such heart was mine in life's young morn:
I felt as if the sea and land
Could on my finger's end be borne,
That all must bow at my command.

'Then speak not of seraphic pleasures,—
Tho' in the azure vault one sees
Ten thousand suns and gleaming treasures,
Man's heart is grander far than these!

They say that heaven is surely there,
Where stars, in myriads, brightly glow,
But O, the heaven beyond compare,
Is in the heart of Man below!

Speak not of racking grief or woe,—
What pain will I not lightly dare,
And let my life-blood freely flow,—
'Tis not for death Man's Heart to scare!

And when, at eve, with tones subdued,
The fountain murmurs in its play;
And o'er loose pebbles many-hued,
The streamlet gently speeds away;

When the sad autumn moon her crest
Reveals, thro' cloudlets silver-fraught,
And on the pale white rose's breast,
Soft weeps a lone forget-me-not ;

There's peace around ; but sooth to tell,
Since Eden's gates for aye did close,
No peaceful state could e'er excel
Man's Heart in its entranc'd repose !

O. C. DUTT.

REVIEWS.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH SOCIETY'S LETTER TO GOVERNMENT ON THE
"AGE OF CONSENT" QUESTION, DATED 1ST SEPTEMBER 1890.

The Council of the Public Health Society of Calcutta have availed themselves of the Hari Mohan Maiti episode to bring an important subject before the notice of the Government. Mr. W. J. Simmons, in his capacity as Honorary Secretary of the Society, has addressed a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in which he points out the advantages to be gained by raising the "age of consent" (which the Penal Code fixes at 10 years) to either twelve or thirteen years. Whatever we may think of the main point at issue, we can have but one opinion as to the courtesy and moderation with which Mr. Simmons has discussed a subject of deep interest to Hindus generally. "The Council would," he says, "hesitate to give to the suggestions presented in this letter the appearance of a reform which commends itself solely to the Anglo-Indian community." * * * "The native community requires the sympathy and the assistance of their Anglo-Indian fellow subjects." * * * "The Council direct me to lay special stress upon the point that in whatever facts they may adduce, they have no charge of any kind against the native community." These extracts show the spirit in which the letter has been written; and, whether native community adopt or reject the views of the letter, they are bound to accept it as a temperate statement of the feeling with which Anglo-Indians regard the subject.

The immediate purpose of the letter is, as stated above, to advocate the raising of the "age of consent" by two or three years. Mr. Simmons does not enter upon the subject of infant-marriage. He does not propose any legal interference with that. What he declares is that reform is urgently demanded in two directions:—

- 1st. The age at which intercourse with a female becomes a criminal offence;
- 2nd. The age at which a wife may be taken home for good by her husband.

With regard to the first, it is only the fifth clause of Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code that he wishes altered, substituting either "twelve" or "thirteen" for "ten". With regard to the second, he considers a separate enactment necessary, and less difficulty would be met in dealing with this than with the first question.

We need not repeat the arguments by which Mr. Simmons maintains his position. The subject has been already well discussed, and most men are familiar with the appeals to the code of Menu, the Mahomedan law, and Dr. Chevers's work on Medical Jurisprudence. The question is by no means a new one; and if it be true that social opinion among Hindus is tending towards the reforms advocated by the more progressive members of the community, we shall be glad to hear of it. Anything that contributes to the improvement of the Hindus as a race, whether it be in physique or in morals must be welcomed with distinct approval. But it is first necessary to be quite sure that social opinion is quite prepared and is even anxious for the change. One of the English journals has aptly quoted Sir Alfred Lyall's declaration that "any real improvement must await the impulse of a wide-spread desire for a social change. State interference could at present do little good, and would almost inevitably be misunderstood by the bulk of the people." Then again, is it quite true that the evil is as great as represented to be? Among the educated and more intelligent members of the community it cannot be so pronounced as to require State interference. We understand that the Government intend bringing in a bill to raise the age of consent." We sincerely trust that whatever steps may be taken will be such as are only necessary and inevitable. It is impossible to effect a great social revolution without proceeding most cautiously, and separating facts from the romances of enthusiasts.

THE POLICE AND A GAMBLING CASE. QUEEN-EMPRESS versus BABOO JANG BAHADUR SINGH AND OTHERS . . . COMMENTED ON BY BABOO SANWAL SINGH, LICENTIATE-IN-LAW OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY, AND ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT VAKIL DIPLOMA HOLDER, SUBORDINATE JUDGE, MIRZAPUR. 1890.

This is a full and detailed account of a gambling case in which the writer's son was charged with being found in a common gaming house, and on conviction was fined in the sum of two rupees. Baboo Sanwal goes through the whole of the proceedings in the most exhaustive fashion, and argues that the evidence did not

afford satisfactory evidence of the guilt of his son, who, so far from being engaged in gambling, or being in a common gaming house, was assembled with some friends at a "Satnarayan worship."

The writer claims that the case is of more than individual interest; that the public are concerned in it, inasmuch as it shows how the police and some Criminal Judges misapprehend the most important provisions of Act III of 1867 and certain rules of the Code of Criminal Procedure. This misapprehension leads to many innocent subjects of the Crown being carelessly converted into offenders. It also shows how Magistrates are sometimes prejudiced against accused persons by the Police. A whole chapter is devoted to a scheme for the reorganization of the Police force, and some changes in the law are strongly recommended, especially the whipping Act VI of 1864, which the writer condemns as "retrograde and savage." Our legislators will lose nothing, and possibly learn a good deal, by a perusal of the chapter in which the malpractices of the Police, and the sources of the evils are pointed out. The writer's reorganization scheme may also be found worthy of attention.

There are traces of extensive reading, intimate knowledge of the facts, and undoubted largeness of views in the pamphlet before us. It appeals of course mainly to a special class of readers. But Police Reform is a subject on which the public in general may be supposed to be interested, and the essay on the Satnarayan (true God) worship will be welcome to collectors of folk-lore.

SONNET.

*"Why sufferest thou, O Love?"—*Methought there fell
These sweet, consoling words upon my ear;
And in my dream I saw her standing near,
Whom I have loved—not wisely—but too well.
The rapture of that moment who can tell!
The anguish of long months did disappear
At her approach;—again her glances clear
My willing soul envelop'd with their spell.
Alas! the pleasant dream has past away,
And very bitter is my portion now;
How far, O Darling, is that blessed day,
When thy dear lips shall touch my burning brow,
And thy soft voice caressingly will say :
"I am beside thee, Love,—why sufferest thou?"

O. C. DUTT.

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OUR EDUCATIONAL NEEDS: INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL.

[The following is the substance of a lecture delivered at an anniversary meeting in commemoration of David Hare, held on the 1st of June 1890 in the hall of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. The descriptive phrase "Intellectual and Political" was no part of the title of the lecture as originally announced. But I have thought fit to insert it in this reproduction, especially to prepare readers for the introduction of the political matter which finds a place in the lecture. I have long held the belief that the value of English institutions in this country is wholly of an educational character. They do not satisfy the demands of the people, for the demands do not exist, but they are expected only to teach the people their rights and duties.—N. N. G.]

David Hare worked in the cause of education, or, to speak more accurately, in the cause of Indian regeneration, intellectual, moral and social. The end of his efforts was not to teach English vocables to Indian youth, but, in the words of D. L. Richardson,

To bless the Hindoo mind with British lore,
And truth's and nature's faded lights restore!

Nearly half a century has passed since David Hare breathed his last; and it is reasonable to inquire how far his aim has been realised. It is good now and again to take stock. It is good to know where we are in order to know whither we should move, and

how we should move. If moreover we are admirers of the work of David Hare and are in sympathy with it, it is right that we should know how best to continue that work in the circumstances of modern life. Times change. The problems of one generation are never exactly the problems of the next. Half a century ago the most difficult problem was, how to induce Hindu gentlemen to send their sons to a school where English was taught. David Hare solved that problem effectually. Shortly afterwards there arose another problem, how to induce young men to join the Medical College. That problem was also solved. These two illustrations will suffice to show that the problems of to-day are not exactly those of half a century back. One of the evils of to-day, at any rate in Calcutta, is the superabundance of schools. The evil indeed is felt to be so serious and so pressing that the University of Calcutta has had to devise means to test the efficiency of schools and take away from those found to be inefficient the privilege of sending up candidates for the Entrance Examination. This measure of the University may be right or it may be wrong but the significant fact is that a great many schools have come into existence, and none seems to want pupils. Times are so altered that the opening of a school in Calcutta which in the days of David Hare was considered a philanthropic act, an act of self-sacrifice, is now viewed, and not wholly without reason, as a piece of tradesmanship, as something similar in most respects to the opening of a shop. Medical schools are not many, but medical students are numerous. And not only have superstitious objections to medical study been overcome, but wholesome superstitions which are essential to the very being of social organisation are almost in danger of being denounced in certain quarters. If, therefore, the work of David Hare has to be continued, the old methods will no longer suffice. If the rough paths trod by David Hare have become smooth, let us break new difficulties in other directions. The traditions of great men are maintained and their examples followed not by repetition of the identical work which they did but by doing new work in the old spirit, by pursuit of the old end according to methods adapted to the new exigencies. I desire to point out in a brief and cursory way how the educational work commenced by David Hare may best be continued in the present day. Let us keep in view the end he aimed at; let us take note of the progress which has been made and the evils which have arisen; let us try to discover which of the old problems remain unsolved; and let us above all recollect the quiet, conciliatory, self-sacrificing spirit in which he laboured for the country's good.

So far education has been confined to the middle classes. One of the problems of to-day is to extend it to other classes of society, namely the wealthy classes, and the poorer classes or the masses. This extension is necessary not only for symmetrical completeness but also for practical purposes. Self-government in education will not be possible so long as the wealthy classes are indifferent to the blessings of education. Schools, colleges, scholarships, fellowships, chairs, have to be founded by wealthy gentlemen by efforts single or combined. But they will not be founded by men who do not care for them. The literary efforts of authors, the enterprises of scientific workers, all demand the encouragement of the wealthy. But encouragement can proceed only from sympathy or appreciation. Where the aristocracy is uncultured, the entire educational system of the country, or rather the intellectual progress of the country, will want the needful stimuli.

The case for education of the masses is even clearer. The masses are the people. The country is maintained by their industry. They produce much and consume little. The obligations to them of Government and the upper classes are so manifest and so generally recognised at the present day that there is no occasion to put special emphasis on them. In the last resort they are the country's bulwarks. To educate them is to enhance their power and usefulness and to add to their happiness. The necessity of educating them seems to be recognised. An anxiety is also professed to consult their wishes and, as far as possible, meet them. In some quarters many things are said and done in their name. But there is reason to fear their name is often taken in vain. If popular opinion is really valuable, let us endeavour to make the people capable of having an opinion and understanding their own interests. Nothing can be more disingenuous and degrading than to palm off upon unsuspecting strangers the opinions of the literate few as the opinions of the illiterate many, and in the meantime to let the people for whom so much respect is professed and so much concern exhibited, to shift for themselves and toil in their unlettered obscurity. The education of the masses is therefore a pressing problem.

The education of women, that is, of the mothers of men, is a topic which might seem fit to be taken up in this connection, but it is a topic so large and so special that it deserves independent treatment and had better be left out of the present discourse.

Fresh problems suggest themselves in connection with the *kind* of education to be imparted. It would be sufficient for the present purpose to distinguish education in literature and science

from education in the fine arts and the industrial arts. The former may be spoken of as liberal, the latter as technical education. The subject of technical education has been so much discussed of late that it might well be left alone. It is necessary to observe, however, that the subject of instruction in the fine arts has not received the attention it deserves, and that there is an error in the current supposition that the prevailing system of high education, though not sufficiently scientific, is literary enough for all educational purposes. The fact is, that under the present system, literature, which may be taken to include history and philosophy, is as badly learnt as science. That species of technical education which is known as professional education has proved itself successful in India. The colleges have turned out men who do the duties of lawyers, doctors and engineers with commendable efficiency. But literary training has not as a rule had better products than the schoolmaster, the clerk, and the third-rate editor. In spite of the absence of technical schools, the old Indian artisan has not lost the cunning of his hand, but music, painting and sculpture are almost extinct accomplishments. We are thus confronted with two problems; first, to improve the character of liberal education, and second, to organise a system of technical education which shall be large enough to include education in the fine arts.

Books and lectures are not, however, the only instruments of education. The highest education, education in the art of life, social and political, is obtained from life itself. Exercise develops capacity. And the discharge of social and political duties is the most potent instrument of social and political education. India is not fit to exercise many of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the advanced countries of the west. She does not appreciate those rights and privileges and does not really want them, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. But it does not follow that the bestowal of these rights and privileges should be deferred, until fitness has been developed, appreciation has arisen, and a demand has been made. Fitness has to be developed by the exercise of rights, or rather by the discharge of duties. That is the true rationale of reform in this country. The people demand reform in countries where they are more progressive than the Government. In this country the people are marvellously stationary and Government is the great agency of progress. In this country, therefore, the popular institutions of the west would be justified only by their educating value and not by their immediate practical value. India is not so far Europeanised that the exigencies of her

practical life can be met only by European institutions. It is the institutions that must re-organise life. They do not so much satisfy wants as create them. They do not so much recognise rights as create a sense of rights and responsibilities. One of the problems of modern Indian life is to select and adapt such of the institutions of the west as are best fitted to be instruments of political education.

It would be hardly fair to state problems and indicate no method of solution. It is just as well, therefore, to take note of the directions in which efforts may be made. For the extension of education to all sections of the people, an appeal has to be made to the Government and an appeal has to be made to the people. Government has to be petitioned to introduce a system of compulsory education, and the people has to be invited to take to the system kindly. The rich must pay for their education, and all higher education ought to be self-supporting in at any rate the more advanced parts of the country. Primary education has to be maintained by Government as well as by Municipalities and wealthy individuals. A system of compulsory education may not be regarded as a privilege by the people but it will undoubtedly be a blessing. The aristocracy ought to receive education of the higher sort which it would be impossible to provide for in a compulsory system. It is public opinion which must be mainly trusted to bring the wealthy under the influence of education. Government may exert a pressure only indirectly by insisting on some degree of education as the necessary condition of the enjoyment of official honours and honorary offices. As regards the elementary education of the masses, a compulsory system such as exists in European countries will answer all purposes. In this connection I may quote the following passage from a very able and interesting essay on Popular Education in one of our local periodicals.*

That an effort will ultimately be made to introduce universal education in India may be inferred from the rapid success of the movement in Europe. The ways of the civilised nations of the west and these alone lead to industrial success, all other nations since the world began have been failures in this respect; and, sooner or later, an economical principle accepted in Europe is adopted in India. The first grant by Parliament for education in England was made in 1832, an insignificant concession of twenty thousand pounds in aid of buildings. There was an objection even to this measure, many thinking that education would make the lower orders idle, presumptuous and inclined to rebel. Now there is in England a statutory provision for schools sufficient for the whole population between the ages of three and thirteen, attendance

* *The National Magazine* for February, 1888.

is obligatory on boys and girls alike, from five to thirteen, and the fees of the poor are paid at the public expense. According to the Act of 1870 "there shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of school accommodation in public elementary schools available for all the children resident in such district, for whose elementary education sufficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made. The Act of 1876 prescribes that "it shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and if such parent fail to perform such duty, he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by this Act." No one is permitted to employ a child in labor until the prescribed course of education has been completed. These measures have been carried out with energy, and at present the school accommodation is even greater than what is required. In attendance the deficiency is what we would consider slight, the number of children on the registers being 4,412,148, only half a million less than what it should be. The Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council are not, however, so easily satisfied, and in their report to the Queen for the year 1885 express much concern about the missing half million, promising, under the system introduced by a new code, to ensure in future universal compliance with the law, which is already obeyed by nine children out of ten.

The other European States have adopted the same principle, that of universal and efficient education, compulsory on the individual, and largely assisted, or entirely supported, by Government. Germany led the way, and assuredly has reaped her reward, not only in the success of her growing industries, but also in the victories which have in recent times attended her arms. The field of Sedan, many maintain, was won in the village schools of Prussia and it is, indeed, obvious that the superior efficiency of the educated in all work must extend to those engaged in the now complicated art of destruction. Such is certainly the opinion entertained by the vanquished of 1870, and the French immediately after their defeat began to prepare for the *revanche* by excelling their rivals at all cost in the matter of instruction. In this they have been entirely successful, their system of complete and free education being now a model of every thing except economy. None of the other European States are much behindhand, and an opponent of universal education would not now be accepted as a patriotic statesman in any civilised country. Some grumbling then is all the cost, but it is felt that this is a matter in which success must be obtained, cheaply, if it may be, but at rate completely. The whole world is now engaged in the industrial struggle for life, and those only can hold an advantageous place who are prepared to make the necessary sacrifice.

As regards the kind or quality of education which is likely to be of most value, it is not necessary that I should indicate any particular methods for solving the problem of technical education in any of its forms. But I may be permitted to say a few words concerning the methods of solution of the two other problems, namely the improvement of liberal education, and the reorganisation of Indian life by the machinery of some of the western institutions.

And first, of liberal education. The great fact to be recognised and never to be lost sight of, is that we have not risen and probably shall never rise within any reasonable distance of time, above the necessity of drawing upon British lore for our inspiration. There may be absolute historical truth in the statements which are made from time to time affirming the superiority of ancient Indian civilisation. But the present is not the past. And for the purposes of practical life, of the life that is now and here, present facts are of greater value than ancient history. It is an undoubted present fact that the west is far ahead of the east. With one western country our relations are especially intimate, namely England. And the literary and scientific culture of India has to be borrowed mainly from that of England. Other problems have changed since the days of David Hare; but one problem remains unchanged: To bless the Hindu mind with British lore. What is wanted therefore for the development not only of literary and scientific learning, but of the literary and the scientific spirit, is closer contact, freer intercourse, increased quickness of response, between England and India. And for this purpose two things seem to be essential, namely, first, that there should be arrangements for sending to Europe for purposes of education duly qualified natives of India, and second, that there should be arrangements for bringing out to India for purposes of teaching, duly qualified Englishmen. I am not satisfied with the arrangements of either sort that exist at the present day. Young Indian students, good, bad, and indifferent, proceed to England, mainly to qualify themselves for earning a livelihood. As a rule they depend on their own resources. Only recently two Government scholarships have been created or rather revived; and they are only a drop in the ocean. What is wanted is a national system, adequately supported by funds, which would enable the most intellectual sons of India who are bent upon a career of intellectual work, to obtain the benefits of the best education. The system which permits young Englishmen of no determinate qualifications to come out to India as teachers, requires also to be improved. India must have the best European teachers that it is possible for her to get. If the United States can draw upon England for teachers and can secure teachers of the highest qualifications, there is no reason why India should fail. It is in this way, by close and active intellectual communication between England and India, that the level of Indian intellectual life can be raised, that the capacities of the Indian mind can be developed. As time passes, natives of India trained according to European methods by the best European teachers up

to the level of the highest European standards, will be qualified to be teachers. But to maintain their fitness they must keep pace with the progress of thought and learning in Europe. Japan, though not under European rule, has been more Europeanised than India itself. One reason probably is that it is anxious to accept the teaching of Europe. Japanese students are sent out in pretty large numbers to acquire European learning and after their return home are asked to mould the native educational system in the European fashion. Japanese literature is enriched by translations of leading European works into the native tongue. And every opportunity for assimilating the culture of the west is fully utilised. Something of the same kind has to be done in India. It is the duty of the nation even more than it is the duty of Government to provide for the due nurture of indigenous talent. It is a delicate plant and needs to be fed from the purest fountains and rills. Whoever being in possession of such a treasure neglects it, commits a breach of a sacred trust. Even of such a sin we are guilty at the present moment. We have provided very imperfect facilities for deriving from our contact with England the full intellectual benefit. If we can point to no Indian name great in literature or science, after at least half-a-century of so-called high English education, the fault must be largely ours. We should at least have provided due facilities, and if still no great name appeared, we should know that Indian soil bore no genius. If we must do our duty, we must not let things continue as they are. We have to make determined efforts to take India nearer to England, and bring England nearer to India, promote quickness of contact and communication, and stimulate sympathy so that this intellectually starved country might draw fresh life from the healthy and exuberant energies of one of the most richly endowed peoples on the face of the earth.

The political institutions of England will not bear close imitation or reproduction. In every country they are the tardy product of evolution; in England they are especially such. Their explanation or justification is to be found not in abstract principles or eternal truths, but in the history of the country. The English constitution, like the English law of real property, is intelligible only by reference to its history. It has come to be what it is, not by successive recognitions of Principle but by successive adaptations to changing exigencies. Where such has been the law of growth the finished product cannot bear direct reproduction in a country whose history has been different. No general rules can be laid down for selection and adaptation, but a few principles may be borne in mind

when any attempt is made at imitation. Though they may not help in immediately discovering truths, they may be useful in teaching us to avoid error. One of the leading principles is that there should be no attempt to imitate the English antagonism of the People to the Government. Where the end has been constitutional reform, the English people have fought their own Government in order to enlarge their own power and prescribe limits to the power of the King. In other words they have fought for Self-government. Self-government, that is, popular or representative government India cannot have so long as she is under British rule. Sovereignty of the Indian People cannot co-exist with British supremacy. If, therefore, an attempt is made to reduce the powers of the Indian Government it cannot be for the purpose of vesting the supreme power in the representatives of the Indian people, but it must be for the purpose of vesting the supreme power in some authority whose local habitat is England. Is that a desirable end? The English people fight for an enlargement of their own power. But it is in the nature of things impossible that the Indian people should fight for the enlargement of *their* own power so as to make themselves supreme over the English executive, and their fight, if they fight at all, must necessarily be for shifting the seat of authority to England. India, though she cannot have absolute self-government, can and ought to have *local* self-government. But to transfer to authorities in England powers now enjoyed by authorities in India, is not to take a step nearer to local self-government but to take a pretty long step away from it. If Representative Government is to be worshipped as a fetish at all, let it be consistently worshipped. If India should be governed not by an Indian House of Commons but by an English House of Commons, or by a Committee of the English House of Commons, she could not be said to have a Representative Government; and there is no use, therefore, descanting upon the merits of that form of government. The dilemma is this. If the local English authorities are to have their powers curtailed, their supremacy taken away, is the supremacy to be transferred to the representatives of the Indian people in India or to the representatives of the English people in England? If the former, then there would be Indian supremacy and an extinction of English rule. If the latter, then instead of progress being made in the direction of local self-government there will be less of self-government and more of centralisation. The Irish people after ninety years of experience have discovered that the representatives of the great British nation are not careful to protect the

interests of other countries when those interests conflict with their own. And they want to be relieved of the rule of the English House of Commons which by the way includes Irish representatives. Natives of India would not be exhibiting much of practical wisdom if throwing overboard the local authorities they courted precisely that form of rule which the Irish after mature experience are most anxious to renounce. The true principle of constitutional reform in India appears to be this: The seat of the supreme governing authority should be in India itself; this authority should be controlled partially by local popular opinion represented on the Councils, but mainly by public opinion outside of the Councils. Reform would consist in enlarging and not in curtailing the powers of the local authorities. But while there is to be this enlargement as against the home authorities, control must be provided in India itself. A complete or absolute control by non-official members of council would mean the extinction of English rule and cannot, therefore, be permitted. But there should be moral control, first, by criticisms made in the council itself by representatives of popular opinion and, secondly, by the general public opinion of the country.

Another principle which has to be borne in mind is that there should be no waste of power by the friction of race rivalry. Parties exist in all other countries, and they may exist here. But they ought to exist in some rational form. Conservatives and liberals, royalists and republicans, officials and the people, adherents of one dynasty or of another, are parties formed on intelligible political principles. But it would be unfortunate if party distinctions were coincident with race distinctions or sectarian distinctions. It would be unfortunate if in India Natives and Europeans were to be distinct political parties. They are both governed by the same laws and ought to have the same interests. I am not concerned in advising Europeans, but I take the liberty to advise my own countrymen that it is unwise and unfair to create or tolerate discord where concord is possible. Political reform would be more easy of accomplishment by the united efforts of the two communities than by their separate agitation or by the exclusive agitation of one community. For the purposes of social and industrial well-being also, Sympathy is essential. The best of laws and institutions will fail to produce peace and happiness if the English and Indian subjects of Her Majesty are in a state of perpetual opposition. If the prevailing feelings are mistrust, irritation, contempt, or alarm, life becomes unbearable in spite of the most perfect laws. For instance, if the natives of the country have no confidence in European officers

judicial, executive, or ministerial, if Europeans have no confidence in native officers, if moreover, in consequence of antipathy there is an actual failure of justice in the concerns of everyday life, what remedy can there be? Surely, Questions and Motions in Parliament will be of little avail. If a separate Parliament existed for the decision of Indian disputes, it would find itself not equal to the work. Schoolboys quickly discover that if they create enemies amongst themselves they will find little peace in spite of the controlling authority of the teacher. And experienced, worldly men ought to discover even more quickly that if they create enemies among their neighbours of whatever race or creed, they will find the pleasures of life reduced to a minimum in spite of all that the English House of Commons can do. How far life is worth living depends upon the liver. And that is a remark truer in more senses than even *Punch* did intend. If a man by the cultivation of tact and good temper makes friends he finds life worth living. If he makes enemies he will be sorry. Sojourners in a hotel, or casual visitors to an exhibition, may afford to quarrel and fight; the annoyance is temporary, for it is terminated by the inevitable separation of the combatants. But men who are fated to live together as long as they live at all, cannot do a more foolish thing than to quarrel all their lives, nor a wiser thing than to discover bases of sympathetic action. India is the permanent home of Indians, and it is a sort of second home to Anglo-Indians. Is any thing to be gained by making life miserable? If either party expects that it will extinguish the other and leave no rival on the field, it is greatly mistaken. The two parties must have to live side by side, and the sooner they can afford to shake hands upon fair and honorable terms, the better for them both. A vast amount of energy has been wasted and mischief produced by unceasing friction; and the cry of all sane, sensible, feeling men ought to be—Harmony!

The third and last principle that needs to be here insisted on is that constitutional reforms are not an end in themselves, but only are means. And it may be observed in this connection that political agitation also is not an end but only a means. A constitution has to be improved only in order that it may better accomplish social well-being. It is not like a work of art which when perfect has to be admired for its own sake or for the pleasure it gives. It is essentially a work of utility; and its utility is the measure of its value. That is the best constitution which is best fitted to promote the happiness of the people and not that which is the

most symmetrical or most in accordance with *a priori* principles. It is hardly worth while, therefore, devoting attention almost exclusively to Constitutional Reform. Given a people of sturdy character and given a healthy and vigorous public opinion, almost any Government can be compelled to do the right. The Emperor of Germany though vested with despotic powers cannot afford to be tyrannical. But where the people is lost to a sense of liberty and where public opinion does not exist or cannot concentrate and declare itself, even a representative government may be the fruitful source of evils. The state of England itself in some periods of history is an illustration. Because in England political agitation has been mostly directed to the reform of the constitution, it does not follow that political agitation has no other equally important end. Political agitation is a demand for Rights. Rights, however, are valuable not for their own sake but only as conditions for the performance of Duties. Right is transcendental; Duty is real. To withhold a right is a sin; but to enjoy a right and not to discharge the duty it involves, is even a greater sin. This I conceive to be a fundamental principle of politics not open to debate but accepted by all schools. It is even more of a moral than a political principle. And individuals or nations that ignore it or act in contravention of it, commit not only a blunder but a crime. Like other first principles it must be assumed and cannot be proved. So far from being open to discussion it is the doctrine upon which parties must be agreed before they should proceed to any discussion. It is a principle, however, which has come to be recognised rather late in history and in the absence of special warning there is danger of its being neglected in a country new to political life and unfamiliar with political ideas. Honours, offices, emoluments are all rights; and they all involve heavy responsibilities. The whole question for practical and conscientious men is not so much, how rights are to be secured, as, how responsibilities are to be discharged.

The programme I have sketched in these pages is neither a short nor a simple one. But life's duties must be taken as they are, and we must not complain if they are not especially sweet. David Hare did not find the path of reform strewn with roses. He did his work manfully, and if we are his true disciples and admirers, we have to take up the work where he left it and carry it on, not to repeat mechanically the very things he has made easy for us. To promote primary education, to spread education among the wealthy classes, to develop the different varieties of technical education, to raise to the European standard the Indian system of liberal education, and lastly, to adapt the political

institutions of the west to the conditions of Indian life with a view to the political education of the nation,—are the Educational Needs of to-day. The bare contemplation of them is sufficient to paralyse us, and to take away from us all the pride we are apt to feel from our achievements in the past. But we must look away from the past to the future, and paralysed we must not be. After all, the future need not be very gloomy. The germs exist; it is only the development that is wanting. There is some system of primary education; some of the aristocracy have received culture, or at any rate culture enough to realise the responsibilities of their position; some system of technical education exists; some men have received a high literary and scientific education, some have even done useful work, and already some of the institutions of the west have been introduced, and the people, that is some of them, have developed some degree of political capacity. And yet before us there is a vast untrodden field! When all the needs have been satisfied, the regeneration of India will be complete. But needs never are satisfied; that is, as soon as the old needs are satisfied new ones arise. It is enough if we can so approach the western races as to be able fairly to keep pace with them in the future. The distance between them and us ought to be shortened, and though for a very long time the distance must continue, care should be taken that it does not increase.

Government and the people must alike exert for the solution of the new educational problems. And in so far as Government has to be moved by petitions and all the other machinery of constitutional agitation, the work may be regarded as exclusively one of the people. The solution of any *one* of these problems, such as the securing of a system of universal education, will take a long time and cost great energy. The solution of them all is a task heavy enough for the strongest of us; but must we decline it? If we are to agitate at all, is not the intellectual enlightenment of millions of our countrymen at least as worthy an aim as opening out the prospects of the higher classes to seats in Council and to offices in the public service? Will it not be even a prouder day for India when one of her sons becomes a Senior Wrangler than when one of them first took his seat on the Bench of a High Court? If we have to raise funds at all, is not the establishment of Fellowships and Scholarships as noble an end as political agitation? One of the great difficulties in the way of reform in this country is the dearth of money. Money is in a few hands, and if its possessors do not appreciate a movement they will not aid it. The full satisfaction of our educational needs will require a vast expenditure of money.

Government may make some contribution, but the people must bear the larger share. Agitation has, therefore, to be directed not only to influencing the Government but also to influencing the people, high and low. Once more: it is a difficult task, but the attempt has to be made. For the sake of the good name of our country I hope the attempt will succeed. It is our duty to prove not only that we are fit for self-government of the parochial sort by the discharge of municipal and such other business, but that we are also fit for social, educational, and industrial self-government. When the reforms here suggested have been accomplished, the character of the people will certainly improve. At the same time before it has somewhat improved, before people have learnt to realise the value of the reforms, it is difficult to see how their accomplishment can arise. Men must be ambitious to do good work for its own sake, must be ready to give pecuniary aid to institutions and movements that are useful to the nation, whether patronised by officials or not. They must persuade themselves to acknowledge the superiority of Western culture. Above all they must remember that political rights and privileges are possessions which must not be merely enjoyed but used for the public good. A title can only be enjoyed; a power entails a duty. Political power indeed involves even more serious responsibilities than wealth. A miser is only a contemptible person, and nothing worse. Except from the communistic point of view he cannot be said to hold his wealth in trust for the people. But a man possessed of political power is undoubtedly a trustee for the people. If he either abuses it, or neglects to use it for a good purpose, he violates a sacred trust. These are notions which should prevail among all classes of the people, more especially among the favoured classes. And those of our countrymen who have received the benefits of a high education can do no better than go forth as Missionaries of this Gospel of Public Duty. They will make no money by their preaching; they will probably lose some. They will not have to harangue audiences and pose as a Grattan or a Patrick Henry. They will have to work slowly and silently, depending more upon subtle moral forces than upon the dialectics of the platform. They must not expect, therefore, outbursts of applause. They will not have to glorify the Rights of Man, and, therefore, they will miss the service which the democratic phrases of all ages might have rendered them. But they will have one consolation. There is a goddess higher than Wealth, higher than Fame, higher even than Right. She is Duty. Duty is not only grand but humble. She has to be worshipped not only when she

drives in state, bedecked with jewels and clad in rich attire, but also when she slowly paces the humble street with maiden modesty in the homeliest of costumes. She likes her votaries to make their sacrifices not only on the mountain top or on the breast of the surging ocean, not only in the field of battle or in the heated halls where men decide the destinies of men, but also in the humble cottage and in the narrow lane and in all the other haunts and homes of poverty and wretchedness. Life can have no nobler end than worship at her shrine, and no higher consolation than the attainment of that end.

N. N. GHOSE.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT, Kt.

I.

HISTORY OF UNAO.

Because it is an ability not common to write a good history, as may well appear by the small number of them; yet if particularity of actions memorable were but liberally reported, the compiling of a complete history of the times might be the better expected when a writer should arise that were fit for it: for the collection of such relations might be as a nursery garden, whereby to plant a fair and stately garden when time should serve.

BACON'S ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

It is a staple complaint with educated Indians that Englishmen are unsympathetic. Permeated as many are with western culture and conscious of moral and intellectual affinities with the ruling race they resent the apparent want of interest in themselves and their aspirations exhibited by the Anglo-Indian community at large. They point to the giants of a past age—the generation of Sir William Jones and the galaxy of bright visitants whose love for the land of their sojourn was only equalled by their craving desire to explore the secret recesses of her history, laws and religion. The contrast between past and present in this respect is, indeed, discouraging; and not less so the growing divergence between which united might revolutionize Asiatic Society within the life-time of a generation. Those, however, who are inclined to impute all the blame to English insularity and racial pride would do well to ask themselves whether other and less obvious causes are not at work. The proximity of Europe with its ever-widening scope for mental and physical enjoyment renders the comparative stagnation of India more intolerable than it could have been to the eighteenth century Englishman. He was never confronted by demands from subject races for social and political equality: and played unquestioned the grateful part of patron. Our best and brightest intellects of to-day are too often benumbed by a crushing routine and impaired by the irritation arising from a sense of injustice. Often, too, they dwindle under the atrophy encountered in our Hill-resorts with an atmosphere of officialism and soul-less frivolity. Hence the undoubted fact that, with all her material progress, imperial India can boast of no single con-

tribution to that which De Quincey terms the Literature of Power. Thoughtful men of every race will agree that the time has come for a united effort to remove this reproach. Good government and improved facilities for locomotion and the interchange of ideas are but a means to an end—the elevation of humanity. Those who keep that great object in view will take the fullest advantage of the mechanism afforded by modern science: but they will soar high above the world of the engineer, the organizer and the soldier. They will devote their best energies to “the proper study of mankind”—not in view of gratifying an idle curiosity or adding a zest to lettered ease, but that they may be able to gauge the defects of society and suggest remedies for the countless ills against which religion and science alike have hitherto striven in vain. Now human society is incarnate history: and he who wishes to grasp its real import and tendencies must compel the part to yield its varied stores. A rich and almost untrodden field lies open to such a man. Our official records, in spite of the ravages of Philistinism,* are a mine of wealth to the explorer. The archives of our great families teem with curious lore which is gladly placed at the disposal of the judicious enquirer. Lastly, the people still possess a vast wealth of tradition and floating liquid which awaits its Grimm or its Niebuhr to yield results of priceless value to the student of sociology. So bewildering, indeed, is the mass of material at hand that the would-be historian knows not where to begin, and dreads the dissipation of his energies on a task which may launch him on a boundless ocean of research. But let such a one take heart of grace. He will find in any British District a compact and manageable unit: and the industry of many working in parallel channels will soon afford a vast mass of data for generalization and synthesis. The Editor ventures to think that by laying before his readers the very pith and marrow of a district History which is a model of its kind, he may tempt some of them to follow its author's example and perhaps to deserve equally well of posterity.

Unao, we learn from *Hunter's Gazetteer* is a district of the Lucknow Division of the North-Western Provinces, embracing 1,747 square miles of the vast alluvial plain traversed by the sacred Ganges. The census population in 1881 was rather less than 900,000: all engaged in tilling the fertile loam whose crop-

* A collector of Murahidabad some years back, wishing to write a history of that little-known period which separate the acquisition of the Diwanny from the reforms of Cornwallis, was deterred by the discovery of a gap of fifteen years in his records. A predecessor had burned several tons of priceless papers relating to the years 1772—1787 in order to find room for current records!

bearing power is enhanced by assiduous irrigation. Devoid of interesting features, with no centres of learning, industry or the arts, a more unpromising field for historical research can hardly be conceived than is afforded by this little nineteenth century Boetia. But enthusiasm sustained by dogged resolution makes light of obstacles: and thirty years ago Unao was fortunate enough to possess a chief who was endowed with these qualities in a marked degree. In 1860 the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, then Mr. Charles Alfred Elliott, found himself Deputy Commissioner of Unao and straightway resolved to reserve its history and tradition from unmerited oblivion. His education fitted him admirably for the self-appointed task. Born twenty-five years previously, he had enjoyed the priceless boon of a public school and University training. He was, indeed, a scholar on the great foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, when the seductions of an Indian career proved too strong for the aspiration which he may well have cherished of acquiring academic distinction. In June 1856 he passed the second open Examination for our Civil Service and came out to this country in the November of that year. While he was still a student at Benares the mutiny whirlwind swept over the land and gave him opportunities of gaining experience and distinction which young civilians of these humdrum days may sigh for in vain. He embraced them with ardour, was attached to General Franks' force on the borders of Oudh, and afterwards to those of Sir Hope Grant and General Kelly; and was twice mentioned in despatches. The restoration of the British Peace found him ready and willing to exchange the sword for the pen. After spells of service as Assistant Commissioner of Faizabad and Civil Judge and Town Magistrate of Lucknow, he became Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Unao at an age when modern civilians deem themselves fortunate if they are entrusted with the destinies of a sub-division. The spirit in which Mr. Elliott began his labours as annalist of Unao shines through the preface of his admirable little history, which was printed for private circulation in 1861. He tells us that he wished to put to a crucial test his belief that the history of an average district would be of value to local officials and residents, to the student and the general reader. He laments the absence of works of a similar scope—a fact due to ignorance of the results derivable from careful investigation and an unjustly low estimate of the value of collated tradition. His remarks on this head are singularly far-seeing in so young an author, and richly merit quotation. "Like all half-educated races," he writes, "the Hindus place an inordinate value

on their mythical and historical traditions; and are greatly pleased to find an Englishman in an official position enquiring into them; while the reputation of being acquainted with out-of-the-way facts, not ascertainable in the ordinary official routine, creates in their minds a presumption of general information as to the state of the District, and makes them more communicative on matters respecting which a private enquiry is often necessary. Thus a knowledge of the popular traditions and ballads given to the possessor with influence over the people and the key to their hearts. Even if this book were of no further use than as a record to be kept in the Unao office I should still feel a pleasure in presenting it for the benefit of future officials, as a small return to the District for the pleasant memories with which it is associated in my mind, and as a testimony of the interest I felt in it and of the esteem and regard in which I told some of its taluqdars and residents. The common disregard of tradition as a vehicle for historical truth springs, I think, from two causes—from our general distrust of native accuracy and from the exposure by Niebuhr and Sir George C. Lewis of the fallacy of the traditional basis on which the history of Rome as it used to be written rested. But it is one thing to rely on a single tradition, such as Livy's, composed evidently in the interest of certain families, and dead and stereotyped long ago, and quite another thing to question a multitude of living, conflicting traditions, and after testing and trying them in every way by comparison with each other and with external landmarks, to collect from the alembic of close enquiry a precipitate of historical fact. None of the objections urged against the validity of tradition in Niebuhr's famous chapter apply to such a treatment of it as this native inaccuracy tends all in one direction—to the glorification of the subject of the story; and thus the error being constant it can be eliminated in a general enquiry. Where a story praises A above B, and B sets B above A, the mutual self-glorification neutralizes itself."

Thus the keynote to our author's treatment of tradition is to be found in a pregnant remark of a predecessor in the same line of research, that *concurrence between isolated traditions is almost equivalent to authentic history*. He compares versions current among different clans as well as those told in different families of the same class and reads them by the light of general history. This process of sublimation gives a residuum of fairly trustworthy narrative, illustrating events often of great importance in their bearing on the formation of a people's character and the development of their civilization. Tradition apart, a mass of documentary evidence

had to be dealt with. This included sunnuds, safe guides as regards facts and dates; family records, only worthy of evidence when they concern contemporary events, and certain *obiter dicta* in a Persian school book then in great request. From these somewhat unpromising materials Mr. Elliott contrived to extract a mass of information enabling his readers to trace the history of Unao from the earliest days. We see the little District in the mythical era a portion of classic Ajodhya, the realm of good king Dasarath, and the chosen above of saints and warriors. Anon the curtain lifts and gives us a glimpse of a land clothed with dense forests the habitat of wild aboriginal tribes. These give way before the invasion of the fair-skinned Aryan, and take refuge in the hill region northward whence, about the commencement of the Christian era, they swoop down on their conquerors and drive them even unto distant Guzerat. Twelve hundred years later we view an immigration of chivalrous Rajputs, driven from the centres of Hindu power and devotion by the fierce Shahabuddin Ghorî. A century later the followers of the Prophet pour in and establish colonies throughout the land, which pave the way for its assimilation with the Empire of Akbar. The reign of the Mogul is graphically portrayed, with its elaborate fiscal system, its centralization tempered by checks and counter checks. Then we see how, when paralysis strikes the heart of the effete organization, satraps throw off their allegiance; and one of them bribes the English successors of his master to recognize him as sovereign of Oudh. The description which follows of the *Nawabi* rule, its lawlessness and elasticity as contrasted not altogether unfavourably, with the inexorable justice that followed the annexation, enables us to understand why the very excellences of the British regime prompted the whole population of Oudh to range themselves on the national side in the crisis of the Mutiny.

But Government is, after all, less a question of laws than of the personal character of those appointed to administer them. Our author's peroration is a passage of equal eloquence and truth; and deserve to be written in letters of gold in every Secretariat of the Empire. "The Native of India" he writes, "has no valet mind: he can worship the true hero when he knows him. And as long as the British Government can send such men as Major Henry Evans* to govern its districts, to walk uprightly in its service and to lead its subjects up through education and a love of law to religion and a love of God, so long will the future of Unao be bright indeed."

* The first Deputy Commissioner of Unao.

IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?

OR,

A REVIEW OF PESSIMISM.

I.

Within recent years the question 'Is life worth living?' with its answer, has been raised into such unnatural and, I might add, dangerous prominence that a brief review of both, historical and critical, may not be wholly devoid of interest. What is the worth of life? This has become a question of the day. It is in great favour with the socialist, and the answer which is only too apparent is a greater favourite still. It is asked by the liberalist in the same spirit and with the same answer in view. And lastly also, men are not wanting who ask it in the name of religion as the one all-important enquiry, indeed, as the question of questions in life. In the absurd prominence thus accorded to it there is great danger. That danger lies not so much in the question itself as in the philosophy it embodies. In Europe a host of literary men have been trying to popularise that monstrous philosophy. Men of acute intellects and of learning and research combined with rare powers of analysis and eloquence, have advocated pessimism, which has been held up as the very cream and consummation of modern wisdom, and which, were it to become popular, would unquestionably prove the death of all healthy thought and feeling, quench the aspirations of legitimate faith, and paralyse completely all wholesome activity, social and political. Pessimism has declared itself to be the true gospel of salvation, and Salvation through what?—through utter despair, through extinction, or absolute annihilation! In Germany, at least, this gospel of despair has acquired a somewhat startling popularity and before long, it is to be feared, it may have its day of fatal supremacy throughout Europe.

Politically, the general acceptance of the pessimistic theory of life by a highly civilised people means nothing short of a national

disaster. The belief that life is perpetual misery and that it is not worth the trouble it costs us, is not, cannot certainly be, consistent with a belief in God and His Infinite goodness. It is a phase of unbelief, and unbelief, whatever form it might take, has always been found dangerous, if not fatal to the existence of settled order, settled government, in short, society itself. When men cease to have faith in a supreme Ideal, the source of all light and the giver of all good, life entirely loses its meaning, religion perishes, not the name, perhaps, but the thing, and with it perishes true morality, true art, and true enjoyment. The world becomes no better than Dante's hell,

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate,

and philosophy a dreadful meditation not merely of death but of annihilation. Never were truer words uttered than those of Gæthe: "All epochs," he wrote, "in which faith, under whatever form, has prevailed, have been brilliant, heart-elevating and fruitful both to contemporaries and posterity. All epochs, on the contrary, in which unbelief, under whatever form, has maintained a sad supremacy, even if for the moment they glitter with a false splendour, vanish from the memory of posterity because none care to torment themselves with the knowledge of that which has been barren."

Mazzini says "The idea of an intelligent First Cause when once destroyed,—the existence of a moral law supreme over men is destroyed with it, so also all possibility of a law of progress or intelligent design, regulating the life of humanity." Numerous sayings of this kind may be quoted and a great deal may, of course, be written upon this feature alone of the question. But as this is part of the larger question about the influence of religion on the political history of a nation,—a question, that is practically co-extensive with the whole history of humanity,—to attempt anything like a lengthened discussion of it here will scarcely be relevant. I have more than merely indicated where the danger lies of such a view as that we shall presently consider and I have done this because I believe that the dying away of philosophic faith and the consequent spread of atheism in any land must be regarded with alarm by every thoughtful mind. In the case of pessimism this must specially be so, because, ignoring as it does all the higher problems of thought—the longings and aspirations of the soul—and taking into account only the surface aspects of life, it has in it certain elements which naturally commend themselves to disappointed but weak and unbalanced minds. The reason is not far to seek. In

this age when, with most people, every-day life is becoming more and more troublesome and painful, men, in order to accept it," require only to be told as Byron has told them :—

"Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
Count o'er thy days from anguish free,
And know whatever thou hast been,
'Tis something better—not to be."

Or, as Hartmann has told them, Life is eternal misery and salvation is eternal extinction to be sought and found in a collective and concerted act of suicide! In the East, where pessimism is almost natural to the soil, hundreds of men have acted upon it; in the West, where it is repugnant to every instinct of the people, it is to be hoped that none would seriously accept it.

The view that as all things in the world are for the worst, life is not worth living and, therefore, the sooner there is an end of it the better, has, within very recent times, been designated pessimism, as antithetical to what is commonly called, optimism. 'Pessimism' and 'optimism' are both employed to denote certain modes of estimating the world. They both have their origin in an ill-defined and complex attitude of mind which gives, in the case of the former, a preponderating importance to the evil, and in that of the latter, to the good in the course of experience. Speaking popularly the pessimist always "turns up the seamy side of things;" while the optimist "sees everything in *Couleur de rose*." But apart from its popular sense, the word pessimism has now also a very technical and very definite application. It is used in modern Europe to denote a specific theory of life and the universe. We are here concerned with pessimism not as a general philosophical theory but in its development as a system of religious belief.

The word pessimism then, as well as the philosophical theory it is employed to denote, is quite modern; but the phase of feeling of which both are the products is as ancient as thought itself. A note of pessimism may, indeed, be heard throughout history. Wherever man has desired and failed, the complaint is to be found that his days are few and evil. In the words of Sophocles "the happiest fate is not to have been born at all, and the next best is to die young." Disappointment, failure in life, the obvious disproportion between desire and its fulfilment, have everywhere driven man into meditation, and in proportion as reflection awakens within him, a sense of life's nothingness becomes very profound, indeed, and manifests itself in various forms. In susceptible and ardent natures always demanding too much but always

receiving too little,—natures full of longings unsatisfied, hopes unfulfilled,—this feeling of the utter infelicity of life deepens sometimes into a settled contempt. As such it has found expression in many a thinker, and many a thinker and many a poet not of this or that age, or of this or that country, but of every age and of every country. It is pessimism that makes the Vedantist strive after absorption in the Infinite, and the Buddhist after *Nirvana*; and it is pessimism, even Buddhistic pessimism, though tricked out in European fashion, that makes a Schopenhauer, a Herr Buhnsen, or a Mainlander represent this universe as the worst possible. Among poets, to mention only modern European instances, Byron in England, Heine and Lenau in Germany, Chateaubriand and Musset in France, Leopardi in Italy, and Campoamor in Spain, have all given expression to pessimism, more or less. With some it has been a passing sigh of dissatisfaction, half stifled, half expressed; with others, a loud wail of disappointment; with others, again, a tragic cry of heart-rending agony and despair. Pessimism has thus had its poets and its philosophers. It has also had its novelists in men like Turgeneff, and Mascher Sachoch, whose writings are only too full of such ideas.

It has been said that pessimism, as a philosophical system, is very modern, at least in Europe, but that as a mood of feeling in man it is very old, indeed, much older than optimism. This statement is best illustrated by the history of pessimism which we must consider as broadly and as generally as possible, before we proceed to describe and discuss its developments into various phases in modern Germany. In order to understand precisely what pessimism is, it is also necessary to understand what position it occupies in the history of opinions. For the origin of pessimism as a theory, we must look not in Europe but in Asia. India more than any other land is the fountain-head of pessimism, as it is that of pantheism. Indeed, this pessimism is only the logical outcome of Hindu pantheism. But of this I shall speak more fully in its proper place. In India naturalistic polytheism led to pantheism, and the pessimism, which developed afterwards into an independent doctrine in Buddhism, was from the very first latent in polytheism. The belief that man is completely at the mercy of higher and more potent agents that control his destiny without the least regard to his wishes and fears, is essentially pessimistic and is inseparable from every system of polytheism, indeed, from every non-theistic system. Whenever men have got into this state of belief, they have tried to get rid of it as soon as possible. The history of pessimism is only the history of the various me-

thods by which men have sought to obtain relief from the burden of existence as they felt it.

The first distinct step in this direction was taken when men, living as they did in constant terror of their deities, thought of bribing them with gifts or pleasing and coaxing them with flattery. Thus arose among the vulgar the superstitious practice of adulatory hymns and sacrifices. The next step is to be sought in what may be called Epicureanism. In Epicureanism, the summum bonum is tacitly identified with the good ; but the good it aims at is negative. It consists in a cessation of pain. Pain alone is thus positive, and pleasure is only the negation of pain. This theory is, therefore, essentially pessimistic. It represents the highest good as consisting in the maximum of painlessness for the individual. It further represents man as free to work out his own wishes without interference from the gods. It is a capital error to suppose that the gods employ themselves as agents in working or superintending the march of the Cosmos, or in conferring rewards on some and punishments on others. Considering the disorders, suffering, and violence everywhere visible, it is impious to regard the gods as the working managers of the universe. This theory, thus, while it admits the existence of the divine, seeks to explain away the popular conception of the gods, and obviously this is necessary as a way of escape from one of the greatest torments of life, the fear of the gods. A man cannot be happy until he has surmounted this fear which is instilled into his mind by popular religion and becomes a source of continued misery and torment in life.

We reach the third stage in the history of pessimism when we come to consider that marvellous development of it called Buddhism. Originating about 500 years before the birth of Christ in the conviction that life is perpetual misery, this wonderful system of thought has spread itself over a much greater extent of our globe than any other religion. It does not lie within the scope of this article to present an account of Buddhism. For this the student is referred to the works of Oldenberg, Burnouf, Saint-Hilaire and others. I cannot do more than give a meagre outline of only some of the fundamental features of Buddhism as a religious creed. But before doing this it is, perhaps, best to trace it to its source in the line of Hindu thought that preceded it.

It has already been noticed that in its origin Buddhism was the logical product of Brahmanical pantheism. Pantheism has sometimes resulted in Acosmism as in the Vedanta where the finite is lost in the infinite ; sometimes in atheism as in the Sankhya system ; or, in Buddhism where the infinite is sacrificed to the finite, the absolute

to the phenomenal. The fundamental idea presented by the Vedanta theory is the contrast between the true Self, the sole abiding reality *Brahma*, on the one hand, and the world of multiplicity and change, of phenomena, on the other. According to this theory, "*Brahma* alone exists, everything else is illusion." *Brahma* is the one eternal, unlimited, pure and perfect being. It is the universal soul, the absolute unity of knowing and being. The worlds of sense and consciousness, of finite things and finite souls, of plurality and change, origin and growth, happiness and misery, decay and death, are only illusions or deceitful appearances. They are *Maya*, and the ascription of independent reality to them is due to ignorance. As regards the human soul, there is, on the one hand, the unredeemed soul bound down to the ties of existence and perpetually passing from birth to birth, and on the other the redeemed soul, which, by meditation on *Brahma*, with renunciation of the world and pious disposition and exercises, has freed itself from ignorance, error, possibility of sin, desire, activity, transmigrations, and change. From this soul have disappeared all distinctions and qualities, pleasure and pain, virtue and vice; it has returned to the essence whence it came—has become one with its true and abiding Self, the absolute *Brahma*.

Thus there is an element of pessimism underlying the whole course of thought represented in the Vedanta theory. The ancient thinkers of India instead of recognising everywhere in the world proof of God's infinite goodness, love, and wisdom, saw in it only *Maya* or illusion. Naturally enough, they were full of contempt for life and the universe, as a mere semblance without the reality, a deceitful mockery fitted only to enslave the human mind and to debase all that is good and noble in it. There was thus a root of bitterness in their doctrine, and Buddhism is only the ripened product of this root.* Hindu pantheists started from *Brahma*, the sole reality, and with this as the speculative basis of their theory they reduced the world to a wholly unreal and illusory experience. Buddhism reversed the picture, ignored the metaphysical basis which the orthodox pantheism had put in the foreground, and started from actual experience of life, apparent being, as the sole permanent reality of things. The cosmic philosophy of Buddha like that of Heraclitus makes the universe merely a process of incessant change. There is no absolute being, no permanent principle; the essence of the universe is not *being*, but *becoming*. Nothing *is*, all things happen, and the only thing

* Vide Matheson, — 'Growth of the spirit of Christianity,' vol. 1 p.p. 28, 29.

permanent can be but the law of their occurrence. This constant flux or eternal movement of things renders human happiness a vain and illusory hope, an empty dream. The end of man is, therefore, not absorption in the unity of *Brahma*, not happiness in a higher and better world, but redemption from this world of birth and death. It is to attain *Nirvana* by casting off the shackles which fetter existence.

Having briefly explained the transition from Vedantism to Buddhism, it now remains to notice some of the essential doctrines of the theory itself. I shall take up only those that have a more direct bearing on the question which heads this article. These are (1) the doctrine of existence; (2) of *Karma*; (3) the doctrine of a man-God, and (4) of *Nirvana*.

The doctrine of existence: the fundamental article in the creed of Buddha is that all existence is essentially evil. Whatever exists and wherever it may exist, in the worlds above or the worlds below, is uncertain and unreal. All sentient beings, through all changes of stage or condition, from the tiniest insect to the gods, the highest types of intelligence inhabiting the worlds above, are doomed to misery and sorrow. Nowhere is there true peace or true happiness. There are pleasures, it is true, and it is also true there are some good things in life, but the pleasure is only apparent, and the good only relative. There is nothing absolutely good; only some things are better than other things; the best thing of all, however, is extinction, annihilation.

The law of *Karma*: this law has thus been stated:—"Whatever determines the future is the aggregate result of past actions. The condition of each one today depends not only on what he has done since he was born, but equally on what he did myriads of years ago." Buddhism does not admit the existence of an Intelligent First Cause of the universe, but what it does admit instead is this mysterious law of causality conditioning, determining, moving, the perpetual succession of worlds with human souls in them disappearing and reappearing and passing through countless forms from a clod of earth to a god.

The doctrine of a man-god: Buddha is not a god, but a man-God—a man who by ascetic practices and by continuous meditation through hundreds of births and deaths, has risen to be higher than the highest of gods. The notion that by mental and physical discipline, piety and ascetism, man can become a god, even in the face of opposition from the gods themselves, is peculiarly Brahmanical, and Buddhism borrowed this notion from Brahmanism.

Nirvana: the highest end of life is *Nirvana*. This celebrated word means, literally, extinction of the flame (of existence). But as to what it actually means and how it is actually applied has been the subject of a great deal of controversy among the leading European authorities on Buddhism. The majority of them, however, are agreed that, as Buddhism maintains all existence to be an absolute evil, salvation must lie in absolute non-existence, in the state in which nothing remains of that which constitutes existence—the entire absence of sensation and consciousness. On the other hand, authorities like Max Müller, and one or two others, maintain that *Nirvana* is not annihilation, or extinction, but merely a state of repose as in sleep, 'of unruffled calm, of blissful freedom from anxiety, desire, sorrow and sin,' and no doubt, as both Max Müller and Childers have shown, the oldest Buddhist writings as well as the later ones fully bear out this view. But wherever the truth may lie, it is certain that *Nirvana* is itself a state with stages and that it is only the final stage that must be the state of perfected salvation—the ultimate goal of a course of pious life. And what is this state of perfect salvation, unless it be one of perfect extinction, eternal nothingness, or, in one word, *Parinirvana*? This conclusion is at least logically irresistible.

I pass on to consider what is really the more immediate subject of this article—the development of pessimism in modern Europe, specially, in Germany. This is its latest and, perhaps also, its fullest development. In Germany, pessimism has appeared in a variety of phases, and it is not necessary, nor is it desirable, in an essay like this to describe each of the various pessimistic systems separately. It will be enough if we notice some of the more salient of those systems, shewing at the same time how they are related to one another as well as to those that preceded them in the historical line of development. But this I propose to do in another article. In the meantime I shall conclude this part by observing that in Germany as in India pessimism has been the ultimate issue of pantheism. Since the day of the great Kant, Germany alone among the European countries has shewn a constant tendency towards pantheism, and this tendency has not been merely the offspring of mysticism. It is to be found in the precise and scientific Goethe, no less than in the mystical Novalis. The poets, the painters, the musicians, and the metaphysicians of Germany have all been pantheistic more or less. Indeed, as we shall see later on, the influence of Spinoza has penetrated all the post-Kantian philosophy of Germany.

PRITHWI RAJ AND TARA BAI.

Burns says of his native Caledonia that it is "the birth-place of valor." If this honor is due to the land of the Scots, it is much more due to the land of the Rajpoots. Rajpootana is pre-eminently the birth-place of the brave. Valor in man excites admiration but valour in woman excites wonder. A Leonidas or a Rostum is certainly a grand sight; but a Joan of Arc or a Durgabati is a rare spectacle, indeed. Instances of both kinds are common in the annals of Rajasthan. What marks out the "blest pair" who form the subject of this article is that their career, short as it was, furnishes an instance not only of heroic valor but also of heavenly love. Prithwi Raj was the second son of Rana Raimal, his elder brother being Sangram, better known as Sanga, and his younger, Jaimal. Unhappily for Mewar, these brothers could not live in peace and amity; they had not a particle of fraternal affection in them. Though the two elder brothers had sprung from the same womb, they were more bitter enemies to each other than to the youngest, Jaimal, who was by a different mother. Prithwi Raj was the very impersonation of turbulence. He was all fire and burned with a perpetual thirst for action,—the Hotspur of Rajpootana. His high and ambitious spirit often led him to observe that "fate had intended him to rule Mewar." Thus Sanga became his eyesore, who had by well-established custom a preferential right to the throne. Not a week passed but the two brothers quarrelled. At last matters came to a crisis and there was a regular fight. Prithwi Raj drew his sword and gave Sanga five bad cuts with it and deprived him of one of his eyes. He, in his turn, it is true, was wounded, but the injury was not so serious. Sanga, though not a whit inferior to Prithwi Raj in bravery, yet not liking to slay a brother or be slain by him, fled the country and was not heard of for some years.

When the old Rana was informed of this unfortunate quarrel, he was highly incensed with Prithwi Raj and banished him from Mewar, telling him, in the language of disgustful anger, that he might maintain himself by strife in the exercise of his intrepidity. With only five followers, Prithwi Raj left his paternal abode, and made for Godwar which was then in the hands of the aboriginal

Mewars. But he was not the person to sit idle. He entered into the service of the Meena chief and managed matters so very adroitly that it was not long before the Meena rule came to an end and order was restored in the province.

As for Jaimal who remained with his father and was looked to as the heir of Mewar, he came to a very violent though well-deserved end. Rao Surtan, the Solank, who had been deprived of his paternal estate Thoda by Lilla the Afghan, and who now held Bednore, had a very beautiful but not the less heroic daughter, the far-famed Tara Bai. Tara had learned to guide the war stud and throw with unerring aim the arrow even while riding at full speed. Like Virgil's warlike Nisus,

Well could she bear
Her lance in fight, and dart the flying spear,
But better skilled unerring shafts to send.

Armed like a veritable Amazon, she took an active part in the unsuccessful attempts to wrest Thoda from the Afghan. Jaimal being desirous of obtaining her hand, made the proposal in person. The reply of the Star of Bednore was "Redeem Thoda and my hand is thine." The prince assented to the terms; but rudely attempting to be possessed of the prize before he had earned it, was slain by the indignant father. The Rana, far from revenging such an unworthy son, showed considerable favour to the offended Solanki by conferring on him that portion of Bednore which lay within the bounds of Mewar.

Prithwi Raj had already regained his father's confidence by restoring order in Godwar and the violent end of Jaimal accelerated his forgiveness and recall. He eagerly took up the gage disgraced by his brother, as it was quite congenial to his ambitious spirit. His military fame had by this time spread far and wide and people did not hesitate to compare him with his namesake, the valiant Chowhan of Delhi. In fact, he greatly resembled the poet Chand's illustrious hero, and if he had not died so early, Babar would have found it very difficult to obtain the throne of Hindustan. The fair heroine of Bednore had such strong confidence in the bravery of the young Sesoodia prince that on his simple asseveration that "he would recover Thoda or he was no true Rajpoot," she gave him her hand, of course with the consent of her father. The marriage was celebrated with due pomp and circumstance.

Having thus obtained the hand of the peerless Tara, Prithwi Raj was bent on fulfilling the promise he had made. The last day of the Mohurram ceremony was the time chosen for the exploit. He formed a select corps of five hundred horse, and accompanied

by his brave bride who was as glad to share in his glory as in his danger, he reached Thoda at the moment the *tasia* or bier containing the martyred Hossein, the younger son of Ali, was placed in the centre of the *chouk* or 'square.' The prince, his bride, Tara Bai, and his constant companion, the faithful Sengar chief, left their cavalcade and joined the procession as it passed under the balcony of the palace in which the Afghan chief was putting on his dress preparatory to descending. Scarcely had he asked, who the strange horsemen were who had joined the throng, when the lance of Prithwi Raj and an arrow from the bow of Tara stretched him on the floor. Before the panic with which the whole crowd were struck was over, the three adventurers had reached the gate of the town, where their exit was obstructed by a huge elephant. But Tara soon cleared the way by making the beast run away with his trunk cut, and they joined their party which was nigh at hand.

This valiant band of Rajpoots then encountered the Afghans, but the latter could not stand the attack. Most of them fled for life, and the few who did not show their heels were cut to pieces. Thoda thus fell into the hands of Prithwi Raj who inducted his father-in-law into his patrimony. A brother of the Afghan Lilla attempted to recover it, but lost his life in the attempt. The then Nawab of Ajmeer determined to oppose the Mewar prince in person; but before he had set out on his expedition Prithwi Raj was at his gate, assailed him and after a great slaughter took possession of his citadel.

The life of Prithwi Raj is a tissue of brave exploits and adventures. He was a hero from his fourteenth year. His ardent spirit knew no rest: it was ceaselessly engaged in performing feats of valor. He was the Roland of his age; and like that warlike nephew of Charlemagne did not live long. In fact, he had barely completed his twenty-third year when his life of such wonderful activity was closed; but it was not closed either by the sword or the shot. That dangerous weapon to which fear and infidelity and cowardice oftentimes have recourse, put a period to his existence. The assassin in this instance was his own brother-in-law, the Sirohi prince. This beast of a husband proved a veritable tyrant to his wife and often made her pass her anxious nights in tears on the bare floor. Continual ill-treatment exasperated the lady and she in the extremity of grief wrote to her brother, begging to be delivered from the tyranny of her lord, and to be restored to the paternal roof. On receipt of this letter Prithwi Raj rode on the wings of indignation, reached Sirohi in the dead of night, scaled the palace, and presented himself in the sleeping apartment of

the chief, ready to pay him dearly for his gross misconduct. The trembling husband prayed for mercy, and the wife, who had well-nigh forgotten his cruelty to her in the hour of impending danger, mingling her tears with his, begged his life which was granted on condition of his standing as a suppliant with his wife's shoes on his head and touching her feet. The conditions being fulfilled, the chief was forgiven, and was embraced by Prithwi Raj who consented to become his guest for the following five days. The latter must have been greatly mistaken if in the soldierly simplicity of his heart he had thought that by embracing him he had made sufficient amends to his brother-in-law for the unspeakable disgrace he had put on him. But the wound could not be so easily healed, and the fact was that it did not close up till it had discharged its deadly venom on the offending party. On the morning of the sixth day, Prithwi Raj took leave of the Sirohi chief who presented him some confection for which he was celebrated. The parting guest most gladly accepted the present, not suspecting any foul play. Prithwi Raj had come in sight of his palace at Komalmeer when he partook of the tempting comfit. The subtle poison was not slow in taking effect, so that on reaching the shrine of Mama Dēbi he was unable to proceed. Here he sent word to the fair Tara to come and bid him a last farewell; but before she could descend from the citadel he was a motionless corpse. Life, which appeared so very pleasing while her lover was alive, all on a sudden became unbearably painful, now that he was dead. She at once formed her resolution to welcome death, expecting to find in it the pleasure of his company. The pyre was raised; she readily ascended it, and embracing the body of her husband died a *sati* to the wonder and admiration of the spectators. This tragic event took place about 1508 A. D.

The account of the chivalrous Prithwi Raj and his heroic bride reads more like a romance than history. Their union was wonderful, their actions and exploits were wonderful, and their end also was wonderful. The secret of their love was not carnal enjoyment, that was only a secondary consideration. Contact of two congenial spirits produced that love, and participation in each other's glory and danger nursed it; and when it attained its full development the lovers were translated to "the region of the sun" as if earth was no longer fit to hold them.

SHUMBHOO CH. DEY.

CLOUDS.

(From the German of Gottschall.)

Floating white clouds,—thick mists from the meadows,
Are chasing each other along the hill side,
But see the clear sun-shine, undimm'd by their shadows,
Still rests on the peaks as they tower in their pride!

Higher and higher the vapors uprising,
At last on the radiant summits alight,—
Long fetter'd in darkness, the plains now despising,
They soar in their freedom—these Daughters of Night.

From the height we are on, we can see their forms glisten,
In the sun's rays, as they stay their career,
The silence is solemn, tho' keenly we listen,
From below not a murmur comes up to our ear.

Nor hear we the whisper of firs as they dal'f,
With the soft mists which around them rove free,
And we feel for the grief of the men in the valley,
All longing the sun in its glory to see.

O ye flitting and wandering shadows,
That from your low couch in the morning arise,
Hide, hide,—if ye will,—from me the green meadows,
But the sun, in its splendour, hide not from my eyes!

O C. DUTT.

IN THE MISSION BOAT—RIVER JELINGHI.

Come and spend a day with us on the boat. We left a place called Kristochunderpur at about 5 A.M., and are now sailing up against the stream. The river has overflowed its banks on each side of us and, therefore, presents to the eye a huge expanse of water bound by fields of paddy, and villages which are broken up into many little islands on which are little colonies of from one to half a dozen houses. The rising sun finds us gathered in the larger cabin, where our Bengali preachers live, for our morning service, and shortly after this, we arrive alongside of the village in which our morning will be spent.

We are being towed now as the wind never lasts long and are on the opposite bank of the river; so we are dragged a good way beyond the village to allow for the current or stream which carries us a good way down before we can draw up alongside the opposite bank. Once here, the people, especially the little *Rakhals* or cowherd boys, soon find us out and the bank is soon sprinkled with curious on-lookers. The cows come splashing along through the mud and water which lies on the broken road leading out from the village to what is not flooded, and the little *Rakhals* follow with the hats and umbrellas made of split bamboo and a stout stick each to punish the refractory ones of their herds. Here they have to swim, there wade through the water which is fast invading the very gardens round their houses. The men come strolling out idle and displaying a bitter spirit against everything and every body because their beautiful fresh-looking paddy is now submerged beyond all hope of recovery. They order the youngsters away from the boat up to which they have ventured to feast their bright sparkling eyes on the new kind of human beings just arrived—half envying the pleasure it gives the boys when they feel so little like enjoying anything themselves. Our kitchen boat now draws alongside of us and we have our *chota hasri* which consists of a couple of eggs, bread and jam and tea, and keeps us up till about 11-30. At 7 we are ready to go into the village. We all start together and each one takes a few gospels and Children's Friends in his hand or bag. Hardly have we gone 100 yards when we are confronted with a lot of water. Shaul and I look at each other.

Is it to be "boots off" or not? No, we see the tops of the grass above the water and so determined to test the make of the "Army and Navy boots." Five yards further on, water up to our knees forces us to take off our boots, &c., and for about a mile we have continually to wade through water. At last we come to a long stretch which looks both dirty and deep; so Shaul and I leave the Babu preachers and try to circumvent it. But after manœuvring round a Hindu house and into a garden which is one mass of jungle, we return in despair and once more take to the water which is this time half way up our thighs and which soon takes all the pride out of our clean white trousers.

"In for a penny, in for a pound."

At last we get to a little shop. So two preachers and I stop to give our message while Shaul and the others go on to the school. There are three people in the shop. No one offered us a seat, which, of course, is directly contrary to the acknowledged politeness of the Hindu (which contrariness is very common in more forms than one as far as we Christians are concerned); and when we asked for one, we were told we might find one further on. One of our preachers, however, pointed to some books on a mat and said, "We will sit there if you will remove the books, as our message is for you."

After a few questions about their village, the flood, etc., to all of which we received sulky and ungracious replies, we went straight to the point and preached to them "Jesus and Him crucified"—"their Lord and ours" if only they knew it. They listened attentively and soon villagers dropped in and swelled the number of our listeners till we had quite ten who sat through the whole preaching.

A homely little incident occurred while the preaching was going on, which gives one an idea of the home life of the Bengali.

A little boy, about five years of age, with a beautifully clean *dhuti* (or cloth), came up to the shop door. He had a brass saucer in one hand and a small cloth full of rice in the other. As he caught sight of us, he looked as if he would like to bolt.

A word of encouragement from the shop-keeper or *dokánwallah* caused our timid little friend to enter. He stood before the shopkeeper, and holding up the rice and empty brass pot, said the one word "gur" (treacle).

The man had none, and he told the boy to go to another shop. The little chap didn't understand but simply repeated what were evidently his mother's instructions.

At last he grasped the situation, and trotted off to shop No. 2, soon afterwards returning with his brass pot of treacle, having left the rice as an equivalent.

The "guru" of the village passed as our words of love and warning taken from the Saviour's lips were drawing to a close, and there was a great outcry that the old man should stop and show up our "errors." He came and sat down, and at once, in a defiant tone, said,—“ If you tell me anything of Sri Krishna Chaitanya and his Incarnation at Navadwip, I'll listen to you.”

At this, Harish showed how this man had no claims to be an Incarnation but was only an ardent devotee of Rádhá and Krishna or Vishnu. He also showed how all the marvellous and unnatural works attributed to Krishna were made up by writers of his life some hundreds of years afterwards. Here the guru asked if all these tales were false; and, upon being answered in the affirmative, he got up and left us and his disciples alone in our glory. At this point we try to get the people to buy a gospel and to search and see for themselves as to whether Jesus would satisfy their deepest needs;—but no, hard to the last they would take nothing from us. Shaul and his party now return, having had very similar reception in another part of the village. We embark on our kitchen boat, and make our way slowly up the river to the “budgerow.” The sight of two white men, with their boots, &c, and knickerbockers on, is a strange one, and the villagers along the bank turn out to look at us. Bath and breakfast over, we turn our backs upon this village with saddened hearts for the poor ignorant people who seem to care or think of nothing but their bodily needs.

While being towed up to the next village, we employ ourselves writing letters, studying Bengali and Bible reading. At about 6 o'clock, we arrive at Rudranagar, and with great difficulty we get our boat moored alongside a big tree, which, together with the road into the village, stands in three feet of water. Nothing daunted, the village boys, always keen to see anything new, soon muster in force, and Shaul shows them some bright little puzzle &c, while I give those who can read a বাক্য বন্ধু (Child's Friend) which we find acceptable everywhere. The little girls, too, come with babies, very little smaller than themselves. They stand in the background. All are standing in water, some to their knees and some to their hips.

[* And yet it is a thorough mistake. These ignorant rustics are not less god-fearing than they who go to teach them. Their creed is not elaborate, but they are firmly convinced of its truth, too firmly to discard it at the bidding of a saheb who can kill a cow for food. Ed N. M.]

Shaul and I determine to go out this evening prepared for all emergencies; so I cut a pair of white trousers into knickerbockers, and at 5 o'clock, after prayer for God's blessing and presence with us and the people, we sally forth. Soon, however, our wading powers no longer avail us and we send for our small boat which takes us into the Mussalman para. We two and our four preachers sing hymns till we find ourselves near the school which is completely surrounded by water—the boys being brought to school and back in a boat by a couple of elderly boys. We (two of the preachers and myself) land on an island (!), opposite the school, where there is a little shop, and after singing a hymn we find ourselves surrounded by quite a large crowd. The schoolmaster has sent a boy over with his chair for me to sit on, and he follows with other boys bringing boxes for the preachers and himself. The inner edge of the crowd is lined with boys 2 or 3 deep, then young men and old squat down behind. In the shop itself and on the banks of the little islands are some 20 to 40 women.

Ainud-din, a converted Mussalman, then tells them of the fall of man and carefully shows us how the promise of God that a Redeemer should come was kept before the Jews and, indeed, the world; and how Jesus fulfilled all the prophecies and by His wonderful life and death wrought for us a great and everlasting salvation. I add a few words showing the sinfulness of our own hearts by nature and how we can never hope for salvation by the merit of our own "good" works, and then I ask the schoolmaster what he teaches his boys about religion. "Nothing," he says, "at this age we do not teach them about God, for they cannot understand." Then I tell him how Jesus loved the little ones and how they trusted Him, and pointed out the huge mistake made by the people who wait till a child has grown up to love sin before teaching him to hate it—till he has forgotten that there is a God to love and fear before teaching that "He is and is a rewarder of those who seek Him." The people were so poor and listened so eagerly that I left a Bible in the hands of the schoolmaster.

We embarked on our boat, picked up Shaul and party, stuck in the mud, sang hymns all the way home, and then settled down to dinner.

Evening prayer and quiet chat in the moonlight closed a day which by God's grace shall prove to have been spent not in vain.

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IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?

OR,

A REVIEW OF PESSIMISM.

II.

It is pantheism that in Germany as in India has naturally culminated in pessimism. This must be clear to every one who has studied the development of German thought from Kant to Hegel and downwards. Kant, as late as 1759, was inclined favorably towards what was then generally understood to be Leibnitzian optimism but what was really an ignoble perversion of a great theory.* But in a paper published 32 years later, Kant had changed his view. Our understanding, he argues, is absolutely and necessarily incompetent to ascertain the relation in which the world, as known to us in experience, stands to the infinite wisdom of God.

* This baser optimism of the age which sheltered itself under the mask of the Leibnitzian *theodicee* found its characteristic expression in the easy-going but certainly very vulgar maxim "Eat, drink and be merry." In England Pope was the solemn exponent of this view. It also appeared in Shaftesbury and Paley. Both Butler and Hume opposed it, each in his own way. In a striking passage in Hume's 'Dialogues concerning Natural Religion,' Demea is made to say, "the whole earth, believe me Philo, is cursed and polluted. A perpetual war is kindled amongst all living creatures, &c., &c." This so-called Leibnitzian optimism was also the real subject of Voltaire's pungent satire in the Philosophical Romance called *Candide*.

Kant was certainly not a pessimist, for he believed in the ample possibilities of social and political improvement and in the infinite perfectibility of the human soul.* But in one respect, indeed, Kant's Critical Philosophy, by emphasizing as it did the distinction between phenomena and noumena, thought and existence, gave a death-blow to all endæmonistic morality. The moral law, said Kant, which involved the categorical imperative of duty, is the one emphatic assertion of the autonomous Will, the one clear utterance of the Absolute. The lesson thus taught was not without its fruit in ultimately preparing the way for that extraordinary burst of pessimism which came from Schopenhauer and his successors.

At first, indeed, this tendency of the Kantian philosophy was not at all perceptible. With the idealism of Fichte, of Schelling, and above all, of Hegel, optimism again returned. With Hegel the primal essence, the single original principle, out of which all things proceed is the universal divine Idea, the undifferented, absolute unity of thought and being. This Idea explicates itself through a process of dialectical evolution, in the various unconscious forms of nature and ultimately also in the conscious spirit of man. The Idea starts by passing out of itself or heterising itself and becomes Nature. Nature is thus the Idea in the form of otherness or self-alienation.† Setting itself over against itself, the Idea passes dialectically through a series of ascensional stages, through higher and higher types of manifestation from its being out of itself in space and time (matter) to its being in itself again (mind) as individualised in the scale of animal organisms. But it rises into itself again fully in man. It is in man only that the Idea finally arrives at clear and distinct self-consciousness and free exercise of the Will.

The philosophy of Hegel thus, by its process of logical evolution, grasping the whole universe in a net of formal unity, is apparently favourable to optimistic interpretations. The world is regarded as a vast organic whole, in which all things, matter and mind, things natural and things spiritual, man, society with all its products, and God himself, do not exist as independent and isolated entities, but as necessary stages in the one all-comprehending, all-pervading process of thought—the self-explication or self-real-

* Kant held that the complete accommodation of the will to moral law can be attained only in the course of an infinite progress of the soul. This, indeed, is the basis of his argument for the immortality of the soul, the 2nd postulate of practical reason. Kant borrowed this argument from Leibnitz from whom also Addison probably borrowed it. *Vide Spectator*, No. 111.

† cf. Spinoza :—"Mundus est Deus explicitus."

sation of the idea. In a scheme of idealism like this, we find, it seems, the true home of optimism. All things are in their proper place and all things seem to be justified by the symmetry of their position in the logical evolution.* It is only when we look at them as independent, self-centred, and isolated units, in other words, when we fail to rise to the contemplation of their logical unity and their necessity, that we begin to perceive discords and defects in the world, its weakness and its triviality.

But while Hegelianism had thus for a time easily lent itself to the purposes of optimism, its ultimate result, aided no doubt by the temper of the time, a result which Hegel could hardly foresee, was that pantheism of despair and contempt which drove Schopenhauer to declare, "life is a cheat and a uselessly interrupting episode in the blissful repose of nothing." That, to a certain extent at least, this was the natural result of the creed of Hegel is not denied even by Hegelians themselves, and Dr. Hutchison Sterling, certainly one of the most successful expositors of Hegelianism in England, finds it necessary to speak thus:—"If pantheism is the result of Hegel, then, to my view, it is the most unfortunate result that has ever issued; and the disappearance of man, as but a *pithecus intelligens*, into the shelves of the rock, cannot be long to wait for. Idealism and materialism here fall together with a vengeance, and the only question that remains between them is, what are the ideal relations or the material explanations the *Prius*?—a question that will be answered so soon as it is determined whether the hen or the egg is first.

'Be near me when my light is low,

Be near me when my faith is dry!'

In days of doubt, these are the cries of the *faithful*. So it is, then, that, though to me the creed of Hegel is not that pantheism of despair that gives itself big words only, there have been times when he rose before me haggard, wan, his brow wet with the perspiration of hopelessness—a hopelessness confessed by the hollow laughter itself, by the very audacity that would conceal it. However painful, then, I do not wonder at, nor seek to hide, the unfortunate experiences of some who at least began with Hegel. Through what strange series of beliefs or unbeliefs does not Feuerbach descend from the logical idea to naked sense! '*Der Mensch ist was er esst*,' man is what he eats: the little gleam of a *Calembour* is the only spiritual consolation that remains to him!

* This explains Hegel's double-faced dictum:—The real is the rational, and the rational, the real.

Oh, the pity of it! And what but pity is allowed us as we hang by the couch of 'the invalid of the Rue d'Amsterdam' over the white ash of an utter contempt for life, for existence, for this the necessary outcome of the all, of reason—the white ash which once was so warm a heart, so eager and so swift a soul? But, worst of all, Ruge, the bold, brilliant Ruge, whose special merit it was 'to have first introduced the youth of Holland into the metaphysical depths of the Hegelian philosophy' winds up his destiny by translating—for Germans!—that hollow make-believe of windy conceit, Buckle's *Civilisation in England*! It is difficult, indeed, to support Hegel under such a blow as this last!"

Let us now come down to the modern pessimist philosophers of Germany. A mere outline sketch of only some of their systems is all that can here be attempted. Hegel, we have seen, began with a self-evolving, self-developing Reason or Idea as the original principle of things. This idea was in the beginning the undifferentenced unity of thought and being. Schopenhauer rejected Thought or Reason and began with mere blind impulse, Will, as he called it, as the basis of existence.

Arthur Schopenhauer was born at Dantzic in 1788. His father was a banker, his mother a novelist and writer of books of travel. He studied at Göttingen and Zena and devoted some time to the study of Indian philosophy, specially, the Upanishads for which he expressed great reverence. From 1818 to 1831 he was private lecturer in the University of Berlin, where, however, he proved a failure. He died at Frankfort in 1860. His writings attracted public attention chiefly on account of his insinuations against Schelling and Hegel as official professors of philosophy in the interests of conservatism. His principal work is entitled the 'World as Will and Notion.'

In this work he teaches that the one principle out of which all things proceed is Will. Will is the one and only thing-in-itself, and its manifestations in space and time are innumerable. This Will is to be understood not as my will or your will but as universal, absolute will, including all the various forces at work in inorganic and organic nature, in unconscious instinct as well as in the conscious desire and volition of individual men. The world is a manifestation of Force, and Force is only another name for Will. This unconscious absolute Will passes through an ascensional progress of manifestation in inorganic nature, in plants and animals, until it becomes fully conscious in man.

At each higher stage in this progressive manifestation, in this objectification of Will there is a loss of power and an increase of

misery. And why? Because all will is an effort, a *nisus* or a striving, and as all effort originates from want which is pain, willing is essentially suffering and, therefore, life, as essentially willing, is essentially suffering. The higher and richer the conscious life becomes, the keener become the pains that accompany it, the greater the suffering. The lowest animals suffer least. The man of genius is, of all men, the most miserable. Pain alone is thus positive, and pleasure is only the momentary alleviation of pain. Life, the self-affirmation of the will, existence itself, is perpetual suffering. Man's happiness is only an empty, evanescent illusion. It is like a beggar who dreams that he is a king. Human history, from which earnest but awfully misguided believers have sought to prove the existence of a divine Providence directing the career of nations, is only a tiresome repetition of horrors and follies. The belief in any plan or progress in history is wholly irrational. Leibnitz says that this world is the best of all possible worlds. Let us rather say it is the worst possible. Had it been worse, it would not have been able to exist at all. Things would thus have been better, since men would then have refused to endure life.

In his ethics Schopenhauer teaches that man, by morality, is to be the redeemer of the world. And a man is moral in proportion as (1) he sympathises with the suffering that attends life and (2) as he mortifies in himself the will to live by the constant practice of asceticism. Sympathy alleviates suffering, asceticism destroys it by destroying the desire to live. Schopenhauer accordingly sympathises with the Hindu ascetics, with the Buddhist aspirants after extinction, and with the self-mortifying anchorites of ancient Christianity. He proposes no positive aim, however, no extrication of a higher self, as Hegel does. The highest end of human aspiration is negative,—the cessation of the miseries of life.

Next comes Hartmann. Herr Von Hartmann's 'Philosophy of the Unconscious' was published in 1869. The single principle out of which all things proceed is unconscious spirit with the powers of volition and ideation. The Idea of Hegel, says Hartmann, cannot attain to reality because it has no will; the Will of Schopenhauer cannot manifest itself in ideas because it is blind and irrational. The will of the Unconscious evolves the *real* existence and its ideation evolves the *ideal* existence of the world and of all things in it. Matter is only an arrangement of atomic forces that are themselves unconscious volitions which have for objects unconscious representations or ideas. The unconscious likewise creates the evolution of organisation and life, so that its operations may be traced in all biological and psychological processes and in

the general course of history. It attains to consciousness in man through the separation of intelligence from will. And the growth of intelligence consists in ever more recognising the folly of the work of the will. It may not be true that pain alone is positive and pleasure merely negative, but it is certainly true, as can be proved by an appeal to the experience both of individuals and of society, that pain preponderates in a very large measure over pleasure, evil over good. It would, therefore, be better that the world should cease to exist than that it should continue in existence. Hartmann will not say that this world is the worst possible, he will not even deny that it may be the best possible, since, we do not know what is possible; but what he knows to be positively certain is that it is worse than no world at all.

As regards the highest good, Hartmann maintains that Reason will ultimately convince the Will that it is better for it not to be and induce it to annihilate itself. Schopenhauer prescribes self-mortification, fasting, voluntary poverty, in other words a course of extreme asceticism as the path to be pursued to attain the highest good—to root out the Will to live. But it is useless to expect that men will ever destroy life by ascetic practices. He would rather have his followers live just as other people do, in the trust that the world, owing to the delusions of life and history, will gradually, without any body taking care about the matter, work out its own destruction. After men have passed from deception to deception, they will at last recognise that life is not worth living, when they will sigh after eternal extinction and seek and find it in an act of universal suicide.

The next name after Hartmann, and almost the last we shall notice here, is that of Herr Bhansen. This vigorous thinker is the most uncompromising of all the champions of pessimism. According to him the world is not only essentially irrational but will be *eternally* so. Schopenhauer, Hartmann, and their followers, have no right to tell us that the misery of creation will *ever* terminate. The hope of salvation, of extinction of evil, in a world essentially evil, is an illegitimate hope, which can only be the result of blind faith.

We cannot afford to close this list without making a passing mention of Mainländer. Of his 'Philosophie der Erlösung,' published in 1876, Wundt says: "A gloomy melancholy pervades this work, which shows clearly how short a step it is from Schopenhauer's Will-manifestations to a system of mystical emanation. God, it is here set forth, was the original Unity of the world, but He is no longer, since the world broke up into a multiplicity of

particular things. God willed that *nothing* should be, but his essence prevented the immediate coming to pass of nothingness. It is not, therefore, the Will-to-live, as Schopenhauer said, that maintains the change of phenomena, but the Will-to-die ; and this is coming ever nearer to its fulfilment, since in the mutual struggle of all things the sum total of force grows ever less. In the view of this author, the highest moral duty is that negation of existence which would cut short the unlimited continuance of individual life in the future by the cessation of all sexual connection."

There are a good many other pessimist philosophers in Germany, among whom I might mention, perhaps, Taubert, Du Prel, Volkelt, Noiré and Hellwald ; but as they all adhere more or less to Schopenhauer and his immediate successors, and as there is an almost perfect family-likeness in their philosophic effusions, it is unnecessary to notice them here.

There is, however, another phase of pessimism which yet remains to be referred to ; it is that involved in the necessitarianism of science. Schopenhauer and his followers, grim and terrible as they are, have still a morality to preach, a consolation to offer, but necessitarianism is content to do nothing of the kind. It rejects these elements altogether and leaves no room either for consolation or for morality. In every case man's actions are necessarily determined and his freedom is wholly illusory. He cannot choose to act this way or that, any more than the gun-powder, when ignited, can choose to explode or not to explode, or the stone, when unsupported, can choose to fall or not to fall. To the scientific pessimist Nature takes the place of God and Nature, the totality of existence, is only the embodiment of blind force, "the God of the iron foot, without ear for prayer or heart for sympathy or arm for help." It is an eternal succession of causes and effects, with no reason as its beginning, no reason as its end. Man is victim of an inexorable destiny calmly and all the more irresistibly driving him on to eternal death, to the abyss of nothingness.

To people accepting a creed so dreadful as this, what consolation has Schopenhauer to offer? None whatever. Life is a "vale of tears" and will remain eternally so. Our obvious duty is to make the best of it. After all, even in Pandemonium there might be shady spots ; so let us find pleasure as best we can in the ordinary pursuits of earthly life and then die as the brute dieth. Death puts an end to the ills of life, and is there no consolation, no comfort in the thought? Does not Lucretius say

"If (death) robs thee, too, of all desire of joy,
A truth once uttered, that would the mind free

Of dread and trouble. 'Thou art safe!'

Death protects thee and secures

The out-numbered woes of mortal life?"

There have been a few spirits, however, too susceptible and too much withered by suffering to be able to rise beyond the ever-present sense of utter abandonment in the midst of a pitiless, senseless, aimless destiny, and find comfort enough in the shady spots and the cool retreats of Pandemonium. Of this there are many well-known types in literature. What can be more horrible, for instance, than the strange abysmal despair which finds its typical expression in the pessimism of Leopardi? At one moment, indeed, this unfortunate Italian declares himself to be in love with death but only to find in the next that love is a delusion and that so is liberty, so is progress, and so are all ideals.

From the foregoing observations, we think, a pretty clear idea of pessimism may be formed, and its position in the history of thought understood. It is necessary, however, to conclude with a very brief and very general examination of pessimism, such as we have described it, by the light of common sense. Is there anything in it which is calculated to supersede belief in a personal God of infinite intelligence, wisdom, and love? Can life be sustained on the doctrine that there is nothing worth living for? We have seen that pessimism, as a creed, begins with Buddhism. Our limits forbid us entering into anything approaching to a discussion of Buddhism even in some of its bearings. The subject is too vast to be adequately dealt with in an essay intended chiefly for general readers. The student has already been referred to standard works and these might very advantageously be studied. Our remarks, therefore, must necessarily be confined to the recent forms of pessimism in Germany.

One of the characteristic features of modern pessimism is the importance it gives to the question—Is life worth living? That life is worth less than nothing, and that Non-existence is better than Existence, had previously been uttered only as a passing cry of disappointment or weariness. But it was reserved for modern German pessimists to recognise distinctly that the question as to the worth of existence deserves to be considered as one of the fundamental problems of thought. It is to be regarded as a question the solution of which must determine the solution of all other questions, even, such as—'Is there a wise and good God?', 'Is there a future life?', &c., &c. "The worth of human life, so far from being made dependent on theological conceptions is itself one of the facts on which the propositions of theology have to

establish themselves."* Of course, the question, when it is thus viewed is generally narrowed to 'is there an overplus of pain or pleasure in life?' But this is hardly legitimate. The question as to the worth of existence belongs really to the philosophy of Final Causes.

But even if so narrowed and isolated, it is not impossible to disprove the answer presented to it, by data drawn entirely from the pleasures and pains of common experience in the present life. Experience can easily be cited for proving that no attempt to draw up a balance-sheet of absolute cosmic misery or happiness, can ever be successful. Aristotle has said, 'we are not un-biased judges in *re* Pleasure *vs.* Pain.' Even if we were, how is it possible to weigh pleasures against pains in the present life, so as to decide which scale has been the heavier? A man may live long and may have enjoyed many years of moderate pleasure, but there may be before him a few years of sorrow and suffering. When he is dead, how are you to weigh the one against the other? Then, again; how is it possible, under such a system of calculation, to pronounce judgment that a man is happy before he is dead? Further: does not the present life include the world of duty and of spiritual communion quite as much as the world of sense-experience? How are the pleasures of moral or of religious life to be weighed against the pains of physical life? These and a hundred other considerations serve to show that the reasoning of the pessimist is plainly erroneous, and that his fundamental thesis that life is essentially pain is too gross an exaggeration to afford a rational basis for a true philosophy of life and existence.

Another conspicuous feature of modern pessimism is its close resemblance to Buddhism. Indeed, modern pessimism is only Buddhism Europeanized. It is Buddhism reduced to a mere theory, a mere collection of abstract systems. In it, the doctrine of a man-God, and a number of other legendary extravagances, have been struck off, simply because European minds can never be expected to entertain them. But by thus modifying Buddhism, by thus relieving it of a heavy burden, as it were, has modern pessimism gained? Certainly not. Buddha can no more be dissociated from Buddhism than Christ from Christianity. They both concentrate themselves in a person, present and ideal, embody their teaching in an example. They thus give an object for affection, which constitutes, indeed, the chief source of their strength and vitality. In Buddhism it is the personality of Buddha, its spiri-

* Vide Sully on Pessimism.

tual impressiveness, its moral grandeur, that has enabled it to gain so many hearts, to spread itself so extensively and to exert in many respects so beneficial an influence, even in spite of the barren and withering nature of its dogmas. In so far as modern pessimism is Buddhism without a Buddha, it is a wretched substitute for Buddhism with one. It can elicit neither virtue nor affection and cannot excite enthusiasm for the true, the beautiful, and the good, any more than a corpse can awaken love or a heap of ice can kindle a conflagration. Then again we must remember that Buddha's *karma*, impersonal fate, Schopenhauer's Will and Hartmann's Unconscious, are all presented alike as substitutes for God. But reflection will easily show that they are all pure myths, and to ask reason to accept them otherwise is to ask it to annihilate itself.

We are concerned with pessimism as a religious theory and it will, therefore, be going out of our limits to enter into psychological or even historical criticisms. We, therefore, pass over this side of the question under review, merely pointing out that Schopenhauer's deduction, of the essential misery of life, vitiated as it is by a metaphysical hypothesis, is really the result of bad psychology and bad analysis, and that Hartmann's conception of the course of history is as erroneous and as worthless as it is possible for anything to be.

The question, however, remains that can pessimism be satisfactorily refuted unless by belief in a perfectly wise and good God? The answer must obviously be in the negative. It is this belief which can alone warrant us in taking a hopeful view of the destinies of mankind. It is inseparable from faith in a future life, in the immortality of the soul, and in human progress. Rationally speaking, to be without God is to be without hope in the world. It is only faith in God's infinite goodness, infinite mercy and love, that can sustain true virtue and piety and that is the only basis, the power, and the glory, of true religion. Views so dreadful and appalling as those of Schopenhauer or of Hartmann leave no room for a life of religion, for that love and communion in love on which alone can life, spiritual life, be sustained. Perverted and natural as they are, they furnish a very inadequate answer to the demands of the reason, the conscience, and the heart. They represent the world as irrational, and so, of course, a rational explanation of it there can be none. They seek to deprive the soul of the susceptibilities which they cannot satisfy and to annihilate the desires which they cannot regulate. And it is precisely views like these that have been presented as substitutes for faith in a wise and

good God! Surely, folly and superstition can go no further. The whole history of pessimism, if it shows anything, unquestionably shows this, that though it may find acceptance in the name of science and philosophy and be esteemed as the most modern wisdom, it is really only a repetition of very ancient folly. After all, there is nothing new under the sun, and pessimism is as old as speculative error. There is nothing in it that should make us give up our belief in an infinite, intelligent, holy, and just Creator and Sustainer of the world, God.

It might lastly be asked that has pessimism, false also and unnatural as it is, no use to serve? Is it so absolutely worthless that it does not even deserve to be studied? Certainly it is not. The study of pessimism, in common with that of every other system of philosophy, has its use, and it is, perhaps, best expressed in Mansel's remarks on the study of ancient philosophy, which I quote here *mutatis mutandis*. "However wide may be the gulf that separates non-theistic and theistic systems of philosophy, they have this at least in common, that both are the produce of human minds, thinking under the same laws, and impelled to speculation by the same irresistible motive of yearnings unsatisfied and doubts unsolved. Each seeks to comply with the requirements of the same nature: each sets out from the ground of that common consciousness which, in intellect no less than in affection, makes the whole world kin. 'Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto,' is a maxim no less applicable to the most abstruse speculations of philosophy than to the affairs of everyday life. Philosophy, in all its aspects, is a contribution to the history of humanity. The study of the history of philosophy is almost equally instructive in what it achieves and in what it fails to achieve; and speculations which are far from solving the riddle of existence have their use in teaching us why it is insoluble."*

POORNA CHANDRA ROY CHOWDHRY, M.A.

[NOTE.—The writer is learned and acute in his arguments, but halting in his conclusion. The mere theist is not less in danger of being pessimistic than is the agnostic, the sceptic, the Buddhist, the Pantheist, or even the atheist. In order that hope, comfort and consolation may exist in the breast of a believer in God, he must believe not only in the existence of God, but in a relation between God and man, in a bond between God and man, in the communicated will of God to man, in other words, in revelation. Pure theism is a philosophy like pantheism, not a religion like Hinduism, Mahomedanism, or Christianity. Why should the mere belief in God be a comfort to man, unless He is recognised to love man, to rule man by a moral law laid down, to be in contact with man? Logically, therefore, it appears that to appreciate the earnestness and reality of life, a man has either to believe in a revealed religion, or, if he discards supernaturalism, to make the service of man itself a religion.—Ed. N. M.]

* Vide Introduction to Metaphysics.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT.**HISTORY OF UNAO, II.**

He who desires to be well acquainted with a people will not reject their popular stories and superstitions. These are the words of Sir John Malcolm, a past master of statecraft, for whom the oriental mind had no secrets. His dictum applies with two-fold force to the historian of an Indian community: for in no part of the globe have these legends which pitiless science terms myths exercised a profounder influence on the formation of national character. History proverbially repeats itself: and the key to many a complex problem of life and action is afforded by a minute study of those glorious epics which are among the most precious inheritances of the Aryan Race. Here the ancient altars stand decked with greener bays than those of Greece and Rome in colder climes. The Ramayana, Mahabharata and Purans, with their pictures of virile bravery and womanly self-devotion still live in the hearts of millions and insensibly influence their daily lives. Their very blots and blemishes, the blurred outlines which reveal their hoary antiquity are cherished with a loving care, and episodes which to the matter-of-fact European are but the stuff that dreams are made of, are vivid realities in the eyes of the faithful Hindu. Sir Charles Elliott has, therefore, done wisely to devote a chapter of his history to the mythical age of Unao: albeit that most of the legends current in the district are but variants charged with local colouring of stories found in epic poesy. That of Lona Chamarin merits quotation in our author's own graphic words, if only for the proof it affords that Hindu methods of culture have remained the same for countless ages. Lona was a woman of the despised caste of leather dressers, and lived at Unao. One day, while bathing in the Ganges, she found a caldron full of flesh which had been cast ashore near the temple of Puriur. This was the mortal spoils of Dhanattar Vaid, who had been killed by the snake typifying in mythology the Scythian invasion of India, lest by his cunning he should save king Parichit from a similar fate. Lona ate the flesh: and as she ate, the wisdom of Dhanattar passed into her. She be-

came skilful in cures and medicines, and if any was bitten by a snake she healed him. There came a day when all the people of Unao were transplanting the young rice-plants from their seed-beds to the wider fields in which they were to grow. Every man brought the plants in a basket and threw them out in one place where Lona was standing: but when they came back with another basketful they found that she had planted out all the plants which were in the heap. When they saw this they wondered greatly, and said, "We are two hundred men bringing baskets of plants, how can one woman plant out so many all alone?" So, at last, when the rest went away after emptying their baskets, her brother-in-law stayed behind and hid himself. He watched and saw that when all were gone Lona stripped herself naked and took up the heap in her hands, and muttered words, and cast the plants into the air, and all the rice-plants planted themselves out in order, each in its proper line and place. Then he cried out in astonishment, and when she saw that she was watched, she was over-powered with shame, and crouching down tried to escape. Her brother-in-law followed to reassure her, but she fled the faster, and as she fled the earth opened before her, and behind her all the water from the rice-fields, collecting in one wave, flowed down the channel which she made. At first she crouched as she ran, but when she saw she was pursued she rose up, and the channel became deeper, and the wave behind her rose higher, and fear added wings to her flight. So she sped along, carrying destruction through the country as she ran; passing through the town of Newayan until she reached the Ganges at Dalarman and rushed into it and hid her shame in its water. The channel which she made is called the Lona Naddi to this day. The flood destroyed the town of Newayan and left nothing but a high mound which stands close to the bank of the stream. Sir Charles Elliott adds a footnote to the effect that *mantras* for charming away the evil effects of snake-bite are still addressed to Lona Chamaria: but they are not popular, for any one knowing them is bound to go to the assistance of the victim who pronounces them: a necessity which might sometimes prove inconvenient to the onlooker. Those who have lived in the little island of Jersey will remember that ancient formula the *Clameur de Haro*, an appeal to a long-defunct Duke of Normandy famed for strong administration and justice which, uttered by any one whose rights are invaded, at once suspends all proceedings to his detriment.

As materials for history, however, the value of myths is nought and the annals of Unao are a blank till its conquest by

the Mahammadans in the thirteenth century of our era. At that date the Unao Parguna was tenanted by a colony of Bissecins from Gorakhpur whose king Anwanta is supposed to have given his name to the District. Further west there was a large settlement of Chandels, driven from Chanderi in the Deccan by the Chohan victorious in that great battle which is best described in the terms of a proverb used in cases where might conquers right—*Khet Prithora, talwar Ala aur Udal ka*. "The victory was Prithi-Raj's but the glory lay with Ala and Udal." The present Parguna of Bangarmau was the seat of the Rajpuri clan, the chief of which was a tributary of the kingdom of Kanouj. Its capital was at Rajkot, where to this day vast ruins extend over an area of several miles. The streams which wash the base of mounds a hundred feet high lay bare cyclopic masonry and sometimes gold coin and jewellery stamped with quaint legends which bring disaster on their finders. A Brahmin community was found at Safipur: and a cluster of low-caste herdsmen in the central portion of the District. In the east lived the Bhars, an aboriginal race which at one time dominated the eastern half of Oudh. Their earliest habitat was Bahraich, which is said to owe its name to them: and they have left indelible traces on the nomenclature of the upper Gangetic delta.

When we approach the Mahammedan conquest we stand on firmer ground. In the year 1193 A. D., writes Sir Charles Elliott, Shahabuddin Ghori conquered and slew the hero of Rajput chronicles, Raja Prithora of Delhi: and in the next year he overthrew his great rival, Raja Jaichand of Canouj. These important victories were followed up by vigorous attacks in all directions. The sacred Mount Abu, the impenetrable Gwalior, the holy Benares, Gya and Ajmir and Anhalwara Patan—all the great centres of Rajput power and Hindu devotion—were startled by the appearance before their walls of the uncouth barbarians. All, after a brave but vain resistance, fell before his sword. The Brahmin folded his hands and cursed the *Mleccha*, but not openly. The merchant sought to turn an honest penny by him, and was oftener paid with iron than with gold. The Sudra served the strange highlanders much as he had obeyed his Aryan master. But to the Rajput this upsetting of his received ideas was intolerable. It was part of his religion that his race should be lords of the lands; and to see his Raja bow before a barbarian was desecration and impiety. By mutual jealousies, by incapacity for combination, and by fatuous negligence the country had been taken from him; and the lives of his great Rajas had been lost. Now at last, thoroughly roused when it was too late, he

felt that it was impossible to remain quiet under defeat. If he could not fight he could fly; some spot might be found where, though only for a little space, he might be beyond the conqueror's reach. The outcome of this great movement was the colonization of Unao by warlike Rajput clans. Another class of these settlers owe their origin to grants of land bestowed on their ancestors by Mogul emperors for services in war. Under Akbar's liberal sway Rajputs were prized as the very-flower of the army. Alliances with princesses of their stock were eagerly sought for by the Mahammadan nobility—nay, by the imperial family itself. Both Jehangir and Shah Jehan were Rajputs on the mother's side. These colonies reproduced all the essential features of European feudality. The tract occupied by the settlers was held under a special grant from the king. The grantee was bound to do service in the field against rebels or disturbers of the peace when called on by the proper authorities: and sometimes it was stipulated that he should attend the Faujdar on his excursions through the country with a fixed force. Sixteen great clans of Rajputs still survive in Unao, each with its own well-defined tract of country. The royal house of Bulrampur is an offshoot of one of these,—the Junwars, found in the Bangarmau Pargana. From another branch was descended the infamous Jussa Singh who during the Mutiny seized the English fugitives escaping by boat from Futtehgurh and delivered them to the ruthless Nana, by whose orders they were done to death on the Cawnpore parade-ground. The Dikhits are a second important Rajput class: asserting a lineal descent from the children of the Sun ruled Ajodhya for fifty-one generations. Though still in possession of a large and compact area in Unao they are but a shadow of their former selves. Their downfall dates from the opposition offered by their Raja Prithimal to the assimilation of Oudh by the Emperor Akbar. When the vizier of Mahammad Shah Adili, says Sir Charles Elliott, led his forces to oppose the return of Humayun, all Hindustan was moved to see a Hindu once more at the head of affairs and combating a Mahammadan in the field, and a vast army flocked to his standard. This feeling gave to the campaign something of the nature of a religious war: and as a natural result the victory of Akbar spread over all the country the fear of a forcible conversion to Islamism. This fear was probably the immediate cause which prevented Prithimal from obeying the summons of Akbar's general, Mahammad Amin Khan, who was appointed to the government of Oudh. Though treated with the greatest courtesy, and repeatedly called on to submit, he refused to return any answer whatever to the summons, but

sent his four Ranis to their father's homes and called a council of feudatories and followers to discuss the conduct of the war. . . . Some counselled him to meet the enemy in the field; and others warned him to keep within the ramparts of his fort: but not one spoke of surrender. Meanwhile the Delhi force had crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats below Canouj and encamped before the fort of Patheora. Then was seen the resolution which the council of war had decided on. Clad in full armour and followed by all his captains dressed in their saffron robes, the Raja issued into the plain and drew up his forces for the battle. The Moghal yoked his guns together to withstand their impetuous charge; but twice his staunchest battalions were driven back and twice a shameful rout was imminent, when fresh reserves came up. But the unequal contest was now all but over. Bhagiruth Singh the Chohan had already fallen: other chiefs were wounded and the Rajputs were weary and dispirited. Then the Moghal cavalry were brought up fresh to the attack. Latta Singh Chandel headed one desperate charge and fell drowned, as the bard phrases it, in that sea of horsemen. The enemy swept on in one irresistible wave over Prithimal and his captains, who fell each in their places, and the power of the Dickhits was for ever broken. The Chohans formed another tide of Rajput immigration. Their advent was, according to tradition, due to an old man's voraciousness. A Chohan Raja of Mainpuri, the hereditary chief of all Rajputs beyond Rajasthan, married again late in life, though his former wife had borne him two sons. The bride was averse to be an old man's darling and stipulated that, if she bore a son he should succeed to the family possessions. The Raja eagerly closed with these hard terms; but did not long survive his bliss. A posthumous son was born: and the young Rani produced her deed and claimed its execution. The injustice was patent; but there was no help for it. Rajput honour demanded that the contract should be strictly enforced. The slighted elder brother left their patrimony in disgust and settled in Unao.

The second great class of Rajput emigrants—those in the enjoyment of Jaghirs for military service, includes the clans of Sengor and Gaur. Sir Charles Elliott gives as an episode in the history of the former which places the lawlessness of Nawabi rule in a startling light. Umrao Singh, an eight-anna shareholder in the village of Kantha, was sold up in 1848 for default in paying revenue. Like other desperate men in those days he took to the road and joining another desperado named Baljor Singh of Parsandan, was the prime mover in many a dacoity

In 1850 this precious pair at the head of five hundred followers had the hardihood to attack the king's Chackladar, who was encamped at Bainsora with a loyal Sengor chief named Runjit Singh, a thousand troops and two cannon. But the royal artillery had only two rounds per gun; and after discharging their pieces they incontinently fled. Deprived of their moral support, the rest of the Chackladar army followed suit: and the rebels looted the royal camp and dragged off the guns in triumph. It was, however, short-lived. The outraged Chackladar returned with stronger forces and abundant ammunition, and carried fire and sword into every village which had opposed him. It is only what might have been expected to find Baljor and Umrao prominent in the rebel ranks during the mutiny; while Ranjit Singh was equally active on the English side. The Gaurs are settled in Tuppeh Bunthur, which was traditionally occupied in Akbar's reign by a race of cowherds who paid an annual tribute of ghee to government. Actuated either by insolence or knavery—two characteristics not unknown in the Goalas of our own time—the Gaddis, as they were called, filled the earthen vessels in which the tribute was sent with cowdung and covered it with a thin layer of ghee. On the discovery of their fraud at Delhi, a Gaur who held a high military command was told off to punish the insubordinate ones. He carried out the royal behest by exterminating them and annexing their territory. Kesri Singh, a chief of Bunthur came into collision with a tribe of Chandels in the defence of another Tuppeh of Harha on a boundary question. The reign of law had not begun and there was no other resource but an appeal to arms. A sanguinary encounter took place regulated by the code of Rajput chivalry. Man after man on either side came to the front and challenged a foe to single combat. Thus the whole of the forces was speedily engaged, and the slaughter was as great as that under similar conditions recorded in Walter Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*. The Chandel leader wounded Kesri Singh so desperately that he could not stir from the spot where he fell: and as quarter was neither asked nor given in those good old times, he would infallibly have been slaughtered had not a merciful Brahmin surreptitiously dragged him unto a bed of dry rushes. Here he was sought by his blood-thirsty foes, who thought of setting the rushes on fire as the simplest method of destroying him. But the Brahmin again saved Kesri's life by swearing that the field was his, and that the sale of rush baskets was his only means of livelihood. Seeing them incredulous he proceeded to assure them that if they fired the rushes he would cut his throat there and then, and a

Brahman's blood would be on their guilty heads. This awful threat was sufficient. The Chandels withdrew: Kesri was carried to the Brahman's hut where he soon recovered to take the field again and turn the tables on his enemies.

Sir Charles Elliott's chapter on the Rajput colonization of Unao ends with the story of the great Bais clan; who though not strictly speaking settlers in that district, claimed a lordship over seven of its parganas. As is customary with Rajputs the Bais assert a miraculous descent. Their ancestor was none other than Salavahana, the son of a mighty serpent who conquered king Vikramajit of Ujaani and exercised the unique privilege of fixing his own era which begins A. D. 55. There is, however, a hiatus of twelve centuries in their annals: and we do not hear of them again till 1250, when two scions of the tribe named Abhai Chand and Nirbhai Chand won glory by rescuing the queen of the Gautam Raja of Angul from the clutches of the Mohammadan governor of Oudh. The Raja had omitted the formality of paying tribute: and the Governor in revenge despatched a strong force to intercept the Rani while on a pilgrimage to Buxar for the purpose of bathing in the Ganges. The Rajput brothers happened to be passing when the helpless lady's palanquin was attacked: and, moved by her piteous appeals for help against the barbarians, they charged the assailants and drove them off. Nirbhai Chand fell a victim to his valour: but Abhai Chand survived to wed the daughter and heiress of the grateful Raja, and to succeed with the title of Rao to all the Gautam possessions north of the Ganges. Tilak Chand the seventh in descent from the hero of this romantic story is a name still familiar to Baises throughout Oudh. He flourished in the fifteenth century, and extended the empire of his clan over twenty two parganas. Tilak Chand was the premier Raja of Oudh, and innumerable legends of his power and prowess are sung by local bards. Two clans are found to this day in Unao, who are Rajputs by courtesy though not by blood because the great Rao brought them within the sacred pale. The Mahrans were originally low-born Kahars who carried Tilak Chand out of an action fought with the Pathans of Mulhiabad. It was the only defeat of his glorious career: A panic seized his troops, who deserted their chief wounded in his litter: but his faithful bearers stood by him and beat off the foe. The Rao afterwards declared that his Rajputs on that day were women and his kahars Rajputs: and then the poor Mehras (palki-bearers) became Mahrans and gave their daughters in marriage to Rajputs of blue blood. The Rawats are another class of "Tilak Chandi

Rajputs" and boast an illegitimate descent from the great eponymous hero of the Bais. Mitrajit, the seventh Rao from Tilak Chand, is second only to him in the estimation of the clansmen. Sir Charles Elliott tells us that when Mitrajit first went to Delhi, he attended the Durbar, but stood outside the entrance, expecting some one to invite him in. He waited till it was all over, and when the Rajas of Jaipur and Marwar were passing out they noticed his uncouth country air and manners, and asked who he was. They were told "a Raja of Baiswara." One asked why he wore two swords. "To fight any two men who dare to meet me," was the proud reply. The others asked why he did not enter the Darbar but stood without the door. He replied that in his country it was customary to invite the stranger and not leave him to push his way in uninvited. However, he said, as *they* had given their daughters and sisters to the king, they would not be looked on as strangers and had a perfect right to enter. Incensed at this insult they challenged him to single combat. Mitrajit came to the field mounted on a mare, which, at the first onset became unmanageable and bolted with him. He pulled her up with great trouble, and dismounted, pronouncing a curse on any member of his race who should in future bestride a mare. He then returned to the field on foot and discomfited both his foes. To this day no Bais of his house can be induced to mount a mare. Mitrajit's exploit took wind, and he rose to high favour in the imperial court. He was entrusted with the command of an army sent to Cabul: where in a dangerous mountain pass he met and defeated the enemy. Elated by the victory he ordered his kettle-drum to sound the note of triumph: but their hoarse booming brought down an avalanche of snow which buried the greater portion of his host. Thus he fell into disgrace at Delhi and returned to his home a broken man. It is not a little curious that a tradition such as this should survive for centuries and be repeated by thousands who have never seen snow and can form no conception of its nature and appearance.

Sir Charles Elliott repeats one more tale of Rajput prowess, which is interesting by reason of the light it throws on the rough and ready methods employed by the native government of old time in the collection of revenue. When Sa'adat Khan, the founder of the royal house of Oudh, became provincial governor in 1723, he found the revenue administration in the direct disorder: and just as Warren Hastings did half a century later, he made a progress through the country in order to see things with his own eyes. When he reached a place called Morawan in Baiswara he sum-

moned the canangos and ordered them to produce the *dauls* or rent-rolls of their respective parganas. They asked what *daul* his Highness wanted, explaining that there were two—the “coward’s *daul*” and the “man’s *daul*.” In the first, the Zemindar was charged only with the sum fixed at the previous settlement : but in the second his rent was raised in proportion to intermediate improvements. The Subadar called for the “man’s *daul*” and doubled the assessment of Baiswara with a stroke of his pen. Then he summoned the agents of all the Rajas to a Darbar, where he sat with a heap of *pan* leaves on one side and a heap of bullets on the other. Addressing the crowd he bade them if their masters accepted his terms, to take up the *pan* leaves : if not the bullets. One by one they stepped forward and humbly took up a *pan* leaf each. Sa’adat Khan turned to his courtiers and said with a sneer—“I had heard great things of the fighting men of Baiswara, but they seem readier to pay than to fight.” But he was premature in his judgment. The agent of Cheitrai, an illegitimate member of the clan, stood last in Darbar by reason of his master’s bar sinister. When his turn came, he said “Nawab, my master was ready to accept your terms : but if you wish to see now a Bais can fight he will not refuse to gratify you. Give him but a day to prepare himself, and then lead your forces against his fort.” Sa’adat Khan agreed, and attacked Cheitrai’s stronghold on the morrow. But he found it a hard nut to crack. All day long the battle raged and the besiegers were baffled. In the evening the Nawab sent to say that he was quite satisfied with the specimen he had afforded of Baiswara prowess ; and that he would let Cheitrai off with half the assessment fixed in his case. The terms were accepted and Cheitrai rose high in the esteem of government.

The Mutiny divided Rajputs in Unao. The vast majority joined the national side : for the hostility to British rule throughout Oudh was indescribably bitter.* Some, however, defied

* The cause of this hostility was, in some measure, the national pride of the people of Oudh. Thirty years before the annexation Bishop Heber, while on his progress up-country, met a captain Lockitt at Lucknow, who told him that he had recently had a conversation with an old jemadar of cavalry, who spoke out like the rest of his countrymen on the weakness of the king and the wickedness of the Government. Captain Lockitt asked the old man how he would like being placed under the British Government. “Miserable as we are,” he exclaimed, of all miseries “keep us from that !” “Why so ?” asked Captain Lockitt : “Are not our people better governed ?” Yes, was the answer : “but the name of Oudh and the honor of our nation would be at an end.”

public opinion and met with a rich reward. Amongst the loyal few were the Magarwara Rajputs, who lived but five miles from Cawnpore on the Lucknow road. In spite of their proximity to the great rebel centre these people assisted the English army with information and supplies; and accompanied Sir Henry Havelock in his ineffectual advance on Unao and Basiratganj. When he retreated to Cawnpore they left their homes and followed him; nor did they leave his standard when they saw their village in flames—destroyed by the rebels as a warning to sympathizers with the Feringhis.

OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.

VIKRAMADITYA.

The name of Malwa, ancient Malava, occurs in history as early as the third century before Christ, when Prince Asoka was sent thither by his father into honourable exile as its Governor. In his own reign, it became a great Buddhist country, whence "in B. C. 157 the Buddhist high-priest Dharmarakshita took with him 40,000 disciples from the Dhakhinagiri temple at Ougein to Ceylon to assist in laying the foundation-stone of the great temple at Anuradhapura." Next, it appears as a powerful and splendid monarchy, that, rising after Magadha and rivalling it in fame, flourished for many centuries.

Literally, Vikramaditya means the Sun of Valour. It is not a proper name, but an appellative, or title, which was borne by more than one Indian monarch. To quote Captain Wilford:—"In general the Hindus know but of one Vikramaditya; but the learned acknowledge four; and, when ~~they~~ request, they produced written authorities, I was greatly surprised to find no less than eight or nine." Indeed, the title was assumed by all those monarchs who distinguished themselves like their illustrious archetype, causing thereby a great confusion. But, after all, no doubt exists as to the great Vikramaditya who founded the Samvat era—"the great beacon of Hindu chronology." He is never lost sight of under any account.

Much to our regret, the history of Vikramaditya, lost in the dimness of the past, has come down to us as romance founded on fact. He stands on an eminence where he is the mark of all posterity. His memory is held in the highest regard. But the incidents of his eventful life are transmitted in wild tales and traditions confounded with those of other Vikramadityas. They are chiefly related in the *Vikrama Charitra* of Sri Deva, in the *Singhasana Dwatransati*, in the *Vetala Panchavinsati*, in the *Prabandha Chintamani*, and in the *Chaturvinsati Prabandha* of Rajasekhara; but the information they supply is a crude mass of fables which yield no fruit to the labors of research. To give a sample—

"Vikramaditya made a desperate *tapasya* in order to obtain power and a long life from Kali Devi, and as she seemingly continued deaf to his entreaties, he was going to cut off his own head, when she appeared, and granted him sway over all the world for one thousand years, after which a divine child, born of a virgin, and the son of the great Takshaka, carpenter or artist, would deprive him both of his kingdom and of his life. This would happen in the year of the Kali Yuga 3101, answering to the first of the Christian era."

No effort can now lift the veil over his glories, and present him in his proper majesty of light. The grains of truth that may be winnowed from a bushel of chaff, are too few to be united into a sketch of defined form and lineaments. The story they make is soon told as follows. Vikramaditya was born in Dharanagara, the capital of Dhara (Dhar), about 30 miles west of Indor. The year of his birth is unknown. His father was one Gandharva Sena, who had married the daughter of Raja Dhara. He had an elder brother called Bhartrihari.* Raja Dhara took particular care in educating the two princes. They were taught by Yogi Gorakshanatha, a Buddhist. Bhartrihari's proficiency is attested by three *Satakas*, or "centuries of verses," attributed to him by the unanimous consent of the learned. He may well be supposed as their author, who has alluded to the infidelity of his wife in the first couplet of the Niti Sataka. Vikramaditya was distinguished by talents of the first order. His superior intelligence was too patent to escape notice. Raja Dhara proposed to make him king of Malwa. But Vikramaditya protested against the supersession of his elder brother, under whom he was content to accept the second post in the administration.

Bhartrihari proved an effeminate prince who buried himself in the pleasures of the zenana. Vikramaditya disapproved this conduct. But his remonstrances only brought on a coolness between the two brothers. To avoid disagreeable collisions, he left the kingdom, and set out upon a course of travels, visiting many parts of India from Bengal to Guzerat, till at last he settled himself with a merchant in the last named country. In the meantime, Bhartrihari had become very unhappy from the unfaithfulness of his favourite Rani. Giving up royalty, he took to an ascetic life. His kingdom remained without a ruler. Vikramaditya came forward from Guzerat, and occupied the throne.

* There was a grammarian Bhartrihari, who lived in the 5th century, and was the father of Bhatti, the author of Bhattikavya.

According to the Skanda Purana (Kumarica Khanda), he began his reign in 3020 Kali yuga, or 81 B. C.*

Vikramaditya possessed varied talents. He was as mighty a warrior, as he was a noble statesmanly prince. Inclined by his predominating martial disposition he directed his armies to many conquests, which were consolidated into the first monarchy of the age. The legends ascribe to him a vast army of infantry, cavalry, and elephantry—with a navy, too, though he was sovereign chiefly of an inland empire, which contained only the maritime province of Guzerat. He is described in the Vikrama Upakhyaṇa as “a powerful prince, in the west of India, possessed of the countries which afterwards constituted the patrimonial territories of the Balhara prince, including Gujarastra, or Guzerat.”† The author of the Jotirvidābharana Kavya says, “he destroyed the proud king of Dravida, also the king of Lata, defeated the king of Gauda, and conquered him of Gujardesa, removed the darkness of Dhara, delighted the king of Kamboja, and conducted himself with success.”‡ It is not certain to which Vikramaditya the above passages refer. He is said also to have ruled as far as Banga in Eastern Bengal, where he founded the city of Vikrampur, which exists to this day near Dacca. But we doubt whether Bengal had yet become a kingdom of the Hindu empire. The city of Vikrampur, the seat of the Sena Rajas, was most probably built by Adisura, otherwise called Vira Sena, who was exalted into a Vikrama, or honoured by his Brahman eulogists. Vikramaditya is believed to have re-built the city of Ayodhya. But “we learn from Hwen Tshang that a powerful prince of this name was reigning in the neighbouring city of Sravasti, just one hundred years after Kaniska, or close to 78 A. D., which was the initial year of the Saka era of Salivahana. As this Vikramaditya is represented to have been hostile to the Buddhists, he must have been a zealous Brahmanist to whom should be ascribed the re-building of Ayodhya and the restoration of all the holy places referring to the history of Rama.”§

In the middle of the first century B. C., the throne of Indraprastha, the ancient Pandava capital on the Jamna, was occupied by Sukwanta, or Sakaditya. He is the same prince with Sankdwaj of Kharga Rai, the Gwalior Bhat, who compiled a *Rajavali* in the

* Encyclopædia Bengalensis, Life of Vikramaditya, by the Rev. K. M. Banerjee.

† Captain Wilford's Essay on Vikramaditya and Salivahana.

‡ On “The Sanskrit poet Kalidasa,” by Dr. Bhau Daji.

§ Cunningham's “Archæological Reports.”

reign of Shah Jehan. Sakaditya was attacked, defeated, and slain by Vikramaditya. His capital was annexed to the Avanti empire.

The greatest military achievement universally attributed to Vikramaditya, is his signal triumph over the Sakas, or Seythians, which earned him the memorable title of *Sakari*, or the Foe of the Sakas. It is stated in the Jotirvidabharana Kavya that "he defeated ninety five Saka Chiefs, and in a great battle conquered the king of the Sakas in Ruma, paraded his royal prisoner in Ujjayini, and afterwards set him free."* Much of this statement is borne out by the fact that about the year 126 B. C., the Su, and the Yuchi, or Getæ, Scythians, after subverting the Greek kingdom of Bactria, had poured themselves into India, and occupied several places in the Panjab. Vikramaditya may be believed to have broken their power, stemmed the tide of their irruption, and saved the country from their yoke. But Abu Rihan states that "the great victory over the Sakas was gained at a place called Koror, between Multan and Loni, by a prince named Vikramaditya, just 135 years after the prince of the same name who founded the Vikrama Samvat. As the date of this event corresponds exactly with the initial point of the Saka era which was established by Salivahana, it results that the Vikramaditya of Abu Rihan is identical with the Salivahana of the popular traditions. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that in Col. James Abbot's list of the Rajas of Syalkot, a reign of 90 years is assigned to Salivahana, which is exactly the same as is allotted to Vikramaditya, the conqueror of the Sakas."†

Vikramaditya's capital was the old Buddhist city of Ougein—Ptolemy's Oziana. It is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, and the first meridian of their astronomy, where Raja Jaya Singh of Jaipur built an observatory in the reign of Mahomed Shah. In Hem Chandra's vocabulary, the synonemes of Ougein or Ujjayini, are "Visala, Avanti, and Pushpacarandim." The following is Kalidas's description of that city:—

Behold the city whose immortal fame
Glows in Avanti's or Visala's name!
Renowned for deeds that worth and love inspire,
And bards to paint them with poetic fire:
The fairest portion of celestial birth,
Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth;

* Dr. Bhau Daji "on The Sanskrit poet Kalidasa."

† Cunningham's "Archæological Reports."

The last reward to acts austerest given,
 The only recompense then left to heaven.
 Here as the early Zephyrs waft along,
 In swelling harmony the woodland song,
 They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
 That joyful opens to the morning hour ;
 With friendly zeal they sport around the maid,
 Who early courts their vivifying aid,
 And cool from Sepra's gelid waves embrace,
 Each languid limb, and enervated grace.
 Here, should thy spirit with thy toils decay,
 Rest from the labors of the wearying way,
 Round every house the flowery fragrance spreads ;
 O'er every floor the painted footstep treads ;
 Breathed through each casement, swell the scented air
 Soft odors shaken from dishevelled hair ;
 Pleased on each terrace dancing with delight,
 The friendly peacock hails thy grateful flight :
 Delay then, certain in Ujayin to find,
 All that restores the frame, or cheers the mind

Wilson's translation of the Megha Duta.

Bhavabhuti also describes Ougein very graphically. The old city of Vikramaditya was destroyed by a volcanic shower of ashes. The Sepra changed its course, and buried it under fifteen feet of earth. The ruins lie a mile to the north of the present town.

The throne of Vikramaditya, borne on the shoulders of thirty-two statues, surpassed the enchanted throne of Solomon, or the historic Peacock throne. It possessed talismanic virtues like the Wonderful Lamp. He who sat upon it became inspired with a high degree of wisdom and spirit of benevolence. This marvellous throne, presented by Indra, is commonly said to have disappeared in the earth after Vikramaditya's death, as no monarch without his uncommon kingly attributes deserved to sit upon it. But the Raj Tarangini speaks of this throne as belonging to Harsha Vikramaditya of the 6th century. It was carried away by the enemies of his successor Pratapsila, but was brought back by him again on the recovery of his empire.

In universal Hindu opinion, the age of Vikramaditya is reckoned as a great epoch in the history of Sanskrit literature. Himself a learned man, he liberally encouraged all men of learning about him. In a memorial verse, frequently repeated, it is stated that his court was adorned by nine eminent scholars, commonly called

Navaratna, or Nine Gems. They were Dhanwantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetala bhatta, Ghatakharpara, Kalidasa, Varahamihira, and Vararuchi, all men of great literary and scientific distinction. Dhanwantari was a physician. Amar Sinha was the author of *Amarkosha*, a metrical lexicon that made Mill remark "what is more wonderful still, their very dictionaries are in verse." But Mill had no idea of the wonderful capacity of the Sanskrit language, and remembered not

"What can a boy learn sooner than a song?
What better teach a foreigner the tongue?"

Varahamihira was a great astronomer, who wrote the *Surya Siddhanta*. Vetala bhatta composed the *Vetal-Panchavinsati*. Vararuchi was a scholar of great talent, who is said to have originally invented the charming story of Vidya and Sundra, that has been worked up into a Bengali poem by Bharatchandra.* Kalidasa was the poet of poets. But it is observed by Dr. Bhau Daji in his "Essay on the Sanskrit poet Kalidasa," that "in looking carefully over the various legends regarding Vikramaditya, it appears tolerably clear that the monarch, who founded the Samvat era, or from whom it has its origin, was a just, brave, liberal, and ambitious prince; but that he was the patron of arts and sciences is nowhere clearly stated or implied." And we shall show in our following sketch of Kalidasa, that the prince whose court was adorned by the "Nine Gems," was not Vikramaditya of the Samvat era, but his namesake Harsha Vikramaditya, who flourished in the 6th century, reigned at Avanti or Ougein, and was no less celebrated for his military exploits than for his equity and benevolence.

The Brahmanical legends represent Vikramaditya as a worshipper of Kali. But all inferences point to his having been a Buddhist. He was born in the Buddhist city of Ougein. His tutor was a Buddhist. His spiritual adviser, Siddhasena Suri, was a learned Buddhist priest.* His biographer, Sri Deva, was a Buddhist. He flourished when Buddhism was dominant in the land, and had the simple habits of a Buddhist, who "slept on a common bed, and drank out of earthen pots." In all likelihood, he was a follower of the Buddhist faith.

Vikramaditya is said to have died in 3044 Kali Yuga, or B. C. 57. "The account of his death," says the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, "abounds in legendary tales. The Raja had propitiated the goddess Kāli, who rewarded his piety by revealing to him that

* "Life of Vikramaditya," by the Revd. K. M. Banerjee.

his life could be in no danger but from one man of extraordinary birth. Vikramaditya was anxious to procure information about this person, and deputed his spirit Vetala on the errand. The demon executed his commission with success, and said on his return, that the daughter of a potter in Pratishthanapura was delivered of a son three months beyond her time, and that the child was found playing with horses, elephants, and soldiers, all made of clay. On the receipt of this intelligence, Vikramaditya marched with his forces and challenged the boy, whose name was Salivahana, to battle. The boy immediately animated his mud horses, elephants, and soldiers, by means of magic, and commenced the engagement, in which he triumphed over the Raja and severed his head from the body. * * * In the opinion of some interpreters, this mysterious legend of Vikramaditya's death signified nothing more than that his era, or the Samvat, was superseded by that of Salivahana, or the Saka era, which commenced at 78 A.D. There being an interval of 135 years between the Samvat and the Sakabda, doubts are entertained as to Vikramaditya and Salivahana having been contemporaries. The only way of removing these doubts is by supposing the Samvat to date from the *birth* of Vikramaditya, and the Saka from the *death* of Salivahana.* Vikramaditya was succeeded by his son Chandrasena.

Thus we have tried our best to produce out of chaos a shape—

"If shape it might be call'd the shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be called that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either."

It is an undefined flitting form without the "authentic lineaments of Fact," that sadly disappoints curiosity. The three cardinal facts—that Vikramaditya was a successful defender of his country against the irruptions of Scythian hordes, that he was a good ruler of his subjects, and that he was a liberal patron of learning, are alone unquestionable.

KALIDASA.

If little is known of Homer or Shakespeare, still less is known of Kalidasa, of whom hardly any thing more than his name and the title of his works have been preserved. The Hindu poet floats

* There were at least two Salivahanas—one in the Dekhan, and the other in the north-west Panjab. The Saka era probably dates from the last prince, who was in the way of the Scythians. Salivahana reigned for 90 years—here is a chance of reconciling the two dates.

through our mind like the image of a dream, eluding all our efforts to give it a form and pressure. Now that he has grown into the admiration of the world, he is the subject of solicitous and learned enquiry. But it is too late to enquire for the history of his life. Nothing more can be told of him with certainty than that he lived and wrote a certain number of poems—the rest of the outline must be filled up by reports of unsubstantial traditions, or by the shadowy inferences of conjecture. We cannot breathe a soul into the dry bones of his history. The bright track of his genius indelibly remains, but the foot-marks of his mortal career are obliterated for ever.

The first difficulty on the very threshold arises from there being more than one Kalidasa. One of them is the author of the *Jotirvidabharana Kavya*, who thus speaks of himself:—"Having composed three *Kavyas*, *i.e.*, the *Raghuvansa* and others, I composed several treatises on Vedic subjects (*Sriti Karmavāda*); then from Kalidasa proceeded the astrological treatise called *Jotirvidabharana*. 3068 years of Kali Yuga having passed, in the month of Baisakha, I commenced composing the work, and completed it in the month of Kartika. Having zealously examined many astronomical works, I have composed this treatise for the edification of astronomers." Commenting on this passage, Dr. Bhau Daji, from whose essay it has been cited, says:—"From a careful examination of its style, and from other internal evidence, it does not appear to be the production of the ^{poet} Kalidasa." Besides, no true poet has also been a mathematician or astronomer. Chaucer wrote a treatise on the *Astrolabe* which was merely addressed to his son. Coleridge had "a completely anti-geometrical head." The Muses are very jealous of each other like ordinary females.

"Where beams of warm imagination play,
The memory's soft figures melt away."

The second Kalidasa is also the author of another astrological *Kavya*—the *Satruparabhava Grantha*. He calls himself by the name of our poet, and thus alludes to himself:—"Deeply versed in the knowledge of the *Sritis* and *Smritis*, and born in the race of *Kasyapa*, there lived on the banks of *Arkatanaya* (*Jamna*), the talented *Bhanubhatta Brahman*. His son, whose body has been purified by devotion to *Hari*, is the poet *Kalidasa*, the first among astrologers. He composed the *Shashtra* called *Satruparabhava*."*

There was a third Kalidasa, who wrote a poem in *Prakrit*, called the *Setu Kavya*, which is praised by the poet *Dandi* as an

* Dr. Bhau Daji, "On the Sanscrit poet, Kalidasa."

"ocean of the jewels of beautiful sentences." In addition to this multiplicity, our author is also mentioned under the various appellations of Raghukara, Medharudra, and Kotijit, in the *Trikanda Sesha*, a Sanscrit vocabulary by Purushotama.*

The next difficulty proceeds from the uncertainty of the age of Kalidasa. His era is the subject of various opinions. In native popular opinion, he was one of the "nine gems" of the court of Vikramaditya of the Samvat era. Sir William Jones followed this common belief. Wilford thinks him to have lived in the 5th century. From an inscription at Buddha-Gaya dated A.D. 948, in which Amara Deva, the author of the record, is identified with Amara Sinha, the author of the *Amarkosha* and one of the "nine gems," Colebrooke is inclined to consider his contemporary Kalidasa to have flourished in the 10th century. On the testimony of the *Bhoja Prabandha*, Bentley believes him to have belonged to the court of Raja Bhoja in the 11th century. Dr. Wilson hazards no decided opinion, but merely says that Colebrooke's "opinion seems entitled to the preference." Professor Lassen places Kalidasa at the court of Samudra Gupta, in the second half of the 2nd century. Col. Todd observes "while Hindu literature survives, the name of Bhoja Pramara and the nine gems of his court cannot perish, though it is difficult to say which of the three princes of his name—the first dated Samvat 635 (575 A. D.), the second dated Samvat 721 (665 A. D.) and the third dated Samvat 1100 (1044 A. D.), is particularly alluded to, as they all appear to have been patrons of science." This last opinion, we think, nearly hits the truth. It rests on evidence which may well satisfy us that Kalidasa flourished not in the time of Vikramaditya the founder of the Samvat era, but in the time of a Raja called Harsha Vikramaditya, who was the first Bhoja Pramara of Todd, that reigned at Ougein in Malwa in the middle of the 6th century, and was an equally illustrious monarch and a patron of letters like his first great namesake. His kingdom, visited about the year 635 A.D., is thus described by Hwen Thsang:—"The inhabitants of Malwa are of a meek and polished character; they love and esteem the culture of literature. In the five parts of India, Malapo (Malwa) to the south-west, and Mokito (Magadha) to the north-east, are the only two kingdoms in which the inhabitants distinguish themselves by their love for study, their esteem for virtue, by the facility of their pronunciation, and by their harmony of language. According to tradition, the throne was occu-

* The same.

pied sixty years ago (in 575 A.D.) by a king of the name of Kiaji (Vikramaditya). He was endowed with great talents, and possessed of great knowledge. He was full of respect for the *three precious ones*. From his accession to the throne till the moment of his death, not a single unbecoming word escaped from his mouth, and anger never reddened his face. During the fifty years reign he never interrupted his meritorious works for a single moment. The whole nation conceived, on account of this, a lively affection for him, which is not yet extinguished." In further proof, we may cite the authority of Kalhana Pandit, the author of the *Raj Tarangini*, that Vetala Mentha or Vetala Bhatta, who was one of the "nine gems" and a contemporary of Kalidasa, adorned the court of Harsha Vikramaditya.* Varahamihira, the eminent astronomer, who was another "gem," and is said "in the *Vrihad Jataka* to have obtained the gracious favor of the sun at Kapithaka—Hwen Thsang's *Kie-pitha* (Sankissa),"† also flourished in the said court—his date being about the year 570 A.D. The poet Bana, who flourished under Harsha Vardhana of Kanouj in the first half of the 7th century, alludes to Kalidasa as his predecessor. It is important to note that Bana's allusion decisively settles one point—that our author's age is not so late as the 10th or 11th century, which Colebrooke and others suppose. Again, that he did not live in the first century before Christ is proved by his having been a worshipper of Kailash, which and to Siva and other deities of the Hindu Pantheon he so frequently refers in his writings. The several Pauranic faiths were all in their embryo at the early date of the Samvat era. They appear to have become full-fledged by the time of Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, who saw Brahmanical temples contesting the field with Buddhist temples in the 5th and 7th centuries.‡ The intermediate period between the two points, namely, the middle of the 6th century, may therefore be somewhat confidently fixed upon as the age of Kalidasa. It was an age thus described by Dr. Bhau Daji:—"If any time in the history of Ujjayini could lay any pretensions to be styled the Augustan age of Sanscrit literature and science, it was clearly the reign of Harsha Vikramaditya, when Sanscrit grammar and rhetoric and poetry were cultivated with unexampled success; when the Hindu

* Dr. Bhau Daji.

† Cunningham's "Archæological Reports."

‡ The various Sects flourishing in the age of Sankaracharya, or the 9th century, are mentioned in the *Sankara Vijaya* of Ananda Giri. See Dr. Wilson "On the religious sects of the Hindus."

astronomical system was elaborated, and the equinox of 570 A.D. chosen as the principal point of the fixed sphere; and when the 'Sutras' and other writings of the first Arya Bhatta were collected into regular Siddhantas; when Varahamihira wrote his celebrated Encyclopædia or 'Sanhita' and other astronomical and astrological treatises; when, in all likelihood, the medical opinions of Susruta and Charaka were elaborated into the shape they now bear; and when the liberal views and Buddhistic faith of this illustrious monarch patronised foreign literature, and especially that of the Yavanas or Greeks, on which account, it is to be presumed, he was styled 'Yavana Bhoja.'" In the absence of positive information, our conclusion is based on indirect evidence. But if the imperfect grounds of deduction leave any doubt, the course further to be pursued is a minute comparative examination of the language of Kalidasa that some philological evidence may help us to light on a clue to the ascertainment of his age.

The birth-place of Kalidasa is also a subject of uncertainty. Seven cities contended for the honor of Homer's birth, but not one place claims the nativity of Kalidasa. Popularly, his native country is said to be Dravira. But he speaks of Avanti with the fondness of a native. Against this, we have the tradition that he made his way into the court of its monarch in hopes of patronage, and that none of his commentators speak of him as an *Avantika*, or a native of Avanti, like the commentators of Varahamihira. Dr. Bhau Daji labors to convince us that he was "a native of Kashmir or its neighbourhood," because "his illustrations are derived chiefly from the natural history and physical geography of Northern India"—because "he is the only Sanscrit poet who describes a living saffron flower that grows in Kashmir and the regions west of it." But his theory rests upon a very slender foundation—it is as much as to suppose Milton a native of India merely from his celebrated description of the Banian tree. The poet's description of various scenes and objects proves that he was a traveller and lover of Nature.

Kalidasa's parentage is equally unknown. The tale commonly current is that he was born of so very humble Brahman parents that they allowed him to grow a poor shepherd boy, who afterwards propitiated the goddess Sarasvati, and was blessed with poetical genius. Dropping the metaphor, it simply means that he was gifted with high natural powers which remained dormant until circumstances favored their development. The history of his early life is a perfect blank. The following is the story of his marriage. There was a Brahman Raja called Sharada-

nandana, in some part of ancient Dravira. He had a daughter named Vidyotama, a regular *blue* who would marry none but a scholar that surpassed her in learning. Her Swayamvara being declared, the Pandits who came to it were all baffled by the learned princess. Smarting under disgrace, the disappointed Brahmins entered into a concert to revenge by palming upon her a simpleton. Looking out for such a person, they found Kalidasa cutting the very branch of a tree on which he sat. He was just the blockhead to answer their purpose. Being asked to come down, he was primed to act the part of a *Mouni*, or silent philosopher. "What cat is averse to fish"—who would not have a wife? Glad at the prospect of union with a desirable spouse, Kalidasa accompanied the Brahmins, and was introduced as a prodigy. He was represented to have taken a vow of silence, under which he answered all questions by means of signs. Every man in the assembly professed a deep respect for him, though it was incompatible with his youthful years. To test her new suitor's merit, Vidyotama held out one of her fingers. Without understanding her meaning, Kalidasa instinctively put forth two of his fingers. This was loudly acclaimed by all to be a most satisfactory reply. It was explained that the princess, by stretching out one of her fingers, had given, but an imperfect account of the creation by one First Cause. But Kalidasa had rightly answered that it was owing to the joint operation of *purusha* or the Supreme Spirit, and of *prakriti* or *Nihare*. Borne down by the arguments and unanimity of the Pandits, Vidyotama was obliged to confess herself beaten, and offer her bridal garland to Kalidasa. The nuptials being solemnised, the married pair retired to the inner apartments, when a camel happening to bray aloud, the princess asked what that noise was? to which Kalidasa answered that it was the cry of *utra*, instead of *ushtra*. Taken aback by his Apabh-ransa* or unscholarly expression, Vidyotama, in her anxiety to know whether it was a slip of the tongue, plied her question a second time. Kalidasa had brain enough to perceive that the repetition of her question was but a renewal of his trial. Confounded by the fear of betraying himself, he dropped this time the letter *r* instead of *s*, and made it *ushta*. The truth now flashing on her mind that she had been hoaxed into an irretrievable mistake, sent a deep pang into her heart. Vidyotama sorely bewailed her disappointment. Pierced by her cries, ashamed of his frolic, and stung by the sense of his utter worthlessness. Kalidasa

* Apabh-ransa is literally jargon. It is one of the four kinds into which our language is divided.

felt a bitterness in which he resolved to exile himself from his native country in quest of learning. Puerile as this story is, it has assumed a sort of reality that emphasises the contrast between his first illiteracy and the subsequent resplendency of his genius.

Not a word exists in black and white, or has come down to us floating in the stream of tradition, respecting the age in which he set out, the place he went to, the tutor he placed himself under, the period for which he carried on his studies, and the proficiency he acquired in them. It is known only that his contemporary Vararuchi had a vast fund of book-learning. But Kalidasa's wonderful intellect enabled him to carry away the palm in his wit-combats with the Ben Johnson of his age. In the language of fable, he was the favourite of Sarasvati, or the goddess of learning.

The old Rishi-*asramas* had long been succeeded by regular seminaries in the towns and cities. Literary tournaments had also come into vogue. On the completion of his academic career, followed by the production of a few works to precede him by their fame, Kalidasa may be imagined to have departed on his literary adventures. Fortune and learning being always at tugs, his look-out next was for a patron. It was the custom of the time. Under the Brahmanical regime, learning enjoyed a sacredness next to idolatry. Homage to men of genius had grown into a feeling, and their reward into a duty. In other words, it was the form in which public patronage then existed. After the great examples of history, Raja Krishna Chandra Rai of Krishnagar kept a court exhibiting a great assemblage of literary men. The ancient spirit is so deep-rooted as to survive amidst the reign of a cold and hard selfishness; and Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore of Calcutta may be instanced as one, who, true to Hindu traditions, often sits surrounded by more than one venerable Pandit. Assuming the middle of the 6th century to be the age of Kalidasa, the monarch then most renowned for his patronage of letters was Harsha Vikramaditya. He had in his court the most splendid assembly of poets and philosophers. To that brilliant court Kalidasa was attracted. It may reasonably be supposed that he was kindly received, and admitted into the society of eminent wits. He may also be considered to have speedily raised himself into the admiration of his associates by the exertions of his pen, and the pre-eminence of his genius, which now broke out in its full lustre on the world. The monarch, on whose throne that lustre was reflected, honored him with especial regard. Tradition tells that territories were assigned to our poet by his royal patron.

Kalidasa's life in the Avanti court was the most eventful period in his history. How gratifying would it have been for the reader, if it were possible for us to lay before him an account of his habits and proceedings, his tastes and pursuits, his sallies of wit and humorous sayings, his sentiments and prejudices. Over them oblivion spreads a pall never to be lifted. Dr. Bhau Daji only points out that "Mallinatha, in commenting on the 14th verse of the *Megha Duta*, incidentally notices that Dignagacharya and Nichula were contemporaries of Kalidasa, the former his adversary and the latter a fellow-student and bosom-friend."

Our poet may be assumed to have been a traveller. He describes mountains, rivers, cities, beasts, birds, trees, flowers, and fruits with an accuracy that is the result of actual observation, and not merely of imagination. He had a taste for the grand and beautiful, and did not look at Nature only through "the spectacles of books." He appears to have had "a minute acquaintance with court life. His kings are attended by Yavana (Persian)* women with bows in their hands. He shows an acquaintance with Chinese pottery and silks, with the magnet, and, in one instance with the true cause of eclipses, the influence of the moon on the tides, and with ships." *Tirtha*-going is a common religious act in Hindu life. The course of his Cloud Messenger from Ougein to the Himalayas may be taken as a specimen of his travels. It strongly indicates his having visited ancient Kankhal, near Haridwara. Thereabouts he was in the region of Kanwa's hermitage and Sakuntala's garden-scenes, which breathe the very life of reality. He could not have described them so happily without his having been in the soft and sublime scenery of the Sub-Himalayas, without his having culled flowers from the banks of the Malini—"while the lotus floats on its waters, and while the Chakwa calls its mate on its bank, so long will the little Malini live in the verse of Kalidasa." From his acquaintance with the cause of tides and with ships, we may conclude that he visited the sea-board and commercial countries of Saurashtra and Gujashtra, in which were the ports of ancient Deobunder and Barygaza.

Kalidasa's patron reigned for fifty years. It is a question whether he outlived that patron, and ever returned to his native

* Dr. Bhau Daji thinks the Yavana to be Greek, or Bactrian. In that case, Kalidasa's age must be fixed in the first century before Christ, when the Greek kingdom of Bactria had recently ceased to exist. By the time of our poet, the term Yavana had begun to be applied to the Persians, whose famous King Naushirvan, reigning from 531 to 579 A. D., may have had Amazonian guards, like Ranjit Singh, in his court.

country. In Dr. Bhau Daji's opinion, the *Megha Duta* forms "but a faithful picture of our poet's feelings caused by his separation from his dear wife and home—the name of that wife was in all likelihood Kamala." The obscurity which invests the circumstances relating to the termination of his mortal career, is so deep that not even a conjecture can be hazarded. Neither can imagination shape out the likeness of his person and features without the least hint or inkling. But we may indulge in inferences from his writings that he was an amiable man, who pleased all by his engaging manners. His conversation too was alluring by its sparkling wit and rich humour. He was a cordial friend, and warm admirer of the fair sex to whom he was devoted with an exceeding fondness. His generous sentiments are the outcome of a heart full of the milk of human kindness. Kalidasa made his way into an arena filled with intellectual gladiators, all of whom he vanquished by his transcendent natural powers. Between him and Vararuchi, whose learning buried his talents, there was the same sort of jealousy that existed between Addison and Pope. The age was one of *Dig-vijais*, or literary prize-fighters, like the admirable Crichton. "Many a Pandit, proud of his literary exhibitions in the courts of other Rajas, was mortified to find that the victorious wreaths with which he had been crowned elsewhere, soon faded away on his appearance at Ujjain. Kalidasa threw all others into the shade by his superior talents. His great rival Ghatakarpara had long contended with him for the laurels of poetry, but was at last obliged to yield and acknowledge his inferiority. It is no small honor to Kalidasa that his competitor has himself testified to his intellectual pre-eminence in the following Sloka.

"Of all flowers, *Jati* is the fairest; of all cities, *Kanchi* is the most renowned; of all males, Vishnu, is the noblest; of all women, Rambha is the most beautiful; of all rivers, the Ganges is the most holy; of all kings, Rama was the most illustrious; of all poems, *Magha* is the most excellent; and of all poets, Kalidasa is the most gifted." *

This resembles the testimony of Ben Jonson to "the sweet swan of Avon." Kalidasa was the most brilliant of the "Nine Gems."

AN IDLER.

* The Revd. K. M. Bannerjen's "Life of Vikramaditya."

THE EASTERN EXILE.

When the eye of day is closing,
And soft shadows are reposing,
On the sweet lap of the West,
And a trembling timorous ray,
Like the dream of dying day,
Floats upon a sea of Rest ;

Memory wafts from far away—
Thoughts of many a vanisht day,
—Many a dear and vanisht face,—
From the distant land of home,
Over leagues of white sea foam,
To this strange and alien place.

Kind, welcome here my bosom warms,
And friends crowd round with open arms,
The feast of Reason floweth free,
Yet my sad thoughts in silence turn,
To where fond hearts, expected, yearn
The exile back again to see.

M. M. C.

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KRISTO DAS PAL: A STUDY

BY

N. N. GHOSE.

This is a book which . . . we would commend to the attention of those who take their ideas of the "Bengalee Baboo" from the calumnies of the English Press Considering the absurd ignorance that prevails about "Baboo English," it may perhaps be as well as to say that he writes with a perfect command of our language, and with a studied simplicity of diction The story of Kristo Das Pal's life is of extreme interest for all who concern themselves with that pressing problem,—the future government of India His biographer laments that he has left no successor. But the influence of his example must needs be very great in his own country; and this "study" of his career ought to be of no little service in dispelling the gross delusions that are entertained in England concerning the capacity of "Bengalee Baboos" for public life. *The Academy*. (London).

It, as the title will suggest, is a character sketch of a distinguished native of Bengal The book is therefore interesting, as showing the results of English education among the natives of India by the examples of both the author and the subject of his sketch The life of such a man is worth study, both on its own account and for the insight it gives into the conditions of British rule in India. The book is worth reading, moreover, as an example of the literary work of a native of India, educated in this country. It shows perfect facility in the English language, intimacy with Western literature and thought, and a calm and sober judgment.—*The Scotsman*.

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THE
NATIONAL MAGAZINE
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No. 3.—MARCH 1891.

OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.

VIKRAMADITYA.

II.

From the personal history of our poet we come to his literary history. Before entering upon a review of his writings, let us say a few words on the previous state of Hindu poetical literature. The dawn of Sanscrit poesy dates from the early Vedic age. We trace it in the Rig Veda, a collection of 1017 short hymns, composed in the simplest form, and addressed to the great powers of Nature. The other Vedas are made up of similar divinely inspired psalms of a primitive age. Next to this calender of sacred poetry followed the epos, developed by Valmiki and Vyasa, whose Ramayana and Mahabharata are landmarks of a high poetical genius. The two mighty poets opened up new horizons from which streamed new light. They sowed new subjects and new ideas, yielding a rich harvest of Hindu thought. But this great outbreak of imagination was not succeeded by the flood of light which flows in with the perfect day. It was intervened by a gloomy blank, continuing for nearly two thousand years, during which the Hindu mind was occupied in law-making, in adjusting and refining the language, in working out the several *Darshanas* or systems of philosophy, in improving the sciences. This long period is a most barren desolate tract, without one bud or blossom in the shape of a poetical effusion. The voice of the Sanscrit

Muse was altogether hushed. She did not re-appear till the 6th century, when there arose a host of stars breaking the night of ages by their light. The new era began with Kalidasa, and ended with Jayadeva.

Kalidasa is the author of a number of poetical works—the Raguvansa, Kumara-Sambhava, Naladaya, Megha-Duta, Ritu-Sanhara, Prasanatara Mala, Sringara-Tilaka, and Sruta Bodha. His dramas are Sakuntala, Vikramavarsi, and Hasyarnava. The Malavikagnimitra is attributed to him, but it is not his work. It is not known in what order these divers works dropped from his pen. Tradition tells us that after his scholastic pursuits he returned to his wife, who received him with words the first of which suggested the composition of the Kumara Sambhava, the second that of the Megha-Duta, and the third that of the Raghuvansa. We may reasonably infer them to be his earliest productions, the first and third being, like Shakespcare's Venus and Adonis and Rape of Lucrece, borrowed from the hints of preceding authors, and founded upon the Ramayana and Puranas. The Sringara Tilaka and Prasanatara Mala also afford proofs of youthful imagination and pruriency. His dramas are the fruits of a riper season of his life, and the offspring purely of his own genius. The style being exceedingly simple and the language exquisitely polished, the study of Kalidasa's principal works forms an essential part in the education of a Sanskrit scholar. In their printed form they are now in thousands of hands, and admired as much by his countrymen as by foreigners. After the example of Sir W. Jones, they have been translated into most of the European tongues—into English, French, German, Danish, and Italian. And, like Shakespcare's works, they have called forth much comment.

The Kumara Sambhava, or the origin of the War-God Kumara, is supposed to be the first work opening with his wife's first word of reception. It is a beautiful poem, which "relates the birth of Parvati as daughter of Himalaya, and celebrates the religious austerities by which she gained Siva for her husband, after Kandarpa, or Cupid, had failed in inspiring him with a passion for her, and had perished for the time by the fiery wrath of the god. The personages, not excepting her father the snowy mountain, are described with human manners and the human form, with an exact observance of the Indian costume."* Many passages of the Kumara Sambhava are in intermixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. The poem, closing with the wedding of Parvati, has the

* Colebrooke's "Miscellaneous essays."

appearance of being incomplete—it is said to have originally consisted of twenty-two cantos, out of which eight are considered genuine, and the rest spurious. Mons. Stenzler has translated seven cantos of this work into Latin, published in 1838. In 1850, they were put into English verse by Professor Griffith of the Benares College.

The *Raghuvansa*, or the Race of Raghu, is a heroic poem in nineteen cantos, which celebrates the deeds of the Solar princes. The first eight cantos relate chiefly to Raghu—the next eight to Rama. The three concluding cantos are about the descendants of Kusa, the last of whom Agnivarnā was a slothful prince who was succeeded by his widow and posthumous son. Kalidasa has selected the chief circumstances of Rama's story, and narrates them as they are told in the *Ramayana* and other sacred poems, but with far greater poetical embellishments. His *Raghuvansa* is ranked among the most admired compositions in Sanskrit—a large part of it being written in the mixed *Upajati* metre, which admits fourteen variations and is a favourite of the best poets. In 1832, a Latin translation of it was published by A. F. Stenzler. The Revd. J. Long published an analysis of this poem in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1852. This poem is the third work of our poet, founded upon the third word addressed to him by his wife on his return.

The *Naladaya* is a poem in four cantos, comprising 220 couplets or stanzas, on the well-known adventures of Nala and Damayanti. Sriharsa in his *Naishadhiya* brings the story no further than the marriage of Nala and Damayanti. The romantic and pathetic adventures subsequent to the marriage are told in the *Naladaya*. "In this singular poem, rhyme and alliteration are combined in the termination of the verses: for the three or four last syllables of each hemistich within the stanza are the same in sound though different in sense. It is a series of puns on a pathetic subject. It is supposed to have been written in emulation of a short poem of twenty-two stanzas similarly constructed, but with less repetition of each rhyme; and entitled, from the words of the challenge with which it concludes, *Ghata-karpara*."* The story of Nala-Damayanti was translated by Mr. Kindersley of Madras, from a tale in the provincial language. There is a poetical version of it by Dean Milman.

If the above works be founded on former precedents, the *Megha-Duta* must be pronounced to be purely an original production—a

bright romantic creation of the author's own fancy and sentiment. What can be more original in conception, than that a husband, condemned to banishment and loneliness on a desolate rock, in the Dekhan, should, finding no other means, conjure a cloud to act as his ærial messenger to his disconsolate wife in the Himalayas? Well may this be regarded as an anticipation in fancy of the reality of the Telegraph. "The merits of the work are so highly appreciated by the Pandits, that notwithstanding its shortness (comprising not more than 116 stanzas), it is classed amongst their *Maha Kavyas* or Great poems, and notwithstanding its perspicuity, it is the object of much critical acumen and learned elucidation."* Mons. Fauche remarks "there is nothing so perfect in the elegiac literature of Europe as the *Megha Duta* of Kalidasa." The admirable metrical translation into English by Dr. Wilson in 1813, does full justice to the elegant poem.

The *Ritu-Sanhara*, or Assemblage of the Seasons, is another production of his fertile imagination. The subject-matter of Thomson's *Seasons* is the external Nature of England—the subject-matter of Kalidasa's *Ritu-Sanhara* is the external Nature of India. In 1840, a German translation of this poem was made by Bohlen. The *Sringara Tilaka* and *Prasanatara Mala* are two short amatory poems. The *Sruta Bodha* is a small treatise on the laws of versification in the very metre on which they dwell upon, thus uniting example with precept.

But the triumphs of Kalidasa's genius are his dramas. No writing of his delights in so high a degree, as his play of *Sakuntala*. It inspired Goethe with raptures thus emphatically expressed:—"Wilt thou express in one word the bloom of the Spring and the fruit of the Autumn—all that attracts and entrances—all that feels and satisfies—the Heaven itself and the earth? I name thee *Sakuntala*! and it is done."

"Would'st thou the young year's blossom and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enrapt of, fed, feasted, fed?
Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee *Sakuntala*! and all at once is said."

So fervent was this noble testimony of a great poet himself, that it stimulated Chezy into the study of the Sanscrit. Even so very an anti-poetical man as Mill could not fail to be touched by its beauty. In his opinion, "the poem, indeed, has some beautiful passages. The courtship between *Sakuntala* and *Dushyanta* is

* Dr. Wilson's Preface to the translation of the *Megha Duta*.

delicate and interesting ; and the workings of the passion on two amiable minds are naturally and vividly portrayed. The picture of the friendship which exists between the three youthful maidens is tender and delightful ; and the scene which takes place when Sakuntala is about to leave the peaceful hermitage where she happily spent her youth, her expressions of tenderness to her friends, her affectionate parting with the domestic animals she had tended, and even with the flowers and trees in which she had delighted, breathe more than pastoral sweetness." In the whole range of Sanscrit poetical literature, there is no conception which comes so near to Sita, the great female character of Valmiki, as the delicate and devoted Sakuntala. The drama under this name was first brought to the notice of the European public, in a prose translation, by Sir William Jones, in 1789, since which it has been regarded with an enlightened and enthusiastic admiration. It was introduced by styling our poet the Indian Shakespeare. No doubt, it is an exaggerated compliment to twin the bard of Avon and the bard of Avanti. The author of Hamlet and Othello distances all comparison by his unique genius—he seems to have had an angel's head on mortal shoulders. Compared with him, Kalidasa possessed wit, and humour, and pathos, and a fine imagination, but not his boundless invention and variety. Kalidasa also excelled in the truth and beauty of his descriptions of external nature. He draws lovely female beings—his Sakuntala combines the simplicity and innocence of Miranda with the noble resignation of Imogen. But, like Shakespeare, the Indian dramatist did not read the great volume of life so deeply and minutely. His pages teem not with diversified characters from the ocean of humanity. But he is decidedly superior to all those who write only elegant dramatic poems, indulging in dramatic declamation. He is entitled also to the high praise of having developed the dramatic faculty,—of being the father of the first regular Sanscrit drama in the composition of which "he had only listened to the inspirations of his highly-gifted and conscious spirit." He received the mantle from Nature, and bequeathed it to Bhavabhuti and others. His *Vikramavarsi*, or the Hero and the Nymph, of which an elegant translation was published by Dr. Wilson in his *Hindu Theatre* in 1837, "is in a still more romantic strain, and may be compared, in the wildness of its design at least, to the *Tempest* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*."* The *Hasyarnava*, or the Sea of Laughter is a comic production. Kalidasa

did not write more than three dramas. He did not want in fertility, but that dramatic representations were not a favourite amusement of the ancient Hindus. Their authors seldom wrote without an especial occasion, and had little opportunity of improving in this branch of writing. The Hindu tragedy has no tragical termination. There are deaths, but no blood is shed on the Hindu stage—the taste seems to have been regulated by Buddhistic maxims prevailing in the country. And it is a question to be asked, with all deference to the shade of Aristotle, whether a Nataka (drama) ending in the final happiness of the hero and heroine is not in the interest of humanity?

AN IDLER.

ON THE MORAL ASPECTS OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

[The following is the substance of a lecture delivered in the Town Hall, Calcutta.]

In rising to address you on the moral aspects of the legal profession, I ought to state to you at the outset the aim and scope of what I am going to say. It is not my object to attempt to edify you with any theoretical discussion on the ethics of the Bar. Fortunately for man, the leading truths of morality in this department of human affairs as in others are simple, easily understood, and universally recognised; and such a discussion is not likely to prove a profitable occupation of time. Nor, though unfortunately for man the difficulty lies in acting according to these truths, do I intend to expatiate on what are said to be the common failings of members of the legal profession in order to exhort them to mend their ways. An immaculate being might preach morality in that style, but it would be a wholly unequal task for an imperfect mortal like myself to attempt to do so. In thinking of the failings of others, the sense of mine own imperfections presses so heavily upon me, that I can only say

‘Trembling behind my eyes I cast;
My sins, how great their sum,
Lord give me pardon for the past,
And strength for days to come.’

Nor again must you expect to be entertained with that eloquence which fills the ear and enraptures the heart whatever the subject of the discourse may be. That gift I do not pretend to possess. I shall only ask your serious attention for one brief hour to matters that concern the future of the flower of my countrymen.

My object in appearing before you this afternoon may be shortly stated thus. I find a large number of my educated countrymen, animated by various aims and aspirations, betaking themselves to certain paths of life which it has been my lot also to walk in. These like other paths in this our field of trial, are not strewn with flowers, but are beset with thorns and covered with many pitfalls; and it is due to those who come after me that I should apprise

them of the moral difficulties in their way, and give them such advice as I am capable of, to enable them to avoid or surmount these difficulties. I must also tell them—for the unkind truth must be told to prevent disappointment, and the sooner it is told the better—that success in the legal profession is by no means so easily attainable as the sanguineness of youth would wish, that thorough and severe training and untiring patience are necessary for such success, and that the burdens imposed on them if duty is a burden, far outweigh the benefits attainable if measured only by the fees and distinction earned. But at the same time I may give them this cheering assurance that if they view their situation from a higher standpoint, and take a broader view of it, if they view the true moral aspects of their profession, they will see that it is a truly noble profession worthy of the aspirations of the most elevated intellect and moral nature, and capable of giving rich rewards to all the deserving, however numerous they may be.

To the experienced members of my profession who have favoured me by their presence here, I have but one request to make. I would ask them to correct me if I am wrong, if I imagine difficulties where none are to be found, or overlook others which really exist.

With these few prefatory remarks, I proceed to my subject, which I shall consider under three heads, treating *first* of the lawyer in relation to his study, *secondly* of the lawyer in relation to his client, and *thirdly* of the lawyer in relation to the Bench and to the public.

If you want to do your duty as a lawyer well and properly, you must begin by doing your duty as a student well and thoroughly. And here it is necessary that you should have a correct idea of the nature of the functions of a lawyer, to be able to realise the full importance of the careful and patient study that I insist upon. Now touching the nature of the lawyer's work there has been some difference of opinion. Some well-meaning but I fear ill-informed persons have said that the lawyer's business is only to quibble about words and to mystify and complicate the simple principles of justice by the application of cumbrous and artificial rules, and a poet has feelingly exclaimed,

'The toils of law what dark insidious men
Have cumbrous added to perplex the truth
And lengthen simple justice into trade.'

At this time of day when English law literature is adorned with the writings of eminent jurists like Bentham and Austin and Maine,

one may well think it unnecessary to refute or even notice such an objection. But unfortunately there are still some persons who think that law is not a science demanding serious study, but is a mere money-making art which there would be time enough to study carefully when one commences practising it. For them (I hope their number is small) I think it necessary to notice the objection which admits of a simple and complete refutation.

In construing statutes and other documents, a lawyer no doubt has to enter into verbal discussions; but to ascertain the true meaning and intention of the legislature or of a testator notwithstanding the imperfections of language, is not less interesting than the problem of deciphering inscriptions of antiquarian value, while it is certainly of much greater practical importance to mankind. And as for the charge of complicating things that are simple, as well may you accuse the mathematician of perversely creating the stiff and repulsive science of mathematics upon a few simple axioms. The truth is that law like other sciences is based upon a few fundamental principles, and these in their application lead to such complex propositions that they can be dealt with only by careful study. And the student of law who from the simplicity of the fundamental principles imagines that he will be able to deal with any case without much study, falls into as great an error as the student of mathematics would if he were to suppose that as the fundamental axioms of geometry are simple, he would be able to understand the properties of the higher plane curves and of the wave surface without any preparatory study.

Nor must you flatter yourselves with the idea that when these difficulties arise, if ever, in any particular case, there will be time enough for study. The Great Disposer of all things and of all time has so disposed of your time and my time and the time of each one of us, and assigned work for every moment of our time in such a complete, continuous series, that it is impossible to interpolate any term in the series; and if you therefore neglect the work assigned to any interval of time, it will completely disturb the whole series, and you will never be able to make up for lost time. Our sage law giver Yajnavalka has well said,

‘*ধর্মার্ধ কাশান্ বে কালে যথা শক্তি ন হানয়েত্ ।*’

“Neglect not religious duty, business or pleasure in its proper season.”

And it is equally well said in another great book of wisdom 'To every thing there is a season and a time to every purpose under the heaven.'

There are other considerations which point with equal force to the necessity of systematic study on the part of students of law. The business of the lawyer embraces the whole range of human affairs in their endless variety and manifold complications. If you have a case of enhancement of rent on the ground of increased productive power of the soil or of increase in the value of the produce, something of agriculture and economics will have to be considered in dealing with the case properly. If it is a case of infringement of patent right, some knowledge of manufactures and mechanism will be required for the same purpose. In dealing with cases relating to transactions of banking or mercantile bodies some knowledge of the ways of trade and commerce is necessary. Cases of boundary disputes and claims to alluvial formations which are very common in the Delta of the Ganges can hardly be well conducted without some knowledge of surveying on the part of the practitioners engaged. In dealing with the evidence of experts, some knowledge of chemistry and anatomy in cases of murder, of literature and the fine arts in cases of infringement of copyright, and of the religious tenets of different sections of the people in certain cases of defamation, will be essential. The demand upon your time which such varied study must involve, can only be met by your beginning early to economise time by doing everything in its proper time, and putting off nothing for the future.

There is yet another and a higher standpoint from which I would ask you to view your position as law students, and you will realise its importance more fully. Many of you who form modest estimates of your worth, no doubt intend to enter the legal profession simply to earn your livelihood; and a smaller number of you with higher aspirations aim also at earning distinction. I would ask all of you, whatever your aim may be, to have a higher aim before you which is to serve your fellow men whilst serving yourselves. Law is the ultimate arbiter of all contests between man and man in civilised society. They who come to you, come with a sense of real or supposed wrong, and ask your advice to have their wrongs righted; and it is for you to see that the best advice is given to vindicate what is right. Your business places you in charge of the life, property and reputation of your clients. Such are the noble functions of the legal profession, and such is the position of grave trust and responsibility in which

every practising lawyer places himself; and it is your paramount duty to see that you do every thing to qualify yourselves for such a position. From the day you make up your mind to enter the legal profession, you dedicate your time to the service of humanity, and you have no right to waste any time which well spent may better qualify you for such service. The day of such resolution ought to be a solemn day in your life, as solemn as used to be the day of initiation of a Brahmin in the Vedas, when that ceremony was intelligently performed. Having to deal only with the moral aspects of the profession, it is not for me now to advise you as to what you should study and in what order. I shall call your attention only to two matters which have a moral bearing upon your study.

The first is that you should not only study law but should also carefully study the lives of those great lawyers who have shed lustre on their profession. Their example should ever be before your eyes to encourage and enlighten you. Every student of law should read Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors* and his *Lives of the Chief Justices of England*, and books like Ballantine's *Reminiscences* and Robinson's *Reminiscences*. They will give you some knowledge of the lofty traditions of Westminster Hall. Nor must you omit to study the lives and conduct of the eminent men who belonged to your branch of the profession. The learning, eloquence and integrity of Dwarka Nath Mitter, and the sound sense, zealous advocacy and spotless character of Mahesh Chunder Chowdhuri must produce in every generous heart a yearning after what is good and great in a lawyer.

The second matter to which I would draw your attention is that you should study law not from a narrow technical point of view, but in a broad liberal spirit, and should always try to bring it into harmony with, and make it subservient to, the ends of justice. In construing a statute or any other law always credit its author with a sense of justice, and try to put such a construction as makes it consonant to reason. If you find this possible, you may be almost certain that your construction is correct. If you can not construe it in that way, hesitate to accept your construction, for you may well suspect that there is some error somewhere. It is by seeking to construe the law in this liberal way that some of the best decisions on Hindu law have been arrived at.

I have followed you in your study somewhat longer than I intended. I shall now take leave of you as students and welcome you as lawyers who have been admitted to practice. And here the question that troubles one is how are you to get into practice

without compromising yourself in any way. The traditions of the profession require that you shall not seek for business in any way, not even by lowering your own fees, though one might have thought that that was a matter that concerned you alone. You are to wait till business seeks you out, if you deserve that. Now so long as the number of practitioners in any court was not very large, this was possible. But in the present state of things when the profession is so largely overcrowded, this is impossible. Even if one had rare abilities like those of Erskine to establish his reputation by conducting a single case, how is he to get that one case? Some honest modes of seeking business must now be permitted; and one of the least objectionable modes of seeking business is to seek it in the hands of distinguished leaders of the profession. This will not wound the pride of the most sensitive nature, and it is the mode least likely to be attended with any abuse of patronage. Again it is a most pleasing duty cast upon the leaders of the profession by their very position, to discriminate and patronise merit in the juniors, and it is only by their exercising this agreeable privilege that the continuity of efficiency in the profession can be well and effectually secured against the intrusion of mediocrity backed by extraneous advantages. An elaborate scheme has sometimes been suggested for securing the same object and putting down unhealthy competition. It is said that practitioners ought to form themselves into groups each composed of a number of leading men associated with an equal or a larger number of juniors, that they should be retained by the groups thus formed, and that work should be distributed and fees divided among the members of each group according to their fitness. There are no doubt arguments in favour of such a scheme; but the real objection against it is that it would check that freedom of action which is essential to progress in a learned profession.

There are other honest and legitimate modes in which a young practitioner may seek business. He can write useful law books or edit important Acts with well arranged notes, but he must be careful to aim at usefulness and not mere pedantry or show. He can attract notice by making useful suggestions to others arguing cases, but he must be extremely careful to do so modestly and not with officious obtrusiveness. He can take up the defence of undefended prisoners, but he must know the serious responsibility of the position, and he must be extremely careful to prepare himself well so that his client may not be worse off with his help than he would have been without it.

I must here guard you against an error which you may fall into. A beginner in the profession is often with the object of being tested or perhaps simply troubled, put legal questions by men who have not the remotest idea of retaining him in their cases. These questions are some times difficult to answer, and the most experienced lawyers will often have to think and refer to their books before giving an answer. Do not give any haphazard answer, yielding to a feeling of vanity that you may be considered incompetent if you can not answer questions at once. You are not walking books of reference. According to one of the best definitions given of a lawyer, he is a man who knows, not what the law is but where the law is to be found.

The question whether a young practitioner may with perfect moral and professional propriety accept cases on low fees, is one that deserves attention in these days of hard competition.

Now there can be nothing wrong in a man's assigning his own value to his services, and if that value is lower than what is fixed by custom or convention, there is a gain to society, as legal aid becomes obtainable at a cheaper rate than heretofore. It is said that the lowering of fee would lower the prestige of the profession, would make the practitioner unable to do his duty thoroughly, and would foster litigation by lowering its cost. The first objection seems to be of no force. Money no doubt is the standard for the comparison of value generally; but the intellectual and moral worth of a man or of a body of men is a thing far too high, far too refined, to be measured by such a low and coarse standard. The dignity and prestige of the legal profession ought to be measured not by what it can take from society in the shape of fees but by what it can give to society in the shape of whole-some aid, and advice in the settlement of contested claims.

The second objection is good only in the case of those who have already got fair business, and who by lowering their fee might get more business than they will be able to manage. But this can not be true of juniors struggling to get business. And as for the third objection, the fostering of unhealthy litigation depends not upon the cheapness of legal advice but upon its unwholesomeness.

But it should be distinctly borne in mind that the lowering of fee is allowable only if it tends to the benefit of the client exclusively, and does not go to benefit any intermediate person.

It is contrary alike to morality and to our statute law that motives of personal gain should influence an agent in his choice in the appointment of a legal adviser to his principal.

Whilst there are many excellent rules of propriety founded on reason, there are others again which are purely conventional and which only serve to embarrass people and impede business. One of this class is the rule which prohibits the taking of instructions except through certain classes of persons. Unfortunately the rule has now been incorporated in the Legal Practitioners' Act, and so long as it is not repealed every one is bound scrupulously to observe it. But one would wish very much that a rule like this, which serves so little purpose, and is so wholly unsuited to the circumstances of the country had not found a place in the Statute Book.

The difficulties that exist in the way of junior practitioners getting business has led many persons to think that it is necessary to impose arbitrary restrictions upon admission to the profession such as by raising the admission fees and the like. I must say I am entirely opposed to such views. You may in this way keep back many men from the profession, but they may be some of your best men. Poverty is not necessarily a disqualification in a junior practitioner. On the contrary from the poorer classes have come some of the ornaments of the profession. You all know what Erskine said after his maiden speech which established his reputation, when asked how it was that he ventured to disregard the interruption of a Judge like Lord Mansfield. He said he thought his children were plucking his robe and that he heard them saying 'Now father is the time to get us bread.' The only legitimate method of reducing competition and preventing unnecessary disappointment is to raise the standard of intellectual and moral qualification for admission.

The way being crowded, the difficulties of entrance have detained us long at the threshold. I shall now suppose those difficulties overcome, and my young friends fairly getting on in their business, and I shall interrupt them with the question how they should deal with their clients. The readiest answer will I suppose be that you will first of all make the best arrangements for your fees. There is nothing wrong in (of it) nothing wrong in money-making being one of the objects of the legal profession. Serve yourselves by the practice of your profession as much as you honestly can, but remember that humanity also requires your services. You may ask how it is possible for the legal profession to serve humanity when it can thrive only on the bickerings and contentions of men. You may say as I used at one time to say to myself, medicine is the only profession in which the practitioner can serve humanity while serving himself. A little reflection will shew you, however, that this is not so. If men suffering from the

agonies of disease come to the medical practitioner, men suffering from the no less real and oftentimes more keenly felt agonies proceeding from a sense of actual or supposed wrong come to the lawyer for relief. It is true that while the medical man can always endeavour to give what his patients want, namely health, the lawyer can endeavour to obtain for his client the relief he wants only where he is in the right; but though the latter cannot always obtain for his client the particular relief he asks for, he can give his client the next best thing, that is advice to desist from a hopeless and an unjust strife; and such advice proceeding from one's lawyer is always more effective than if it proceeded from his moral adviser or his priest. If the latter can only say he ought not to get what he wants, the former is able to say that he can not get it. If the medical man ministers to a body diseased, yours is the noble profession of ministering to a mind diseased.

Here an important question may be raised, whether it is any part of the lawyer's duty to advise his client upon points of morality, or whether his duty is strictly limited to giving him legal advice, and whether he is not bound, if the client insists upon it, to take up his case even though it may not in his own judgment be a righteous one. The question does not admit of a simple categorical answer, as various considerations may arise in different classes of cases. But it may be generally affirmed that on the one hand a legal practitioner is not a mere law-advising machine without any moral sense and is not bound to work mechanically to serve the purpose of every one who can pay for the work; and on the other hand he is not to be troubled with a sort of moral squeamishness which suspects wrong and dishonesty where none may exist, and which makes the pleader take upon himself the functions of the judge and condemn a party before trial.

Considering the importance of the question, and the diversity of opinion that has prevailed, I may crave your indulgence to examine it a little more narrowly. Now a case may be bad in law or upon the facts; and in the latter, its unrighteousness may be matter of certain knowledge or probable inference to the lawyer.

When a case is bad in law, that is so clearly and completely bad that there is nothing to be said in its favour, a practitioner is bound not only to tell his client that it is so, but absolutely to decline to take it up, as his taking it up even after due intimation of its hopeless character may lead the client to entertain a false hope of success. When however a case though bad in law is yet of a doubtful nature, the practitioner after due intimation to his client, may, if he insists upon

it, take up the case, as by refusing to do so he would be encroaching upon the province of the judge and condemning his client before trial, and his refusal will be open to the objection so forcibly pointed out by Erskine in his celebrated speech in the defence of Thomas Paine. Again if a case is bad on the facts to the practitioner's own knowledge, he would be clearly wrong in taking it up. But if its unrighteousness is only matter of inference to him, he should solemnly, but in a kindly spirit exhort his client to desist if the case is really as he thinks it to be; but if the client denies its unrighteous character and insists upon his accepting it, he may do so.

And here I would earnestly beg of you to remember a word of salutary caution. Let not the vigour and freshness of your youthful intellect and your unmoderated zeal for your client encouraged by accounts of occasional success of eminent counsel in winning cases though on the wrong side, from the fallibility of human judgment, lead you to entertain the hope that your forensic ability is enough to enable you to win a case irrespective of its real merits. The most acute ingenuity will be baffled in its attempt to reconcile the inconsistencies of falsehood. The blandishments of rhetoric will be unable to hide the deformity of untruth and the ugliness of iniquity. On the other hand truth requires but slender aid to set off her charms. By all means have full legitimate confidence in your own powers, but have greater confidence in the power and strength of truth and in the ways of Providence; and remember that 'There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will.'

Amidst all the bustle and distraction of professional life, amidst all the pride or perversity that success or disappointment may engender, never forget this great truth, but feel its force with all the keenness of feeling that you are capable of, and try to make your clients share the same feeling.

There may be instances of cases being taken up under the belief that they are just, which afterwards, in the confession of the client may be found to be the reverse, and what is counsel to do then? Such an instance actually occurred in the trial of Courvoisier for murder. His counsel Mr. Phillips took up the case under the belief that he was innocent, but after a certain most damning piece of evidence against the prisoner had been adduced, he had an interview with his counsel and confessed his guilt but asked to be defended to the last. The case having been adjourned, the counsel in his perplexity sought Baron Parke, asked his advice and was told by that eminent Judge that it was his duty to defend

his client according to law. The confession being made during the continuance of the sacred relation of client and counsel was according to the wise policy of the English law absolutely sealed with confidence, and could not be disclosed to the prejudice of the client. Nor would it have been right to permit the counsel to abandon the cause after the disclosure, as that might have left the prisoner in a helpless situation. It may no doubt be said that a man being really guilty does not deserve to be defended, and he should suffer the punishment of the law. But here it should be borne in mind, that it is the law of the land and not the views of any lawyer as to what is just and proper that defines our rights and liabilities and prescribes the punishment for crimes, and it is but just that the procedure prescribed by the law for the trial of crimes should be strictly followed. After a man is found guilty of a certain offence the punishment prescribed by the law must be inflicted however grossly unjust and harsh it may seem to your judgment. May not the criminal then say, If your judgment has no influence in protecting me against the harshness and severity of the law, why should it expose me to that harshness and severity without giving me the benefit of those protections that the same harsh and severe law has provided.

There is another class of bad cases which also should not be encouraged. These are cases which taken by themselves are not bad in law or on the facts, but which in their consequences are evidently fraught with mischief. Such are those vexatious cases which the rich and the powerful often bring to harass the poor and the weak. Such are also cases which people taking advantage of some defect in the law or some erroneous decision may bring to make an unconscionable gain.

I shall give you an instance that occurred to my knowledge. A practitioner in a District Court was requested by a zemindar who understood a little of law to draw up a plaint in a suit for recovery of a large tract of alluvial land formed on the site of an estate after diluvial and in close contact with the estate of the impending plaintiff. The Privy Council decision in the case *Lopez v. Mudun M. Thakur* had not then been passed, and according to the rulings of the High Court as they then stood, the right to alluvial land by accretion was held to prevail over the right to reformation on old site. The zemindar was anxious to bring his suit, but the young practitioner's conscience was shocked at the idea that what was clearly formed upon the site of one man's estate should become the property of another. He could not persuade himself that the law was meant to sanction such capricious

transfer of property, and so he advised his client to wait until the period of limitation was about to expire, and then think over the matter again if in the meantime the law was not interpreted differently. A short time after this, the decision in *Lopez's* case was out, and the client was extremely thankful to his legal adviser for having saved him the trouble, expense and disappointment of a heavy but fruitless litigation. The young lawyer may have lost a handsome fee for not advising the institution of the suit, but he was I think compensated if not by having gained to some extent the confidence of his client, certainly by the inward satisfaction which he must have felt.

There is one other question connected with the relation between client and counsel which deserves here a passing notice. It is the question whether a pleader or counsel can change sides in the course of a case or of a connected litigation. It is generally understood that as a lawyer acts under instructions received from his client, and is not required to import his own knowledge of facts into a case, there can be nothing wrong in his changing sides subject to certain qualifications. Difficulties may however arise in many cases. A lawyer while engaged by a party A may become aware, through confidential communication, of certain defects in his case which if questioned he cannot possibly deny. If now the lawyer is permitted to change sides after the case has been remanded by the Appellate Court, and to be engaged by the other party B who has no knowledge of the defect in A's case, and is asked by B to advise him as to the expediency of citing A as a witness, it is difficult to see how he can properly advise B without being influenced by his knowledge derived from the confidential communication. The safer course will always be not to change sides.

I may here repeat to you the advice which a certain lawyer gave to a junior practitioner upon a similar question. The young lawyer having had the good fortune of winning a case for a 'certificate to collect debts under' Act 27 of 1860, the unsuccessful party who was advised to file a *replevin* suit sought to retain his services. On his objecting to change sides, the mukhtear sent to retain him laughed at his squeamishness and requested him to consult his seniors. One of these gentlemen on being consulted readily admitted that there was nothing against etiquette or professional propriety in changing sides in such a case, but added he, "Since you are feeling scruples about it, the best solution of the difficulty is to set off the happiness resulting from the receipt of the fee offered against the mental uneasiness arising from a sense of having done an act of doubtful propriety. Strike

the balance and see which way it is, and choose your course accordingly."

A more clear and wholesome advice could not have been given. It at once determined the young man's course of action. All men whether young or old and whether lawyers or not would do well to follow this advice. I only wish we always tried to apply the formula and set off against the advantages of a doubtful course of action the mental uneasiness arising for taking such a course, and our way will always be clear.

I come now to the third head of my subject—the moral aspects of the relation between the Bench and the Bar. The chief function of the legal profession being to represent litigants in courts of justice, a function which if properly discharged would certainly help judges as much as suitors, the question arises what are the legitimate limits of advocacy? Is an advocate justified in advancing arguments which he knows to be fallacious, or in insisting upon the truthfulness of evidence which he knows or believes to be false? Or is he bound to leave aside all argument of doubtful force and all evidence of doubtful character and to rely only on argument and evidence believed to be sound and true. According to Paley the former course would seem to be justified though upon a somewhat singular ground. There are falsehoods says he, which are not lies—that is not criminal where no one is deceived as in an advocate asserting the justice or his belief in the justice of his client's cause. In such instances no one's confidence is destroyed because none was reposed, no promise to speak the truth is violated because none was given or understood to be given. This apparent justification would be the strongest condemnation of advocacy if it really is what Paley takes it to be; and no man of generous sentiments would ever think of becoming an advocate. It is now an accepted rule that no advocate is justified in urging his own belief in the justice of his client's cause simply because he is an advocate and not a witness nor a judge in the cause. Again the business of a court would most come to a stand still if no confidence were to be reposed on the honesty and integrity of its advocates. On the other hand though one's own judgment whether right or wrong must be his ultimate guide in all matters so far as he is concerned, yet to exclude all doubtful argument or evidence when advocating the cause of another would be for the advocate to encroach upon the province of the judge and to compel the client against his will to accept his judgment, when he wants that of the constituted court of justice. Perhaps the most practical view of the matter is that taken by Johnson who says, 'a lawyer is to do

for his client all that his client might fairly do for himself if he could.'

Upon matters of law, if a point is absolutely untenable, there is no good in urging it. If it is doubtful, do not take upon yourself the responsibility of deciding it, but urge it with all the force that real arguments in its favour can give it. Upon matters of fact let your client know your own view of his case, and if he gives you the assurance that it is truthful, place it before the court exercising your own judgment always in determining what weight to attach to such assurance, and remembering also that sometimes truth is more strange than fiction. At the present day it is scarcely necessary to say that it is most reprehensible advocacy to distort facts or advance arguments known to be fallacious in the hope that such misrepresentation or fallacy may in the hurry of the moment and through the ignorance of the adversary or the incompetency of the judge pass undetected. You should also remember that there may be want of truth and honesty not only in words but also in demeanour, and you must be careful not to assume warmth that you do not feel.

In the conduct of cases an advocate should be animated by a due sense of his duty and the grave responsibility of his position, and he should never be actuated by any indirect motives of pleasing a friend or offending an enemy or of making a display of his ability. They make the best show of themselves who least care for it, while they who are anxious to make a show, cut the most awkward figure. The moral in the fable of Atalanta and the golden apples should always be kept in view by the young advocate so that he may not lose the race in efforts to gain collateral advantages. I can not impress on you this moral better than by placing before you the example of one who has recently retired from the Bench, and whose sterling worth both as a judge and as an advocate is so justly appreciated by all. He never tried, never cared to be brilliant, and yet he has shed a permanent lustre on the profession of which he was such a bright ornament.

In cross examining witnesses, and in eliciting evidence or the conduct of the adverse party, a lawyer should remember that the liberty of speech that is allowed to him is a sacred privilege which must never be abused. It is a privilege which is granted for the better protection of truth and innocence against falsehood and fraud, and should never be turned into an instrument of oppression against the innocent.

The behaviour of the Bench and the Bar towards each other has a moral aspect which I may be excused for alluding to.

Nothing is more painful to a young lawyer struggling into professional existence than the severity and sometimes the superciliousness and arrogance of the judge. Unaccustomed to the ways of the world and unencouraged by success, he feels this most keenly, and is often inclined to consider the attention shewn to his seniors and his more fortunate juniors as reprehensible partiality. I sympathise with such feeling but would by no means encourage it. I would ask you to reconcile yourselves to the situation by considering that it is unavoidable in the nature of things, and I would ask you to submit to the severity of treatment to which you may be subjected, from a sense that the dignity of the court must be maintained, as otherwise business can not go on. Reconcile yourself to the situation from a sense of duty and not from a sense of fear and submit to it with calm dignity but not with sneaking subservience. But if respect is due to the Bench, kindness and courtesy are due to the Bar and especially to the junior members whom inexperience places under a disadvantage, and who require to be encouraged more than others. Any undue severity towards them would be felt not by them alone but also by their clients as it would obviously prevent their doing full justice to the case they are arguing.

From the brief sketch of the moral aspects of the legal profession that I have been able to present to you, it will be clear that the moral influence which the profession exerts upon society is immense, that for the beneficial exercise of that influence great self sacrifice is needed on the part of the lawyer, that there are temptations in the way which may often prevent one from exercising that influence, and that severe training and constant care are necessary to qualify one for the due discharge of his professional duties. Blame me not if this sketch of the moral aspects of the profession has cast a sombre shade on those prospects which the freshness of youthful fancy may have painted for you in glowing colours. The fault is not mine, but the effect is due to the necessary contrast of light and shade. Viewed at a single glance, the brightness of the moral aspects of your profession must cast in the shade its economic aspects. Nor need you fear that if the lawyer acts the part of a moralist and gives his client not only legal but also moral advice the prospects of the profession will be injured. However, much we may, as we all should, devoutly wish that unhealthy litigation should be put down, our combined efforts in that direction would only be a drop in an ocean. We can never expect to be able completely to calm the troubled sea of human affairs. The vain bickerings and contentions of men will never

cease, and there will always remain enough work for the legal profession. But if the millennium indeed be so near, and if our efforts are so likely to be crowned with success, still where is the apprehension? By the time the fierce animosities of the litigant are appeased will not the ambition and avarice of the lawyer also be gone? And you my countrymen who are born in that land where the immortal Buddha renounced a crown and a kingdom to bring peace on earth, and where the sage Sankara devoted his glorious life and unrivalled powers of intellect to the work of spiritualizing humanity and subduing the selfish principles of our nature, you should never hesitate to incur any amount of self sacrifice in doing good; nor think that happiness consists in wealth and distinction. Look at Sankara's sublime picture of the happy men:

হানন্দ ভাবে পরিতুষ্টমতঃ হৃদান্ত মর্কেজির বৃত্তিমতঃ ।
অহর্নিশং ব্রহ্মণি বৈরমতঃ কৌণীনবতঃ খলু ভাগ্যবতঃ ॥

"Happy are they though clothed in rags,
Whose happiness in their self satisfaction lies;
Whose passions yield to reason's sway,
Whose joy is Divine meditation night and day."

Perhaps it might be said that disregard of the selfish instinct and exclusive regard for altruistic principles, however well suited to contemplative life in old age, would be ill adapted to the life of action in youth and manhood. I deny the force of any such argument. Selfishness no doubt is a strong incentive to action in ordinary cases, but in trying situations the sense of duty has always served as a stronger motive. One of the greatest of men of action that the world has produced, in one of the most stirring scenes of action which history records, exhorted his followers to intense action and exhorted them not in vain, by appealing not to any of their selfish sentiments but to their sense of duty in those memorable words, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' Do your duty to the best of your ability, knowledge and judgment, and then though you may not earn wealth and distinction, you shall have earned that *হানন্দ*, that self-satisfaction, that peace of mind, which is the crown of crowns, which no wealth can buy, no patronage can bestow, and which no calamity, not death itself can take away.

GOOROO DASS BANERJEE.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT.

HISTORY OF UNAO.—(Concluded.)

We have seen an indirect result of the Mahammadan conquest of India in the settlement of Rajput colonies throughout Oudh. It remains to consider the effect on the popular character produced by the introduction of a fresh strain of blood, and on social history by new ideas and a new administrative policy. The first wave of invasion rolled in from Ghazni, whence Másud, the fiery nephew of Sultan Mahmud, set forth in 1030 A.D. to plant the green flag of Islam in places which had never yet re-echoed praises of God the Highest, the Most Merciful. He took Delhi and was welcomed at Kanouj. But when he crossed the Ganges and penetrated further into Oudh he was stoutly opposed by a confederacy of powerful Rajas who drove him into Bahraich and cut his army in pieces. Three hundred years elapsed ere any Mahammadan obtained a foot-hold in Oudh. Between the 14th and 17th centuries their colonies slowly increased; but they have long been stationary, and at the present day the Hindus are more than 93 per cent of the population. The early conquests were the outcome of blood-feuds or other forms of private revenge; and the struggle between the creeds had none of the features of a religious war. There is, indeed, a strong tendency among the followers of the Prophet to assimilate in all externals with their Hindu neighbours. In the matter of diet they are as scrupulous as any Brahman. The *Dhuti* is commonly worn by them; and the formula *Ram Ram* their ordinary mode of salutation. In short, the law which ordains that the greater body shall attract the less is, or was till lately, in as full operation on Unao as it was in Eastern Bengal before the great neo-puritan revival which is stirring Islam to its depths had placed an impassable gulf between the professors of the rival creeds. Bangarmau, so often mentioned in these annals, was the theatre of the first Mahammadan effort at colonization. According to tradition, about the year 1300 A.D. a saint named Alauddin came from Kanouj with the intention of living peaceably in the territories of Raja Nala of Newal. But the Raja would not tolerate

the presence of a *mleccha*, and endeavoured to eject him. The holy man cursed his persecutor; and straightway the city of Newal turned upside down, burying its inhabitants. Utensils of archaic form are to this day exposed by the plough amongst the extensive ruins of king Newal's luckless city; and those who stand upon ancient ways see a confirmation of the legend in the fact that they are always found inverted. The catastrophe was probably due to an earthquake in prehistoric times. After this exhibition of superhuman power Alauddin founded the town of Bangarmau, which still contains a leaven of Shaikh and Sayyid families. The more important settlement at Sufipur, or Saipur, dates from 1431, when Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur, to revenge the insult offered to another saint known as Maulana Shaha Ikram by the refusal of five Rajas to allow him to sound the *Asam*, or summons to prayers, marched a strong force into their territory and defeated them with great slaughter. The victory cost one of the Musúلمان generals his life. His grave, which is still pointed out at Sufipur, has rare and precious virtues in a country which suffers greatly from droughts. In the event of one occurring, all that is necessary is to milk a cow and mix the milk with ten maunds of flour, and ghee, spices, &c., in proportion before the tomb. Hardly is there time to bake the resulting cakes ere the sky becomes overcast and the worshippers are drenched to the skin. The Maulana's grandson, Shah Safi, is the eponymous hero of Sufipur. Many legends survive to attest his miraculous power. On one occasion a poor widow, who had lost her all through the tyranny of the Faujdar of Khairabad, entreated him to revenge her wrongs. He took from his mouth the lump of *pán* which he was chewing and told her to fix it to an arrow and shoot it at the house of his oppressor. The Faujdar, hearing of the advice, ran in great alarm, prostrated himself at the holy man's feet and craved and obtained pardon. Then, from sheer feminine curiosity the widow shot the *pan* from a bow at a mound which stood near Khairabad. The mound at once disappeared and in its place there opened a yawning gulf which is called to this day *Safi Sag*.

The next wave of Mahammadan conquest was impelled by Sayyid Baharuddin, son of the general who was killed at the battle which led up to the foundation of Bangarmau. The Bisseins of Unao itself fell victims to a notable stratagem planned by him, full details of which will be found in Sir William Hunter's monumental *Gazetteer of India*, in the shape of a quotation from Sir Charles Elliott's history. (Vol. xiii p. 428.) But the Mahammadan Colonies in Unao were not all the outcome of "blood and iron."

A peaceful invasion of the district resulted from the Moghul policy of rewarding Military Service by grants of land. These Jaghirdars have planted Shaikh or Sayyid families in nearly every town of any size: but the only house of any importance—that of the Rasulabad Sayyids—received its death-blow during the Mutiny. The chief then threw in his lot with the national side, and paid the penalty of his blunder in the confiscation of his estates.

Sir Charles's sketch of Unao under Moghul rule is instructive, as proving that the English administration owes but little to the effete organization which it superseded. Under Akbar, when the Government was as strong and highly centralized as imperfect communications admitted, Unao formed a portion of the Lucknow *Sarkar*, the largest of five divisions into which the province of Oudh was split. It contained 14 Parganas with a revenue of Rs. 4,52,242 as compared with Rs. 9,63,930 just before the annexation; Rs. 10,33,640 as settled after that event; and Rs. 14,22,720 in 1883-84. Each Pargana was administered by two distinct classes of officials. In the one category came the Qazi, Mufti, Qanungo and Chaudhuri,—generally natives of the pargana and paid by grants of land or fees, and holding their posts for life. The functions of the two first named were judicial. The Qazi was Civil Judge, Registrar, and Priest; with a supervision over the morals and ceremonies of his jurisdiction. The Mufti was a miniature Legal Remembrancer, whose opinion or *Fatwa* was a necessary basis for the decisions of the Criminal Courts. The duties of the Qanungo and Chaudhuri were connected with the revenue: and they were settlement officers of the Pargana. There was no substantial difference between them: but the former appointment was always conferred on the chief Zemindar of the Pargana; while the latter fell to a writer of the Kaieth caste. The second class of officials included the Amil, Krori and Tehsildar. They were seldom residents of the Pargana, were often transferred and were paid either by salary or a percentage on the collections. The Amil was magistrate-collector, the district chief in both revenue and judicial affairs. The Krori and Chaudhuri were subordinate revenue officers; the first taking his name from an obsolete division of the empire into tracts each of paying a crore of *dams*, i.e., two and a half lakhs of rupees. Their duties were identical, and in process of time both merged in the tehsildar. Above the local officials came the Faujdar, who was military commandant and responsible for the preservation of peace; and the Dewan, where work was that of general supervision in revenue matters. Higher still there were the officers of the suba, or province.—the Nazim or Governor, the

Dewan, or chief Minister, and the Amin, who was responsible for the land-settlements. This duality was intended to provide a system of checks and counter-checks; and it survives to this day in many Zemindari offices. In practice it worked but indifferently. The history of Unao during the period when the arm of the Emperor of Delhi was longest is a record of rebellion, robbery, murder and illegal exactions. When the sceptre of Aurungzib fell into impotent hands, the anarchy became intolerable: and no semblance of order was effected till Sa'adat Khan, the Nazim of Oudh, threw off his allegiance and founded the royal house whose last crowned representative must be fresh in the memory of Calcutta residents. Sa'adat Khan was a lineal descendant of Imam Muza Kassim, of the best blood of Persia. During a civil war which desolated his native province, Khorassan, he migrated to Lahore and exchanged his name, Mir Muhammad Amin, for that which he was destined to render famous. In 1723 the Emperor Mahammad Shah created him Subadar of Oudh with the titles Pillar of the Empire, Confident Support of the State, Glory of War. Sa'adat Khan's administration was characterised by a minute care for his subjects' welfare which is still remembered with gratitude. On his death in 1756 he was succeeded by a nephew, Sujauddaula, who dropped the title of Subadar and assumed the loftier one of Nawab Vizier of Oudh. His grandson, Ghaziuddin Haidar, took a still bolder flight; and with the purchased consent of the East India Company, became King of Oudh. During the greater portion of the Nawabi era Unao was subject to Foujdars whose government included the southern portion of Oudh and the lower Doab. The best of these functionaries was Ilmas Ali, who flourished at the end of last century. He built for himself a town called Miyanganj, which Sir Charles Elliott styles one of the few places in Unao worth visiting. It is a square, with four wide streets meeting in a central point, surrounded by lofty crenelated walls, crowned by forty four towers. Colonel Sleeman, of Thuggee fame, pays a well-deserved tribute of admiration to Ilmas Ali, whom he regards as "one of the best and greatest men of any note that Oudh had produced." "During all this time," he writes, "Miyan Almas kept the people secure in life and property, and as happy as people in such a state of society can be; and the whole country under his charge was during his life time a garden." What modern Indian ruler could desire a nobler encomium? The standard of prosperity was equally high under king Sa'adat Ali. This vigorous ruler had difficulties in his path which would have taxed the utmost resources of a

Frederic the Great. His mighty neighbour the honourable Company, was in sore straits for money to carry on a series of wars, great and little; and its demands on the Garden of India were insatiable. The annual subsidy exacted rose from Rs. 500,000 in 1787 to £760,000 six years later. In 1801 another turn of the screw brought up the total to Rs. 1,35,00,000, and the distracted Sa'adat Ali was fain to purchase immunity from further demands by ceding half his dominions. He then set himself to the task of reorganising the administration of the remainder. It was divided into chaklas, of which modern Unao included three entire ones and portion of two more. In every chakla he stationed a strong force of regulars and police to preserve tranquillity and lend the strong arm to the Collectors of revenue at need. The regular troops were paid at the rate of Rs. 4 per mensem, not much more than half the guerdon demanded by the company's sepoys; and the pay of the police was a rupee less. Thus were life and property in Unao rendered as secure as in the best governed British Districts—securer far than in contemporary Bengal. The golden age of the little district was the years between 1740 and 1814 when master-minds such as Ilmas's and Sa'adat Ali's made themselves felt in every branch of the administration. But the native revenue system had inherent defects which brought about its downfall. Sa'adat Ali was a splendid man of business; but he was hard, and remarkably close-fisted. Under the Mogul government, and to a less extent that of his immediate predecessors, supervision was lax and local officials made the collection of revenue an excuse for plunder. Sa'adat Ali sought a remedy for this evil in the introduction of the contract system, under which the collections were farmed out yearly to the highest bidders. While he remained at the helm of affairs, abuses were sternly checked and the mechanism worked smoothly. But he left behind him no successor capable of comprehending his policy in its higher aims, or trained to seek its continuity. His reforms fell into abeyance and the tide of disorder and oppression rose higher than ever. The farmers, who were generally mere speculators, were bound to render the uttermost fraction secured by their bond, and they could not, and they would, show mercy to defaulting proprietors. One class, and one above, battered on the general misery. This was the Taluqdars. They were fostered by the revenue authorities; for the fewer and larger the estates the easier it was to realize government dues. Hence the speedy elevation of the Taluqdars on the ruins of countless smaller proprietors. The cry of the people rose to heaven; and if it did not render annexation in-

evitable it at least afforded a reasonable excuse for the active interference of the British government. On that much-vexed question our chronicle is judiciously reticent. The event was too recent when he wrote to be viewed with the dispassionate judgment which history demands: and as an official of the new province he probably felt that it would be indecorous to discuss the question. We of the present day are on a different standpoint: and these notes may fairly conclude with a few words on the annexation. In weighing the pros and cons we find it clear to that neither the British nor the national party were wholly right or altogether wrong. The Nawabi rule was by no means so unspeakably bad as writers in the interest of the East India Company alleged. The balance of power between parties was, in fact, nicely adjusted. Revenue must be punctually forthcoming at Lucknow to gratify the taste for extravagance or miserly hoarding in which the kings of Oudh indulged. Hence the local representatives of Government were bound at all hazards to prevent combination on the part of taluqdars, and to maintain a conciliatory attitude towards them. Nor could the latter afford to quarrel with subordinate holders: for there were no courts to administer a rigid system of law without regard for persons. Hence differences were generally adjusted by mutual accommodation. The Nawabi principle, writes Sir Charles Elliott, was to drive no one to desperation: the English to mete out to every one the same inexorable justice. No one who knows India can doubt which would be most popular in the country. The same principle underlay the collection of revenue. The Government, and therefore the Zemindar's demands were adjusted to the produce of the harvests. The accession of the English was the signal for a screwing up of revenue to the highest amount ever obtained in Nawabi times, while payment was rigorously insisted on whatever were the fluctuations of agricultural prosperity. It is hardly necessary to ask which method is best adapted to the easy-going oriental character. The one feature of the modern administrations which the most inveterate encomiast of ancient times admits it to excel as the degree of seriously afforded to person and property. But candid native opinion would prefer that exaction and robbery should be rife rather than an unbending law should forbid the indulgence in sacred blood-feuds; and should reduce great families to ruin in order that money lenders might flourish. In the essentials of life and colouring Oudh has undoubtedly lost by the annexation. Lucknow, while the seat of a Royal court, retained no small share of the glories asso-

ciated with oriental rule. Modern India still recks of the counting-house : and the sternly-utilitarian spirit in which government is administered is in itself enough to account for our failure to win the people's hearts. Of the political relations between the company and the court of Oudh which led up to the annexation the less said the better. All honest Englishmen must look back with humiliation and abhorrence at the duplicity and greed which marked the intercourse between the supreme government and its old allies the Subadars of the Deccan, Bengal and Oudh. But better times have dawned. The conscience of England is more acute than it was so lately as 23 years back, when this country was saddled with the cost of an official ball given in London to the Sultan of Turkey. Who can doubt that if the Marquis of Lansdowne were confronted with a situation in Oudh such as that which vexed Lord Dalhousie's soul* the cradle of Indian Monarchy would be suffered to remain beneath the sway of a native race.

* In a letter to his father written during the throes of the mutiny our author gives good reason for his belief that the annexation was not distasteful to one class, at least, whose interests have till lately been deemed beneath the attention of Indian rulers "Clark and I have ridden out this morning some six miles towards the rebels with a small body of cavalry. As we returned home we crossed a small river, and came over the high ground of its bank. The instant we were seen from the first village, coming from the direction of the rebels we heard shrieks and cries ; every one put his plough to his shoulder and drove his oxen before him—women rushed off into the nearest wood, the whole village was deserted. As we got closer to it, we saw a man lurking about and called to him. He uttered a shout, rushed inside and brought out the zemindar, who came running towards us half laughing. "Oh Sahab !" said he, "We thought you were the rebels !" "What !" I said, laughing, "do I look like a badmash ?" "No, saheb," was the reply, "but we could not distinguish, and we took you for Bismam Singh." "The moment they found out we were English the whole village returned at once, and in half an hour twenty ploughs were going merrily again. The same happened with the next village ; and returning home we overtook its two zemindars who were on their way to our camp at Burree to tell us that Bismam Singh (a rebel leader of note) had come. I do not hesitate to say the popular feeling is intense desire for our rule among the ryots." Letter from Mr. C. A. Elliott to the Rev. H. V. Elliott quoted at pp. 80, 81 of *Gubbins' Mutinies in Oudh.*)

BIRTHDAY BREATHINGS.

It is my birth-day! Six times seven years,
 With the successive changes—woes and joys
 Of childhood, playing with its idle toys—
 Of girlhood, with its trials, tasks, and tears—
 Young womanhood, with its glamour romance—
 All come and gone alas! as in a trance!
 Hail! sober middle-age, when I became
 Aware that I was changed—the world the same
 As ever was externally—gay, bright
 And beautiful—its modest daily dawn
 Blushing as I did when I first confessed
 I loved! And then the sun's meridian blaze,
 Its setting kaleidoscopic tints,
 The chaste moon with her phases—countless stars,
 The verdant vesture in which nature most
 Arrays herself, bedecked with thousand-hued
 And grateful smelling flowers, the song of birds,
 The roar of water-falls, the majesty
 Of ocean and the grand sublimity
 Of mountains, forests, tempests, hush of calms—
 Making us feel our insignificance!
 These all renew themselves as seasons roll—
 Man's youth returns not, for he has a soul
 Superior to this earth—Heaven is its goal!
Within? the play of passions—what a world!

But o'er my mind had grown the gloom of night,
 For many whom I loved, who loved me too
 From immemorial time had, one by one,
 Been far removed, and strangers numberless,
 Some suddenly and some by slow decay!
 I *still* thought all men mortal but myself—
 At last death knocked at my own door, a shock
 From which I felt I *never* should recover—
 And now I *know* that I *too* needs must
 Some day—at any moment! What a dream
 The past has been! Have I indeed gone through
 So much and yet survive? Ah! why did I
 Outlive my parents, early friends and Her—
 Why need have I been born at all—was it
 For this—to find the earth a sepulchre,
 Myself an animated sentient corpse,
 Just waiting for my turn to drop unseen
 Down into the damp, dark and dreary grave,
 And this most beautiful and cherished form

But putrify, lose its identity—
 The intellectual being sink into
 A mere abstraction? No! It cannot be!
 Else all the noble thoughts, the hopes, the fears
 And aspirations of a human soul,
 Its longing after Immortality—
 The sweet amenities of Friendship—Life—
 Its tender sentiments, kind looks and words
 Here spoken face to face, sealed with a kiss,
 Or wafted from long distances at which
 Man's towering inventive genius laughs,
 Annihilating Time and Space at will,
 Conveying messages of Sympathy,
 Congratulations from a loyal heart—
 The tokens, trifling in themselves perchance,
 But eloquent and precious as the warm
 Expressions of affectionate regard—
All must be nonsense, hollow mockery
 If they're intended only to effect
 A *temporary* bond of love! It *cannot* be!
 The past *is* present and the distant near,
 Though by a slender link connected—fond
 Remembrance! and since *that* deathless endures
 Through such vicissitudes of time and place,
 Mother of Hope—immortal Memory!—
Why should I *not* believe the blessed dead
Still live transfigured—every mortal sense
 Intensified—perception exquisite—
 Etherialized, like air, that may be *felt*
 If seen not outwardly, because these eyes
 Are gross, blindfolded, earthy of the earth!
 There is an inner sight—the subtle soul's
 Which, when the body slumbers, set free, sees
 Strange airy forms—an inner ear that hears
 Angelic music! *Is this too a dream?*
 But are not dreams prophetic sometimes? Yes!
 Then *they* indubitably prove my point!
 Come, Sister! I invoke thee—I *command*—
 She comes! and I am comforted at last!

Oh! glorious girl! midst light exceeding noon,
 With rainbow wreathed and standing on the moon,
 Twelve brilliant stars compose thy diadem,
 And yet *thy* beauty *half* eclipses them!
 What gentle dignity, what matchless grace,
 What sweet simplicity in that kind face,
 Benign indulgence, matron modesty,
 Without a trace of sensuality
 Which mars the satiated countenance
 Of mortals in a meretricious trance—
 Those eyes so large, so dark and yet so light,

That brow so broad, so calm and yet so bright,
 Where all Thoughts, high and holy, sit enthroned,
 Never by earthly saint or scholar owned—
 That mouth, those lips—the seat of chastity—
 Kisses invite that silence levity—
 The total form; whose parabolic curves
 Perpetually change with plastic nerves,
 Assuming ever *more* æsthetic shapes,
 Such as a child or actress vainly apes—
 Arrayed in finest linen, crystal clear,
 With golden girdle—Ah!!! *Why* disappear?
Come back—STAY with me—let me follow thee!—
 She soars—smiles—whispers, “Wait, thou’lt be *like* me!
 “I am the ‘Blessed Mary’—love my Son!
 “*Now* your *first* Resurrection has begun!
 “Upon *no* *mundane* object fix your Love—
 “The saints in glory love the Lamb above!
 “Such the Transfiguration of our Lord—
 “Such shall His followers be—we have His word!”

What is the fragrance that now lingers here?—
 “The spirits pure create this atmosphere!”

So the whole person of a friend's first wife
 Emitted perfume during her earth-life—
 He had a sister too, whose very breath
 Like new-mown hay smelt—deified by Death!

As the vision vanished by the Virgin's side
 I—saw—my—sister—now the Saviour's Bride!

While I *still* gazed, in mute astonishment,
 The sky seemed automatically rent,
 Through boundless space, impenetrably blue,
 The wondrous couple without effort flew,
 Attended by ten thousand thousand saints—
 Intoxicating sight—my spirit faints!
 They sing Mozart's majestic *Requiem*—
 Let me die *now*, my God! and be with them!
 I've heard the Earthly Kings and Queens of Song
 In Italy and England—*all* sing wrong!
 This—*this is Music!* Hast heard Spirits sing?
I have! and their tones in my ears still ring!
No language can express that soothing strain—
 Subdued—exultant!—This was the refrain:—

Joy on Earth and Joy in Heaven—
 Unto God be Glory given!
 Loved and loving Sister dear
 Into this Seraphic Sphere
 Art thou wafted—welcome here!

That's an Acrostic on *my* name, brother!
 I wish on Maggie's they would make another!
 Hark! they respond *at once!* Oh! Holy Mother!

Maidens, matrons, men and boys
 All are welcome to our joys—
 Reading, writing, *still we do*—
 Gain *more* knowledge, just like *you* !
 All the pleasures of the mind
 Reach their climax here—*refined* !
 Every Blessing you desire
 These will give you—*try—aspire* !!

This is most strange! Spirits *all* understand—
 Can caution, comfort, counsel and command !
 "Man is a Spirit in a coat of clay
 To be cast off, like other coats, some day!"

* * * *

Do I feel *lonely* ? Some are *more* alone !
 Or am I *sad* ? There are *much sadder* hearts !
 The luxuries of life surround me here—
 Others with bare necessities content,
 And many in such woeful want, alas !
 Cold, hunger, thirst, and nakedness, disease,
 Distress unutterable and despair,
 Or loss of Reason—worse than death itself !
 Who grants me this immunity from want,
 From maddening pain ? What constitutes my claim
 To such indulgence ? Merit I have *none* !
 Then "what is man that Thou art mindful" thus
 Of him, good Lord ! 'Tis *all* Thy boundless Love !—
 Give me Contentment, Peace and Gratitude—
 Let me be still and murmur not that Thou
 Hast taken *Her* from me who was more dear
 Than life—to save whom I had gladly died !
 Why did I not, when life was ebbing, bare
 My *own* arm to the Surgeon's lancet, and
 Allow some of my blood to be transfused
 Into her veins ? Regret is useless now !
 But 'twas for her advancement—Death to Life—
 The Higher Life—and *mine* too ! Oh ! forgive
 My past idolatry—Thou givest me
 Another charge to *help* besides the soul
 Thou didst bestow when first I saw the light—
 This sweet *wee* thing, of all Thy creatures, Lord,
 Into this *sad* world born, in Infancy
 Most helpless, and depending on a weak
 Woman's love quite for its continuance here—
 Not even able to exist *sans* that
 In perfect Manhood—yet Thy noblest work !
 What possibilities are in this germ
 Contained ! a Shakespere, Newton, Mill, Mozart—
 To charm or revolutionize a world !
 A vein as yet untried—it may yield gold !
 I want to save it, Master, for Thy cause—

To pay it back to Thee with Interest—
 Could I not nurse it? I have read somewhere—
 Campbell's midwifery—that *a father did*—
 A messenger of Thine, a man of prayer—
 The mother died, like his, in Africa;
 To soothe its clamour he applied the child
 To his *own* breast—the latent nourishment
 Secreted—for the glands are just the same
 But dormant for the want of use—behold
 A mystery—*man is bisexual!*
 The Roman daughter, too, in prison fed
 Her father, Cimon, from her virgin breast!
Love was the motive power—the effort *will!*
 The age of miracles is not yet passed—
 Lord grant me Faith, and more enlightenment—
 Knowledge is power—vouchsafe *Thou* the strength—
 Let me not waver—"whatsoever ask"—
 And "greater works than these"—I have Thy word—
 Enough for me—my timid heart *be brave!*

This little mite attracts me like a loadstone—
 On *me* depends for *all* its baby wants
 And makes me feel the blissful agony
 Of a young mother's love! How my heart leaps
 When, in responding to its feeble cry,
 I strive to guess, *and guess* what it requires,
 Steal softly to its cradle—if beside
 Me, gently turn for fear of crushing it—
 To see if it *still* breathes, *still* lives and smiles—
 Rich recompense for all my pleasing pains!
 In the silent vigils of the long lone nights,
 Worn out at length, and sunk to *sleep*, but scarce
 To *rest*—wake with a sudden start to find
 'Twas but the moaning of the wind and not
 His voice—the cheat of a *too* anxious mind!
 Oh! be at rest my fond *still doubting (?)* heart!
 My guardian Angel and I'm sure his own,
 Perhaps his mother's sainted spirit near—
 How better else could she be occupied?—
 Watch o'er us, waking or asleep—*I know*,
 Since they've no night, *they* sleep not, never tire,
 Nor their kind offices of Love relax—
 For they have simply triumphed *out of Self*,
 And live for others only—*this is Love!*
 Unmixed incomparable Happiness—
 And I am tasting it this moment! *Why*
 Did I so late against Thy will rebel,
 My Father? *now* I see Thy Love, Thy power
 In using feeble instruments,—a child,
 A broken, crushed, and disappointed man,
 Regenerated vessels—Peter—Paul—
 To work out Thy own highest purposes—

The founding of Thy *true*, NEW CHURCH on earth—
The subjugation of *my* will to THINE !

What is this new experience which I scarce
To my own self can own—*why* do I feel
Intensely happy—why does nature seem
Ten times more beauteous than before? I see
With *other* eyes, hear sounds with *other* ears,
And wonder at the perfect harmony
That all pervades—thought meeting thought ere from
The lips it has had time to shape itself
Into a spoken word. *Why* does a *Dirge*,
An *Elegy* which, in the days gone by
I would have flung aside, now haunt me so?
I hear them chanted in such thrilling tones
As only can proceed from one who's drained
The cup of misery to its last dregs,
And sounding to its dark, profoundest depths
The human heart has, like metallic scrap
From the blast-furnace, come out purified—
Fruits of Affliction's wholesome discipline!
My God! I did not think it possible
That Thou, in mercy smiting, wouldst apply
Such solace to my troubled spirit—"Thou
In heart the broken healest—bindest up
Our wounds" in verity—all praise to Thee!
Oh! treat me, *use* me as Thou wilt, for *now*
I can say—"not my will but Thine be done" !

Dear brother! sad co-partner of my grief,
Thou loved and loving consort of the sweet
Angelic Sister whom I mourn, who barga
This darling cherub, her sole pledge of love
Connubial—my heart is now too full
For utterance—*Thou* know'st my thoughts—had *she*
Been here to-day our joy had b'en complete—
Come with me to her grave, there let us place
Some of her favourite flowers, weeping there.
The *dead*? The LIVING! dearly love such gifts—
They have the power to *make* them! *Rest in Peace!*

So when the light of ~~my~~ *my*—Innocence—
Its ~~livers~~ *livers* deserted, *speechless*, hand in hand
Our poor first parents took their lonely way!
Not thus the second Adam! Through the tomb
To Light and Life and Love ineffable
He leads our steps—"I am the Way, the Truth, the Life"!

The child is crying, brother, I will sing
To him, electrify him, mesmerise
Or hypnotise him—music has the power
Even to cure diseases—Let us try!
I've heard sweet voices in the air ever

Since childhood, nor can I forget how *she*,
 The *best* of mothers, MINE, sang me to sleep,
 Or soothed my infant griefs and pains away
 By her soul-penetrating tones—she sang
 And prayed, with zeal, with plentitude of faith,
 With holy rapture glowing in her face
 And accents—Model Mother!—Spotless Saint!
 She taught my lips to lisp a Prayer and Song—
Music is the language of the soul,
All creation breathes it, old or young;
Reaching from the Earth to Heaven, its goad;
Tell me, could there be a sweeter tongue?
Hath this world a newer, nicer pleasure,—
Ancient though it be, and simple beyond measure?

BABY'S SONG.

Baby, baby, beautiful boy!	You rolled, unable,
Dance to this measure—	Baby, baby—for help to call?
<i>You are my treasure—</i>	6.
Baby, baby—hope, crown and joy!	Baby, baby, <i>father</i> is near—
2.	Chase all his sadness
Baby, baby, what do you <i>say</i> ?	With your young gladness;
Like a dove cooing,	Baby, baby, <i>love</i> Aunty dear!
Or lovers wooing—	7.
Baby, baby— <i>all</i> through the day!	Baby, baby, <i>why</i> do you cry?
3.	<i>What</i> is your trouble?
Baby, baby, what do you <i>see</i>	Earth-life's a bubble—
When you are dreaming,	Baby, baby— <i>Never say die</i> !
<i>So</i> happy seeming?	8.
Baby, baby— <i>Her</i> it must be! *	Baby, baby, what is your <i>fate</i> ?
4.	Sickness or sorrow
Baby, baby, what do you <i>hear</i> ?	May come tomorrow—
Both eyes <i>wide</i> open,	Baby, baby, who'll be your mate?
Your looks betoken—	9.
Baby, baby—Music—'tis clear!	Baby, baby, be of good cheer!
5.	Angels defend thee,
Baby, baby, <i>who</i> broke your fall	Spirits attend thee—
When, off the table	Baby, baby,—Jesus is here!

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—To J. C.—Dear Spiritual Sister—I have retouched and now publish your "Bird-day Thoughts" for the good of all who will accept them—*You Know they embody the Truth*. The friend's first wife, Eleanor, mine, entered the spirit world at Allahabad on 19th August 1865 and *I saw her transfiguration*, but did not understand it *then*! She was simply a *perfect* Spiritual Being in form as well as faculties. Your Sister's second Resurrection—death—took place on the 5th June last. I have your evidence that I was spiritually present at the time, and she thrice

* Or, Angels they be!

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THE UNCOVENANTED JUDICIAL SERVICE.

It is a matter of congratulation to all genuine lovers and well-wishers of this country that the signs of the times are peculiarly auspicious at the present moment. A nobleman of pronounced liberal views and a distinguished statesman is at the helm and has for his Lieutenant one whose strength of character, singleness of purpose, penetrating intelligence, hatred of idle routine and empty show, and thorough business habits are already matters of history and who seems to be actuated by an earnest desire to preserve the continuity of the enlightened policy of his most sympathetic predecessor. The recent declarations of the Viceroy are eminently cheering and promising. The seed of political progress sown by Lord Ripon fell into a ready soil and soon sprouted into a seedling the vitality of which was put to a severe test by Lord Dufferin who in his recorded Minute bore practical testimony to its sufficiency. And the seedling watered by Lord Lansdowne with the dews of heavenly freedom promises soon to develop into a goodly tree capable of affording shelter under its spreading branches in times of need to the Rulers and the Ruled alike. On the other hand the signs of social reform are no less hopeful and pronounced. The recent outburst may or may not be followed by legislative enactment, but the agitation like a storm in the physical world is sure to be fraught with good which will make ample amends for the temporary ravages in the world of feeling and sentiments. Principles of education under the able guidance

of our beloved Vice-Chancellor seem about to be directed into wiser channels. The cause of technical education is getting a stronger hold on the minds of thinkers though its close affinity with science seems to be still eluding their grasp notwithstanding the able, eloquent and persistent advocacy of Dr. Sankar. The relief of females in illness is now fairly assured though Bengal ever foremost in talk seems yet unable to wipe off the reproach of stinginess whether the object of sympathy be the Congress, the Science Association or the Lady Dufferin Fund. Turning now to more materialistic points of view the prospects of some of the bread-winning departments seem to be no less encouraging. The success of the Uncovenanted Service Association should be an example of the value of persistent constitutional agitation to less backward branches of the service. The prospects of Deputy Magistrates and the Sub-Deputies have been put on a better footing since Sir Stewart Bayley's regime under the wise counsels of his able Secretary Sir J. W. Edgar. But alas there is a rift in the lute. We are suddenly confronted by a strange hiatus when we look to the Uncovenanted Judicial Service and especially to the lower rungs of the ladder.

The munsifs are verily a cursed lot. They are the stepsons of government. Houseless and friendless they go their weary round till overtaken by premature old age. Judgment-grinding machines as they are, they soon come to grind out their health and brains. In the bitter struggle for existence, the odds are strongly against them and very few come out unscathed from the conflict. The fell diabetes, lumbago, sciatica, rheumatism, neuralgia and their kindred claim them as their own. And no wonder that they should.

Pressed by superior authorities on the one hand to clear off their files as best they may, pinched by conscience on the other hand to try to do justice according to their lights and to unravel the tangled web set before them and to sift the few grains of truth from the mass of chaff, they are between the horns of a pretty dilemma indeed. They are worse than whole-time labourers. Sagely taught to be punctual and to teach punctuality to others, they are directed to be on the Bench not later than 11 A.M. But they might go on working till midnight without being told to stop. And this is not all. They are not even masters of the few hours they have outside of Court, for they have mostly to think out and write out their Judgments at home. They may be patted on the back as the veriest jade but that is all the guerdon for which some not only sacrifice their health and life but seriously pre-

judice their more prudent brethren in the eyes of the authorities. And yet sooth to say though it must be confessed with regret and shame, this is but human nature.

It is all very well to talk of their sedentary lives but what could the poor fellows do? The inexorable law of demand and supply often proves too much for them. Time was when a graduate was coaxed into accepting service but now the cry is—still they come. If one falls off the ranks there are only too many to take his place. What wonder then that they are less cared for now than before? Be it noted that we are not considering the ancient days when Judicial officers were paid by commission and left to supplement it as best they might.

Time was when 25 cases were considered a fair out-turn of a munsif's monthly work, and it may be within the recollection of some of our elders to what shifts those officers were often driven to make up even that paltry number, how cases used to be manufactured simply to keep a munsif afloat. The annual civil administration Reports teem with instructive statistics. In comparison with the foregoing, just think what food for reflection is furnished by the fact that during the past official year the out-turn of the Mofussil Courts was 461,298 suits and the institution 457,021. Some more concrete instances may make our meaning clearer. In a pamphlet published by Babu Sarodaprosad Sen, B. L., for the purpose of attracting the attention of the Public Service Commission some valuable comparative tables have been given which may well bear quotation.

Taking the years 1880 to 1884 the work of the bonafide munsifs will appear from the following Tabular Statement:—

Years.	No. of officers.	Contested.	Un-contested.	Total original cases decided.	Miscellaneous cases decided.
1880 ...	217	83,139	238,913	322,052	179,411
1881 ...	222	86,459	242,974	329,433	148,958
1882 ...	231*	82,978	263,687	346,665	160,051
1883 ...	231	83,944	267,422	351,366	164,231
1884 ...	236	88,140	276,052	364,192	173,985
Average of five years ...	227	84,932	257,809	342,741	165,327

Now deducting the average number of holidays within those 5 years, the average annual number of working days comes to 252.

* This is apparently an error and should evidently be 230.

Hence the average daily work done by a munsif during those 5 years will be at once evident. It is moreover obvious that this average would be perceptibly increased if account be taken of unexpected holidays, sudden illness, casual leave and the like. But statistics can shew only the numerical extent of the work which can hardly give a fair idea of the actual quantitative value of the work. It is well known how much time an ordinary contested case takes. But there is generally an impression abroad that cases tried under Small Cause Court powers take very little time. Now no mistake can be more palpable. The only comfort of a munsif trying such cases is that his hand need not be employed so fully as his ears. True he has not to write depositions in full and read them over to the witnesses but he has to hear the depositions and the arguments all the same as well as to think out his judgment though he may express it in fewer words than in appealable cases. Besides, the shorter the evidence the more difficult the decision. Then as to regular suits, there may at times be only one or two witnesses examined but these may attest a heap of documents, e. g., a series of accounts or a host of rent receipts. In such cases a munsif has got to sit still with pen in hand and to mark each exhibit and make sundry endorsements thereon as one after another is handed over to him by the witness who spends a good deal of time in pouring over each and turning it on all sides. Then the time taken by a witness in answering a question does not and cannot appear on record. The High Court has this year promulgated a rule that the number of witnesses examined should be entered against each case in the Courts' Diary. But from what has been said above it will be obvious how inefficacious such entries would be to shew the actual work of an officer who will thus be gratuitously saddled with extra drudgery. As to *exparte* cases it should be remembered that service of summons on defendants cannot be too carefully scrutinised, and this is a work of time. So that this part of the work is no mere sinecure as even some district Judges seem to think who have been translated to the appellate Bench without having had personal experience of such work. Then a munsif has got to spend an hour daily on the average in simply signing papers. As to miscellaneous cases it is well known that sometimes nice and perplexing questions crop up rivalling those which form the subject of regular suits. The poor munsifs would seem to be even worse off than their peons. The average number of processes to be served by a peon annually has been fixed in consideration of the nature of particular localities at 200, 250 or 300; whereas the indefinite amount of a

munsif's work will be indicated by the fact that the administration Reports give prominence to cases where the annual outturn exceeds 5000 decisions. In this state of things it cannot at all be a matter of surprise if during the last year there was an earnest cry from many a district for additional hands which the authorities have been unable to supply.

As to the qualitative work of a munsif it would appear from statistics of the aforesaid 5 years that fully 75 p. c. of the lower courts, appealable decisions were not appealed against; and of the remaining 25 p. c. that were appealed to the district court about 66 p. c. were confirmed, about 14 p. c. modified or remanded, and only about 20 p. c. reversed. It may be safely presumed that about half the number of decisions modified are practically confirmations of the same. So that the number of confirmations virtually amount to 73 p. c. Then it is a well known fact that many a munsif's decision though reversed by the district court is often confirmed by the High Court, and failing there is finally upheld by Her Majesty's Privy Council. It is doubtful if a better record can be shewn by any other country.

Of late the nature of the work turned out by a munsif in the exercise of Small Cause Court powers has it is feared come to be looked upon with disfavour by the authorities. But this result if it is based on facts is only what could be expected in the struggle of quantity *vs.* quality. It is surely too late in the day to attribute the result to a sudden deterioration in the personnel of officers when a consensus of opinion has ever been pointing to a steady improvement. The opinions of some eminent men may here be quoted with advantage.

In course of the discussion in the Supreme Legislative Council in 1877 regarding the proposal to reduce the Jurisdiction of the subordinate Judicial officers, Maharajah Bahadur Sir Jotindromohan Tagore said.—“He was not aware that there was any thing to shew that these officers had deteriorated either in character or competency.” Sir A. Arbuthnot came to the conclusion after consideration of the evidence on the point “that the efficiency of the subordinate courts during the last 20 years had vastly and remarkably increased.” Sir A. Eden, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, declared that “nothing shewed so clearly the good effect education had had in this country as the extraordinary improvement which had taken place of late years in the efficiency and morality of the Subordinate Judges and our Judicial Establishments generally.” Sir R. Temple in one of his administration reports stated that “the universal opinion (of all sorts of persons

likely to know, European and native, official and non official) attests the integrity and probity of the native Judges, i.e., the Subordinate Judges and the Munsifs." The High Court in one of its reports said—"the Court has had increasing reason to be satisfied with the performance and promise of the inferior Judicial officers The character of this class of officers has long stood high but the superior mode in which the business of their courts is now transacted fully attests the wisdom of the Government in improving their condition in respect of emoluments and prospects." Sir L. Jackson said with regard to the munsifs that "they continue as a class to improve in carefulness and to bear a high character" and that they "even at the beginning of their career are well prepared for the performance of their Judicial duties, and failure in that respect is of great rarity." Sir R. Couch remarked that "the appeal from a munsif is in most cases heard by a Judge who is not superior in knowledge or ability to the Judge whose decision is appealed against"; in some instances, he is inferior." Justice H. V. Bayley in comparing munsifs with the old class of Subordinate Judges said of the former that he "not only discharges his duty with ability but with a faithfulness and care and perspicuity which is certainly not surpassed if it is equalled (except in cases of promotion from the same style of men) by some of the subordinate native Judges who hear the Munsif's appeals." Justice Markby in speaking of the munsifs repeated his conviction that it was impossible to deny that "the courts of appeal in lower Bengal are frequently below them." Dr. Field in the introduction to his edition of the Regulations stated that "the history of the native Judicial Service is one of great interest and within the last few years especially of remarkable progress." Justice Prinsep in his excellent minute of 1885 stated that "in education, in intelligence, in devotion to the public service, in public estimation, the officers of the subordinate Judicial service are not surpassed by those of any other department under government." In an article in the contemporary Review Sir A. Hobhouse in 1883 remarked of the Indian Civil Judges that "they are found on the whole to be as fair, as acute in detecting frauds, as averse to trumped up charges as their European colleagues." And a Lord Chancellor of England in one of his speeches declared that "the judgments of the native Judges bore most favorable comparison as a general rule with the judgments of the English Judges" and that "in every instance, in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the

judgments arrived at, the native judgments were quite as good as those of English Judges."

Thus there is no doubt that the munsifs are extolled highly in words for their work. But this is like the halo of glory over the head of the great man on the cross. And theirs indeed is a true martyrdom. Starve them but hold them up as ornaments of Government service, seems to be now the prevailing policy. Could the force of irony go further? Be it remembered that it is through these officers that a considerable amount of grist is brought to the mill of the exchequer. A reference to the annual reports and the Budget statements will at once shew the large amount of surplus on the head of Civil Justice. And yet the authorities seem to be quite cynical at their woes.

It required a man of the stamp of the late Sir Louis Jackson to wring for them the privilege of having punkhas over their heads and the appendage of 'Rai Bahadur' after their names. And they are thankful for these and other recognitions of their worth. But times are changed. Even the ante-diluvian name of 'munsiif' is still retained. It is now a sheer cry in the wilderness. And it is all the same who takes up this better cry. Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Justice Prinsep have been crying themselves hoarse over their grievances, Sir R. Garth has been writing about them in and out of India, Sir G. C. Paul has been extolling them before the Public Service Commission, but the gods are unmoved.

It is needless here to repeat a thrice told tale and to enumerate their grievances. Want of houses and suitable courts, the mere shadow of privilege leave they are tantilised with, a dead block in the way of promotion unrelieved by temporary promotions and even the prompt filling up of vacancies that crop up occasionally, are some of the most glaring of their woes. And yet something worse still is perhaps in store for them. In connection with the recent proposal to create honorary munsifs some have been suggesting to banish the paid munsifs to the interior to be left there to darkness and to themselves as in days of yore, and to reserve towns and such places to suit the convenience of the would-be honoraries. Well may the Munsifs cry in anguish—*save us from our friends!*

It is equally idle to suggest remedies. Many a valuable suggestion lies buried in the official shelves. Would that some sympathising hand brought them to light and gave them effect! Much was expected of the commission of Mr. Stevens but the whole thing now seems likely to end in smoke after a mass of exhausting if not exhaustive correspondence between the civil and the executive authorities.

It may not however be quite out of place here to refer to some of the remedies that have at times been suggested. The ground may be cleared at the outset by shewing up the financial aspect of the question in its true light. A reference to statistics would at once convince the most sceptic that the judicial service of the country is more than self-supporting. The following is a statement of the receipts and expenditure of the mofussil civil courts during the years 1879—84.

Years.	Receipt.	Charges.	Surplus.	Nett Income.	No. of munsifs employed
1879 ...	61,18,248	29,33,482	31,84,766	26,52,798	214
1880 ...	62,06,687	29,99,328	32,07,359	27,11,450	217
1881 ...	61,66,149	31,82,699	29,83,470	24,54,415	222
1882 ...	66,12,933	33,96,066	32,16,867	26,51,776	230
1883 ...	67,68,829	34,72,635	32,96,194	27,71,709	231
1884 ...	69,74,570	34,71,961	35,02,609	29,73,232	236

Thus it is clear that an increase in the number of hands has not been a losing concern in the past. Indeed a reference to statistics would go to shew that while the number of munsifs has been increased by about 15 per cent. the increase in the number of cases instituted during the aforesaid period has been about 57 per cent. In other words work has increased nearly four times the increase of hands to dispose of it. Hence the Government need be under no apprehension of financial difficulty in sanctioning an adequate increase of officers in all the existing grades. But this in itself will only give temporary relief. At present there are 4 grades of munsifs—75 in the 1st @ Rs. 400 per month,—70 in the 2nd @ Rs. 300—65 in the 3rd @ Rs. 250—and 25 in the 4th @ Rs. 200 per mensem. The lowest pay of a subordinate Judge is Rs. 600—the leap though tempting is becoming more and more difficult of attainment. And a bird in hand is worth two in the bush. Surely a grade of munsifs @ Rs. 500 could easily be created and if its pecuniary Jurisdiction be increased the arrangement would also afford substantive relief to Subordinate Judges. And wise Government, though in this case without any fear of financial crises, should not be solely guided by a pound, shilling, pence view of things. The reform would be a real boon and its moral effect in cheering up the drooping spirits of the desponding officers would simply be immense.

As to accommodation, something indeed is now being done in the direction of court houses but more still remains to be done. "It is not to the honor or credit of a great Government" said the High Court in 1886 that "one of its highest functions—the administration of Justice—should be performed in wretched, ill-lighted and dilapidated huts, &c." Nor—it may be safely added—is it conducive to the proper discharge of the high function. As to the private dwellings, Mr. Justice Prinsep in 1885 remarked—"the Munsif must be content with the best lodging that he may procure; and when this court is often placed in a small village the only lodging procurable is so unsuitable that he is forced to send his wife and family to his own home." And the effect of this state of things may be easily conceived from whatever point of view we may choose to look at it. Nor do the munsifs fare much better even in sub-divisions. There—to quote Mr. Justice Prinsep again—"the Deputy Magistrate lives in comfort in a building belonging to Government" while the poor munsif has to shift for himself. A decent lodging cannot often be had for love or money. They would be glad to pay fair rent if Government thought it worth their while to build suitable lodgings on some standard plan. As it is the munsifs do not feel interested in most cases to build suitable houses on their own account, for their stay at a station is generally very short now-a-days—not to mention the difficulty in acquiring by private efforts suitable sites near the courts the importance of which is well-known to all mofussilites; the difficulty in disposing on transfer of a house which may not be suitable to the successor; the difficulty in leaving the management of repair, &c., in case the house be let out on hire.

Temporary promotions are perhaps given in almost all other departments of Government Service, and it passes one's comprehension why the beneficent rule is not extended to the unfortunate Judicial officers in cases of deputation, furlough and the like. It is well known that while formerly a munsif could after 10 or 12 years of service be a subordinate Judge, now an acting appointment even in that grade is not possible before 15 or 16 years of service. And at this rate the time is not far off when even 26 years' service will not be enough for the attainment of that post. In this connection it may be well to notice that the authorities seem often prone to recommend extension of service to those who ought to retire under the ordinary rules. Now much of course may be said against a hard and fast rule on the subject. No doubt Government is entitled to reap the full benefit of the experience the acquisition of which has been well paid for. But no-

body seems to fully realise the fact that there is such a thing in the world as dissipation of energy. When a munsif who has not been thought fit to be made a Subordinate Judge is allowed to hold on apparently indefinitely it is high time to think that the line should be firmly drawn some-where.

The privilege leave on half pay is a matter of serious inconvenience if not of grave injustice. The result is—none would take it if he can manage to help it somehow or other. The effect of this is also ruinous to those candidates who elect to serve on the bench and in the vain hope of getting acting appointments for short spells have to give up regular attendance at the bar and thus to lose all possible chance of prospects there. The Dusserah holidays are prescribed more with an eye to the convenience of the public than that of the Judicial officers. Hence whether the officers wanted to be away from their stations or not the courts must be closed is all the same. But to steal a march on the poor judicial officers on this account is hardly fair. The proviso about being 'detained on duty' may be availed of by district judges who may hold sessions or hear criminal appeals during the interim and sometimes by Subordinate Judges who may be left in temporary charge of the district office, but there is no chance of the munsiffs ever getting the benefit of it. It would be some relief if the rule were so modified that officers electing to stay at their stations during the long vacation would be allowed privilege leave on full pay under the ordinary rules when actually needed.

From the humble munsifs to the throne of the Viceroy is a far cry. But much is expected of Lord Lansdowne. Would he deign a look on these hardworked members of an important branch of the Government Service, so neglected of late, on whom the effect of despair is not likely to be salutary to public interests ?

THE MARRIAGE AGITATION.

The article styled "the Marriage Agitation" written by "A Bengal Hindu" and published in the last December issue of the National Magazine, represents the popular view of Bengal on the question of the marriage laws of the Hindus. I entirely agree with the writer in holding that "We must try our best and we must try heart and soul to make our children better respecters of social and domestic discipline, and respecters of the shaster." In order to do this, we should define our shasters and promulgate its principles and precepts. Although our religious workers have clearly defined our shasters, it is now unknown to more than 90 per cent. of our population. I do not make this statement at random nor the percentage is an exaggeration. When I say this I speak my experience of more than 30 years in various parts of India. The popular definition of the shaster is multifarious and differs with about every man. I therefore think that it would be useful to reproduce the true definition as given by all the saints of antiquity and place it before the orthodox communities for acceptance or criticism.

It consists of the Vedas, Sutras, Smrities, Itihasa, Puranas, inclusive of Ramayana, the Works of the Founders of Sects and of various Commentators thereon and of Text-writers, and one's satisfied consciousness. Of these, the preceding is higher in authority than the succeeding.

Rig Veda is divided into (1) Samhita or Mantras, or prayers, consisting of 8 Astakas or 10 Mandalas; (2) Aitareya Brahmana which is divided into 8 Books called Punchikas; (3) Aitareya Aranyaka which comprises 18 Chapters, distributed in 5 Books or Aranyakas, a part of this being (4) Aitareya Upanishid. (5) Caushitake Upanishid belongs to this Veda. Aswalayana Grihya Sutra, with Narayan Vriti, and the Shrouta Sutra, belong to Rig Veda.

Yajur Veda consists of two branches, (A) the Krishna or Black, and (B) Shookla or White. (A) Krishna or Taiteria as it is often called, is more copious in Mantras than the White Yajush,

but is less copious than the Rig Veda. (1) Samhita of the Krishna Yajur Veda is arranged in 7 Books called Astakas or Kandas. The second part of this Veda is (2) Aranya. It is divided into 8 Kandas. The last two Kandas are (3) Upanishids, *vis.*—Taittiriya Upanishid and Narayana Upanishid. One of the Shakhas of Yajur Veda is called Maitrayani. It contains Maitrayani Upanishid. So does another Shakha called Kata contain Kata Upanishid. Svetaswetera belongs to another Shakha of this Veda. Apastamba Grihya Sutra and Srouta Sutra belong to this Veda.

B. Shookla Yajur Veda or White Yajur Veda consists of (1) Vajasanaya Samhita. It is the shortest of the Vedas and is comprised in forty lectures called Adhyas. The last of them consists of Isha Vassya Upanishid. It has two Shakhas, *vis.*, Madhyamdini and Kanva.

Its Bramhana, *vis.*, Shatapatha Bramhana consists of 14 Books. The Fourteenth book is called Brahadaranyaka. It consists of 9 Chapters or 7 lectures. The 5 last lectures form Brahadaranyaka Upanishid. This Veda has its Grinya Sutra and Srouta Sutra.

Sama Veda consists of (1) Samhita or Archika of (2) Brahmanas, *vis.*, Shadvimsha Brahmana, containing 26 Chapters, Adbhoota Brahmana, Panchavimsha Brahmana which contains 25 Chapters. Another still is known as Tandya Brahman. Its important (3) Upanishid is called Chandogya Upanishid. It contains 3 Chapters called Prapatikas. Kena Upanishid belongs to the Shakha of Talavakaras. Gobhila Grihya Sutra and Srouta Sutra belong to Sama Veda.

Atherva Veda consists of (1) Samhita, (2) Gopatha Brahmana and (3) Upanishids. The Samhita contains 20 Books or Candas, Gopatha Brahmana has 5 Chapters of Prapatikas.

Upanishids are said to number 52. Of these 52 Upanishids, the following are commented on or referred to by the founders of the important sects of Hinduism:—1 Mundaka; 2 Prasna; 3 Manduka; 4 Katavally and 5 Kana. Regarding other Upanishids various beliefs prevail. Some are considered as modern additions by sectarians, while others are supposed to be of minor importance. The first 5 are admitted as Upanishids by all Aryans extant.

The Sutras are divided into Grihya, Srouta and Bramha. The Grihya Sutras treat of the rituals to be performed from the conception of a human body in the womb to its disposal after death. They prescribe the several ceremonies to be performed at diverse stages of life. These are intended to purify first the body, then the intellect and finally the heart. These Sutras prescribe education for a period of 24 years and then leading a virtuous, harmless

and pure life which would purify the body, brighten the intellect, ennoble the heart and prepare one for habitation in better worlds.

The first ceremony is called Nisheka. It should be performed when it is clear that conception has taken place. The second is Poomsavanam, and should be performed before Spondanam or moving of the child in the womb takes place. The third is Simantonnayanam, and it should be celebrated in the sixth or eighth month. The fourth is Jatakurma, and it should be gone through at the birth of the child. The fifth is Namadhayam, and should be performed after the expiry of pollution of birth. The sixth is Adythyadarsanam, and it should be celebrated in the fourth month after birth. The seventh is Annaprasanam or feeding the child with prepared food. It should be done in the sixth month. The eighth is Chudakaranam or tonsure, which should take place in the third year or according to the family custom. The last five ceremonies should be performed in the case of a female child without reciting the Vedic Mantrams. The only ceremony with Vedic Mantrams for females is marriage. The ninth is called Upanayanam. It is leading the boy to an instructor to be left with him for education.

The next ceremony is Snanam or giving up of the student's life after finishing education, then obtaining the permission of the preceptor, and then rewarding him.

The Snataka or passed student may spend the remainder of his life with his preceptor. One who thus leads a life of celibacy is called a Nyistika Bramacharry. After death he goes to a world from which he is not sent back to this world.

The next ceremony is Marriage, the entering of the forest or becoming a Sannyasee. If he marries, he shall marry one who is not of his father's Gotra; who is not a Sapinda of his mother; who is a virgin; who has not been given away to another or has been another's wife; who is not of a non-respectable family; who is not diseased; who is not deformed; and who is not talkative, &c.

The ceremony next to marriage is the giving up of the householder's life to become either a Forester or Sannyasee or Hermit.

In the third part of life, or when one becomes old, that is, when wrinkles and gray hairs are observed on the body, he who gives up his house, and goes into forest either with his wife or without her, to lead a celibate and religious life, is called a Forester.

Sannyasee is one who leads a life of perfect resignation. When one, having ascertained the futility of the three Asramas of Bramacharry, householder and Vanaprasta or Forester, and having learnt that they could not satisfy his aspirations, makes up once for all

his mind to give up the world and its civil rules, he is called a Sannyasee. Before he becomes a Sannyasee, he should perform the ceremony of Prajapathya Yasti, and give up everything he had. He shall do nothing worldly thenceforward but always think of the service of God.

The Srouta Sutra teach the rules of sacrifice by a rich house holder. The Bramha Sutras teach the philosophy of Religion. They prove the existence of one sentient God, the immortality of souls, their transmigration, their loyalty to their heavenly Father, God, and their brotherhood. The Bramha Sutras also teach souls' eternal duties, and assure them of their salvation by the Grace of God.

The Smrities are the works of some of the Manus and of his Sapta Rishis of Manvantaras. The Manus are the founders of Dynasties after each periodical flood. The code now known as Manu Smriti is the law the first Manu promulgated. Sapta Rishis are the seven Sages who with one of the Kshattriya family are spared by God from death on the occasion of every periodical flood, to form a nucleus for repopling the world.

They are called Shistas, that is, those who remained. Their acts and words are called Shistachar and are found in the Smrities. If these contradict one another we should find out whether the contradictions are not apparent and reconcilable. If they are not at all reconcilable, then Manu and Vishnu shall prevail over the rest, because their knowledge and authority are admitted by all to be the highest and paramount. The authors of some of these Smrities were Rishis belonging to some Shakha or other of the Vedas. People belonging to particular Shakhas may follow the directions of the Rishis of their own Shakhas. In unimportant matters, any Rishi may be followed without committing any sin. The precepts contained in the shastrum are divided into three classes, viz., (1) precepts to do or omit to do certain acts which but for the precepts no one can know anything about, and which are mandatory, that is, any conduct in opposition to these precepts is sinful and penal, such as for instance, "Revere thy Father" "Love All's Father"

(2) Precepts concerning actions or conduct which are instinctively known and do not require any revealed precept for their knowledge, and any conduct opposed to these precepts is not only not sinful and not penal, but is even commendable such as "Eat;" and

(3) Precepts prescribing a particular mode of doing the acts which are undertaken to be done under any of the two aforesaid

classes of precepts, when such acts may be done in more ways and times than one; such as "Pray All's Father twice a day." "Take two meals a day before midnight."

These Precepts or Vidhies are called Apoorva Parisankhya or Niyama, that is, mandatory, permissive and adjective respectively. It is also a rule that the passages in which precepts are promulgated should in the first instance be construed grammatically and literally. If the meaning thus arrived at would prove opposed to one's experience, reason, and the clear portion of the revealed law, then the passages should be construed figuratively. Precepts upholding the principles of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of His creatures should be liberally construed; while those relating to ritual and ceremonies should as a rule be strictly construed.

Smrities are said to be many, but the following are considered important ones, *vis.* :—

Manu, Vishnu, Yagnavalkya, Harita, Attri, Yama, Angira, Vashista, Daksha, Samvart, Shatatzapa, Parasara, Apastamba, Ushana, Vyasa, Kattyayana, Brahaspati, Goutama, Shanka, Likhita, Narada and Boudhayana. Of these Smrities, that of Manu deservedly stands first; he being the first Sovereign of this world. As such, he promulgated the Code he had learnt from Bramha. Vishnu Smriti appears to be more ancient and published by Vishnu, the protector of the Universe. Yagnavalkya's Smriti is of a subsequent date and its author belongs to the Yajush Shakha. It has however been considered as an important Smriti. Vashista Smriti appears to be one of the oldest Smrities. Parasara is said to be the most modern Smriti and to be specially applicable to the current Yoog.

Mahabarat or the Itihasa is the famous epic poem of India. The edition now extant appears to have come out in the earlier part of the current Kali Yoog. It is a huge work and has not been copiously commented on. It is therefore not easy to determine how much of it belongs to the original edition of the work. I am afraid that there are not two manuscripts agreeing with one another. The printed editions will suppress all these manuscripts. An appendix of it is Harivamsha.

Sri Ramanayana is called the first Kavya and is said to have been composed in Treta Yoog. It is held in highest esteem by all sects of the Hindus. It consists of 7 Kandas, but the 7th appears to be differently written from the other 6 Kandas.

The following are the Eighteen Maha Puranas :—

Vishnu, Sri Bhagavat, Agni Purana, Matsya, Kurmya, Markandeya, Bramhaya, Padma, Shiva, Lyngya, Garuda, Naradeeya,

Skanda, Bhavishya, Bramhavyvarta, Vamana, Varahu and Bramhanda.

All these are not extant. Portions only of a few are to be had. The Vishnu and Bhagavat and portions of Skanda appear to have been commented on by early writers of all sects. Agni Puran has been edited by the Asiatic Society, and some others have been printed in Bombay and Madras. Attempts are being made to procure the rest. As a rule, that Puran which has a commentary of an ancient date should be preferred to one which has a commentary of more modern date, and that, to one which has had no commentary at all.

Devi Bhagavatam is a Puran about which there are two opinions, one is that it is one of 18 Mahapuranas, and the other is that it is one of the 18 Minor Puranas. The Adwitas, the Vishistadwitas and Dwitas hold the latter opinion, but the Shaktas maintain that it is one of the Maha Puranas. The other 17 Upa Puranas are neither well known nor to be had. The Vayoo Puran which has been printed may be one of these 17. Besides these, there are many works which are called Puranas. These should be received with great caution.

Works of the founders of sects are innumerable. Those of Shankara Acharya are very many. He was not only a reformer but a Pandit, a Poet, and a Scientist. He is said to have worked miracles and to be an incarnation of Shiva.

Works of Ramanuja Acharya are fewer. This reformer was remarkable for his zeal and faith. He was a very happy writer.

The works of Ananda Teertha Charya and Chyttanya are very terse and may even be said too terse. One of his successors known as Jeyatheertha Acharya was a very learned person, and he wrote very valuable commentaries and is the corner stone of Dwitism.

The works of Vallabha and Chyttyana Acharya are not very voluminous. These are seldom shewn to any one who is not a follower of his creed. His son Vittala Acharya is said to be an incarnation of Krishna and has written many important works.

The works of Text-writers are many, but the following are considered important :—

Hemadri is a huge work, more on Prayaschitta Kanda and is very dogmatic. He was an Adwiti. Jimutavahana has written on Hindu Law Vavahar Kanda. Sridhara is an author of very many commentaries and works. I consider his commentaries to be the best, though I do not agree with him in all his opinions. Vignaneswera's commentary of Yagnavalkya known as Mittachera is a famous work.

Madhava or Shayana, or Madhava and Shayana, is a wonderful personage. His works are innumerable. His great Smriti work is the commentary on Parasara, called Parasara Madhaviyam.

Kulluka is a commentator of Manu, brought into great prominence by the accident of Sir William Jones meeting his work first.

Haridatta is a commentator of some Sutras.

Tollaper is a remarkable Ramanujia and has written excellent works which are held in great esteem even by Adwitas.

Battoji Dikshitta has written upon Vyakarana, Johsha and Smrities.

Srinandana is another commentator of Manu's Smriti. An impartial commentator.

Vydyanath Dikshitter is one of the recent writers and has written upon Smrities.

Krishnacharya is a Madhava, and has written a work similar to that by Vydyanath Dikshitter.

There are hundreds of other works of this class. The authorities who have thus defined what is Shaster, of what it is composed, and how the component parts are superior and inferior to one another are the following:—Goutama, Vyasa, Yagnavalkya, Harita, Vashista, Ashwalayana Grihya Sutra, Gobhila, Grihya Sootra, Apastambha, Devi Bhagavat, Shankarachariap, Ramanujachariar, Ananda Teerthachariar, Sridhara, Vignanshwera, Mitakshara, Hemadri, Smriti Sara, Chetoovimsati Mata, Raghunandana Vidyakasarbhomha or Tollapper, Vaidyanath Deekshita, and many others. The Shaster having been thus defined by all the three sections of Hinduism, viz, the Adwitus, the Veshistawitus or the Dwiters, it is hoped that this definition will be admitted as correct by all.

Now let us see what the Shaster lays down as the marriage law of the Hindus or Aryans.

1. *According to Hindu Law, Marriage is optional.*

1. Rig-Veda, 10-85-9 and 37.
2. Chandogya Upanishad, page 137, (Shankara Bhashya).
3. Atharva-Veda, 14—1, pages 302 and 303.
4. Apastamba Dharma Sutra, 1-1-4, page 29.
5. Do. Bhashya, page 10, Bombay Edition.
6. Hirnanya Kesi Sutra 4, page 3.
7. Manu, 2-4; 2-243, 244, and 249; 5-56; 9-89 and 90 Commentaries.
8. Medhatithi.
9. Sarvagna Narayana.

10. Kulluka.
 11. Ramachendra.
 12. Vishnu, 28—42 to 47, Cal. Edn., page 113.
 13. Yagnavalkya, 1-49, 50, 51, (Bombay Edition).
 14. Vashista, 7-3 to 5. (Cal. Edn., page 470).
 15. Dacksha, 1-7 and 8; (do. do. 383).
 16. Samvarta, v. 34. (do. do. 587).
 17. Oushanasa, 3-40 to 42; (do. do. 517).
 18. Vyasa, Chap. 1; (do. do. 324).
 19. Goutama, 1; (do. do. 406).
 20. Narada, 12-22, 24, 25 and 36.
Mahabharata,
 21. Adi Parva, Chaps. 82 and 83. (Bombay Edn.).
 22. Vana do. do. 293-27 to 32. do.
 23. Anooosashana do. do. 75-34 to 37. do.
 24. Udiyoga do. do. 120-5 and 6; do.
173 to 177... ... do.
 25. Shallya do. do. 52 do.
 26. Shanti do. do. 324-25 to 27;
326-20 with Nilkanta's glossary do.
 27. Sri Bhagavat, 3-21-27; 3-22-9; 4-1-6, and 63; 4-8-1;
6-6-7; 7-12-14; (Vitra Raghava); 11-17-30 and 37,
(Sreedhara and Vira Raghava.)
 28. Vishnu Puran, 1-10-17 and 18 (Sredhara): 3-10-13 to
15; (Vishnu Chitty and Sridhara).
 29. Markandaya Puran, 28-15 to 18; 125, 126 & 127; 128-4.
 30. Siva Puran, Gnana Khanda, 17-44 to 46.
 31. Agni Puran, 153-17.
 32. Kurma Puran 3-3.
 33. Devi Bhagavat, 3-18-46; 5-17-8 to 30.
 34. Madhaviya (Telugu) P. 205. *An adverse witness.*
 35. Vijaya Dhwaaja Bhagavat, Commentary 10-90-3.
 36. Krishnacharya Smriti. P. 39.
 37. Narayana Bhutta Prayogaratna, page 12.
 38. Ithihasa Kosha, P. 513.
 39. Shankara Bhashya of Brahadaranyaka, P. 154.
2. *The unmarried, whether males or females, are entitled to higher heavens than the married.*
1. Manu, 2-243, 244, and 249; 8-363.
 2. Vishnu, 28-47, P. 113 (Cal. Edn.)
 3. Yagnavalkya, Chap. 1-50, page 414 (do.)
 4. Sri Bhagavat, 2-6-18.
3. *Some of the such unmarried males and females are:—*

MALES.

1.	Narayana	} Sre Bhagavat Vishnu Puran Markandaya Puran.
2.	Sanaka	...	...
3.	Sanandana	...	...
4.	Sanatsujatrya	...	...
5.	Sanatkumar	...	...
6.	Narada	...	...
7.	Kavi	...	...
8.	Mahavira	...	...
9.	Savana	...	...
10 to 18.	Nine Jayantayas	...	...
19.	Prishadra	...	...
20.	Kavi	}
21.	Bheeshma	...	...

FEMALES.

1. Gargi, Mahabharat, Shanti P. Chaps. 320 and 321. (Bombay Edn)
2. Vayuna } Bhagavat, Vishnu and Markendaya
3. Dharini } Puranas.
4. Gargi Vachaknivi }
5. Badava Prachetayi } Itihasa Cosha, page 518.
6. Sulubha Mitriyi }

4. *A female cannot be given away in marriage without her consent.*

Vasishta (Calcutta Edition), page 489.

Kathiyana, commented by Jagannatha (Colebrook's Digest, Vol. 2, page 171).

Mahabharatha, Shallya Parva 52. Bombay Edn.

Markandaya Puran, 52, &c.

Devee Bhagavat, 5-17.

5. *None but Kannyas (maidens) can be married with Vedic Muntras.*

Manu, 8-226; Kulluka and Srinandana.

6. *According to the Vedas, Nirukta, its Bhashya, Sutras and Vyakarana, a Kannya to be married is one who is competent to have her marriage consummated from the 4th night after the marriage ceremonies are commenced.*

Rig-Veda, 1-66-4. (Sayana's commentary)

Nirukta, Vol. IV, pages 107 to 111.

Maha Bhashya, 4-1, pages 19 and 20.

Tatwa Bodhini, page 210.

Aswalayana, &c., Sutras, (see authorities under para. 10).

7. *According to the Smrities, a female is not styled a Kannya, until she is ten years old.*

1. Parasara, Chap. 7, page 24. (Cal. Edn.)
2. Samvarta, page 589, (do.)
3. Krishnacharya Smriti, page 3.
4. Samsara Bhaskara, page 232. (Bombay Edn.)
5. Nirnaya Sindhu, P. 3, page 31. (do.)
6. Samasara Mayukha, page 46. (do.)
7. Nirnayaratna, page 26.
9. Boudahyana Vencatashia, page 131.

3 to 9 are hostile witnesses.

8. *She can give herself in marriage, if her guardians neglect to give her away before the expiry of three Ritus or years after she attained puberty.*

1. Manu, 9-90 and 91.
2. Vishnu, Chap. 24, page 110. (Calcutta Edn.)
3. Yagnavalkya, 1-64, page 415. (do.)
4. Goutama, page 423. (do.)
5. Mahabharat, Anushashana Parva, Chap. 44, &c.
6. Matcha Puran, Chap. 227-27 and 28.

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7. Boudhayana, as quoted by Parasara, Madhavia and Vidyanath Deikshita.

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8. Kashyapa, as quoted in Krishnacharya Smriti.

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9. Dharmasindhu, 3, Pages 177 & 178. Bombay Edn. 1888.

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10. Nirnaya Sindhu, 3; page 31.

*

11. Samskara Mayukha, page 47.

* These are hostile witnesses.

9. *No male is competent to marry before he completes his sixteenth year.*

Aswalayana, 1-18-2 and 9.

10. *Marriage is defined to be a solemn contract entered into by the Bride and Bridegroom to become one and continue one, after her gift, either by her guardians or by herself, the contract being completed by sacrifices and consummation on or after the fourth night from the commencement of the ceremonies, when she becomes one with her husband in Pinda, Gotra and Sutaka.*

1. Rig Veda, 10-85-21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45, 46.
2. Aswalayana Grhya Sutra, 1-7-3, 6, 7, 13, 17, 18, 19, and 22; 1-8-1, 8 to 15; and 1-9-1.

3. Yajur Veda Anookramanika, pages 162, 164, 169, 170, 174, 178, to 182.
4. Titareya Brahmana, Kanda 2, pages 568, 569, 570 ; and Kanda 3, pages 146, 513, 165, 168.
5. Apastamba Grhya Sutra & its Sudershana Bhashiem.
6. Paraskara Grhya Sutra (Hari Hara's Bhashiya), pages 27, 28, and 32.
7. Gobhila Grhya Sutra, with Bhashya, 2-1-20 and 24 ; 2-2-4 6, 7, 8, 11, and 16 ; 2-3-6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13 and 15 ; 2-5-1 and 6 to 10.
8. Sama Veda Mantraprasna, 1-1-8, 9 and 10 to 14 ; 1-2-1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 10 to 15 ; 1-3-1 to 7 and 14.
9. Gobhila Grhya Karma prakasika, page 59.
10. Manu, quoted by Bahvadevabhattacha, Gobhila Bhashya, page 321.
11. Parasara Dharma Shastra, Chap. 3-27, 28.
12. Likhita Samhita, page 377. (Cal. Edn.)
13. Yama, verses 78 and 84 to 86, page 29. (Bombay Edn.)
14. Katyayana 5-5, page 608. (Cal. Edn.)
15. Ousanasa, page 536. (do.)
16. Goutama, page 410. (do.)
17. Brahmaspati, Gobhila Grhya Sutra, page 322.
18. Mahabharat Adi Parva, Chap. 82-30, &c. (Bom. Edn.)
19. Do. Shallya, Chap. 52. (do.)
20. Harivamsha, Chap. 104, 106, 107 and 108. (do.)
21. Vishnu Puran with Vyshnavakutoghendrika, 5-27 2 to 4.
22. Bhagavat, 9-24, 32 and 34 Sridhara's Commentary.
23. Agni Puran, Chap. 154-4 and 5.
24. Bharata Tatpareya Nirnaya, Chap. 7-190 and 191 (by Sree Ananda Teerthocharya.
25. Vignaneshwara, pages 14 and 15, (Bombay Edn.)
26. Samskara Koustabha, pages 16, 207 and 225.
27. Tollappar, Sudhi Vilochana.

The last two are hostile witnesses.

11. A woman may be married, if she likes, more than once in the case of the death of her husband, with Vedic marital rites, provided she is a virgin, but without them, if she be a non-virgin.

1. Rig Veda, 10-18-8, 9, 10.
2. Iterai Brahman, 3, page 68 (Bombay Edn.)
3. Tajteria Arannyaka, 6-1.
4. Atharva Veda, page 204.
5. Manu, 8, 226 : 9-76, 97, 175, 176.
6. Do. quoted by Madhava.

7. Do. do. by Vydinath Dikshitta.
8. Vishnu, Chap. 15-92, 93.
9. Yagnavalkya quoted by Krishnacharya Smriti, P. 5.
10. Parasara, Chap. 2-31. Manuscript : Tel. Edn. Chap. 4-28.
11. Vashista, Chap. 17, page 489. (Cal. Edn.)
12. Shatatupa, Tanjore Palace Manuscript.
13. Boudhayana, Cadgan Manuscript and 2-2-3, 27; 4-1-17, Sacred Books of East.
14. Cattyayana, quoted by an adverse witness. Nirayasinidhu 3, page 3. (Bombay Edn.)
15. Narada, Chaps. 12-95 to 100.
16. Mahabharat, Bheshma P., Chap. 90.
17. Agni Puran, Chap. 154.
18. Sri Bhagavat, 9-9-34.
19. Chaturvinsati Smriti's Commentary, by Bhattojee Dikshitta.
20. Sreeman Mahabharat Tatparya Nirnaya, by Sree Anunda Teerthacharya, Chap. 20.

12. The children of the re-married women are legitimate.

1, Manu ; 2, Vishnu ; 3, Yagnavalkya ; 4, Vashista ; 5, Parasara ; 6, Boudhayana ; 7, Narada ; 8, Datta Munamsa, page 70 ; 9, Dattachandrika, pages 9, 30.

The above version of the Hindu law has been circulated throughout India in several languages and it may be said that it has not yet been refuted upon the authority of the Shasters.

If the Shaster be so, the statement that the Shastras "make co-habitation upon the first occurrence of the menses obligatory, must be unshastrick. The vedas say (Rig Veda 10-85-40) * * that before a bride can become a wife of a man, she should have been under the protection of Soma, Sandharva and Agni. The Smrities and the Syana Bhashra of the Rig Veda, Samvarta page 589-65 Calcutta Edn. Rig 1-66-4. (Sayana Bhastia) * *

* * * * * shows that Soma protects her (apparently from man) when the bride gets pushpa ; Gandharva, when she menstruates ; and Agni when she gets her breasts. All men can from this description decide when a bride becomes competent to be married to man, the fourth protector. The sruti being the highest component part of the shasters, its injunctions cannot be modified by any other component part "marriage before puberty" is not and cannot be" the rule of the shasters."

That Remarriage of women is prohibited by our Law-givers is a statement which cannot stand a close and logical scrutiny of the

subject. The vedas recommend it. The smrities provide for the inheritance of the children by such remarriages. Even in the days of Krishna such a great man as Arjoona married a widow. Paunarbhana sons, that is, sons by remarriage of women are declared to be competent to perform the funeral ceremonies of their father. The re-married woman is directed to hand over the estate of her husbands to theirs respective sons. 191-9-Manu. If these be facts, there cannot be any prohibition for the re-marriage.

The inference drawn by "A Bengali Hindu" from certain stories of Mohabharat he has referred to in the article, that a woman should know only one man is not correct to say the least of it. The Vedas says that a woman ought not to be living as a wife one and the same time, to a number of men. This is the principle of Hindu law and religion (Ileria Bramana 3-28) The story of Savitri shows that a woman having once made up her mind to marry a particular man, should not change her mind. There is no knowing of man in this story. The indissolubility of the marriage prescribed by the Shastra means no dissolution during the life time of the married couple. (see Manu. 101-9.)

Marriage has nothing to do with the soul of a human being. If it has any thing at all to do with the emancipating the soul, it retards its emancipation.

It is a matter of congratulation that "A Bengal Hindu" admits that "it is not absolutely necessary to marry (girls) early as their fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth years" and "that marrying Hindu girls as near as the period of their puberty as possible should be our universal practice."

The statement of the writer that "the evil of cohabitation before puberty is not such an evil as the agitators say it is" is opposed to the medical shasters of the Hindus as well as of the western scientists.

I shall conclude this article by quoting the concluding sentence of the writer the logic of which I hope can be easily appreciated by the readers. "In the opinion of many thoughtful Hindus here" is, "the best reform" "would be, not remarrying widows but stopping the remarriage of widows except where their remarriage is strictly demanded by the Shasters."

The prohibition of remarriage to women has given rise to the creation of a large number of illegitimate children, many of whom are murdered; and the same prohibition to men also would tend to add to the number of illegitimate children. How such a result is "the best reform" I leave the readers to decide.

R. RAGOONATH ROW.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MORALITY.

The question—What is morality?—may be answered in its relation to Ethics, Virtue and Religion. As a system of moral rules, it is the same as Ethics; as a practice of moral rules, it is synonymous with Virtue. In the application of the highest means to the highest ends, its distinction from Religion disappears. Morality is described as a means of human happiness and, as such, it includes and aims at the highest attributes of human wisdom, which consists in an application of the efficient means to the most important ends. It includes whatever advances us in the knowledge of Physics, of Physiology and of Sociology; whatever principles the natural philosopher may arrive at by a classification of accumulated facts; whatever truths the metaphysician may detect by means of his recondite researches; whatever mechanical machinery the manufacturer might employ for the production of the necessities and conveniences of life; whatever mental machinery the teacher might employ for the development of human intelligence and human character. Notwithstanding this comprehensive character, men dis sever morality from that which is intimately connected in their practical concerns; and it is in this direction in which they should have endeavoured to preserve the union. The patriot and the traitor, rise side by side in the social scale. Men who would willingly die for their country, would claim as much attention as men who would betray their country for their own gain, who would satisfy the ends of a party by risking the independence of the country. Grote tells us in his *History of Greece* that it is not reasonable to believe that every oligarch who sought to overthrow the democracy, or even every oligarch who was ready to purchase the destruction of the democracy at the cost of receiving a Spartan garrison, was in his own eyes an enemy to the country. He would argue rather that his genuine love for Athens prompted him to give her what he believed the best-formed Government at any cost. Here we find a difference between large and small states, or between ancient and modern states. A political party in a modern state, may have sympathy with the correspond-

ing party in any other state; but such a sympathy is restrictive, due to independent feelings of nationality, to the difference of language and other causes. In a Greek city, the oligarchic or the democratic party was something more than an oligarchic or a democratic party in that particular city. It was nothing more than a ramification of a party pervading all the cities of Greece, as the people of a Greek city were guided by one common feeling of sympathy unlike the different nations in modern Europe. The common good of Hellas and the common good of Europe, are two distinct things. In the former, the Greek absolved himself from the idea of treason with the belief that he was working upon his own ennobling ideal; in the latter, the modern European progressionist, who wants to bring about a political change in his own country by the help of a foreign force, can seldom have such an idea.

Thus it will appear that the catalogue of duties differs with the difference of age and country. New duties arise in the change of social and political relations. We find this in our own country, in the small commonwealths of past times, in the larger states of modern Europe. Public duties are of less account than private duties. Niebuhr tells us of Lucius Æmilius Paullus celebrating his triumph with his usual hilarity although of his two sons one had died a few days before and the other was but one step to the grave. In these tight days, domestic bereavement is a good reason to account for the absence of a clerk or any public official from any kind of public duty. Our rulers are too sympathetic to adopt the iron discipline of old Rome when the blow is fresh upon the sufferer. If mourning is purely ceremonial as the positivist view would suggest, there is abundant philosophy in the ceremony. A man should stay away from office not only because his own feelings should prompt him to do so, but because conventional etiquette requires him to do it. It would be uncivil to seek the sacrifice of private feeling to public; it would be uncivil still, if a man did not show some sorrow or incapacity for business on the death of his dearest and nearest relative. There can be hardly any strike of opinions on this point, although history would show that while in the ancient period (I take exception, to India, of course) the feeling for the State was uppermost in the minds of all its citizens, in the advance of modern culture, the domestic relations come first, the welfare of the State next. Further on, the history of the Mediæval Monastery would show that the absence of earnest, resolute, and disciplined co-operation, brought on the absence of public feelings. It was natural when society was in a condition of profound disorganization, and sensuality and violence were in the ascendant that men of gentle natures

should become convinced that the higher life could only be lived in lonely retirement, far from the sound of human voices and the contact of human creatures. The swindler would think his victim a fool and the victim never forgave the smarter man who could take him in. But experience has convinced that no great work can be done in improving the world or raising the tone of society or in battling with our own weaknesses and vices without genuine sympathy and co-operation. It is only when we draw together that we are strong, and stronger when we are labouring shoulder to shoulder for some common object of no mean and sordid order; it is then that we find deliverance from our self-deception and most inveterate delusions while living in the light of other's eyes and subjected to the influence and control of a healthy relation between Public and Private Morality.

This relation, as we glean from the stern realities of the world's history is not always made the best of, and private business seems urgent enough to allow public duties to be left behind. Whether the plea is urged in good faith or in bad, the fact that it can be publicly urged demands its justification. Leonidas or Marcus Curtius would have made short work of a lochage or a centurion who talked of urgent private business at Thermopylæ or at Beneventum. Rightly or wrongly, the public opinion of Sparta would have placed these men in the same wretched predicament with Aristodêmos the Trembler. The propriety of the public opinion may be questioned, it would not be vindicated in the case of Aristodêmos. The officers staying away on urgent private business would not be *cowards*, in the sense in which Dryden and Southey use it :—

"A fool is nauseous, but a coward worse." (Dryden.)

"A coward not only escapes with disgrace, but sometimes loses his life." (Southey). They showed their courage in the thickest of the fight, although they wanted to come home like the knot of men in the time of the Crimean war on the ground of *urgent private business*. Whether this could or should have been allowed at all, requires a higher potential thought than the use of the mood implies. My own humble view of the matter is that there is nothing short of nonsense in the grotesque form of an opinion which begins to spin crude logical webs out of its own bowels. There is nothing like plain sincerity in a representation and the appreciation of that sincerity in the sphere of authority. *Urgent private business* could be no plea for forsaking public business, if the nature of the business, does not exactly signify the import of the qualifying words. If it *does*, this cannot but be accepted as true.

Next comes the question whether public interest should give way to private interest. Take, for instance, an institution which is rotten to the core, but which might be mended if a set of men were turned out and better men put in. The old political principle would have preserved the institution but would have turned out the bad men. The modern fashion is to destroy the institution itself but to spare those whose faults have brought about its destruction. In a matter of this kind, it is difficult for me to come to a definite conclusion. There may, it seems possible, be some who will willingly compare the impressions of an educational institution with some of those ideas and practices that prevailed before. In our great national allegory, the individual is preferred to the institution. He is allowed to keep his gains (ill-gotten!) for life; his vested interests must be leniently dealt with. At his death, the institution which, but forlorn, might have been reformed is condemned to perish for his fault. It needs no genius to discover the relation between Public and Private Morality in this case. The private interest must prevail over the public as a mathematical axiom.

Take another case, that of smoking in a railway carriage. Either under the old rules, or under the new, smoking is a violation of the law in this case. It may not be forbidden expressly by any Act of Parliament; yet the bye-law of a company empowered by Parliament to make bye-laws, is assuredly a law in the restricted sense of the term. Now the smoker in a non-smoking carriage has a different position from that of a smoker in a carriage in which passengers have no objection to his smoking. With the former the act is a selfish breach of the law. The offender is to be handed over to the guard, just as a thief is to the policeman, and the positive offence which is the outcome of the law, is a moral offence. In the latter, the measure of the offence rests with the convenience and taste of the passengers who are in the habit of smoking. The poacher, again, has much the same offence as the smoker. The game-keeper and game-preservers do not always spare him. Much the same may be said about the ordinary violation of the salutary rule which forbids servants from taking gifts in the shape of bribes. The practice is so common even in these days of culture and reform, that there is something more than a breach of the law on the part of the giver, because he tempts the receiver to a breach of the law. To many, the notion of law as law, the principle that it is the conscientious duty to obey the law, because it is the law; is altogether unknown. There are thousand instances of men working in a

big *sherista* who would compromise their consciences for a few dribblets. They would unblushingly avow and justify such a nefarious practice and wilfully sin against anything which reason in moments of calm would condemn as perfectly immoral. From servants, we come to men who have got to the dizzy heights of position and power. Bribery, the lowest species of sordid gift, is not absent from their motives. The coarseness, the violence, the wrongheadedness are not to be strained away; they grow in their own environment and keep the recipients unhurt. Love, friendship, ambition, commerce, professions, trades and a thousand other matters, go on fairly with them; and they are perhaps the fortunate creatures of an unfortunate *hereafter*. Morality is kicked off for the sake of private interest. The ethical philosopher with the statesman at his elbow has yet to build a new theory to strike a mean between the two extremes.

Poetry and prose, the heart and the intellect, the reason and the imagination, have all united in rendering their homage to military heroism. The prince and the peasant, the noble and the mean, have all taxed their ingenuity to weave their choicest laurels to deck the hero's brow. But what is the interest of the hero? It is universally admitted that Napoleon Bonaparte, who possessed the greatest historical intellect dealing with the grave problems of the age and who was as clever in the field as in the closet, was a hero, if the word signifies, as some historians interpret, that he was a tyrant. If tyrant means monster of a man, he had, perhaps, as much that character as Orsini. But Napoleon's acts were necessary for the public good and were therefore justifiable. From this point of view, Orsini was the worse man, because he indicated single-mindedness in seeking his own power or pelf. If Orsini showed personal courage in risking his own life to a single cause of a revolting character, Napoleon showed much greater courage in endangering his own life and interest for the whole nation. Thus in the vindication of public morality, the two cases are not exactly parallel.

Further there are illustrations in which public opinion has condoned conduct on public occasions, which it would assuredly have condemned on private occasions. The slaughter of the Mogul princes at Delhi comes under this category. It is worthy of remark that the slayer was never punished by any authority. About twenty years back, the Earl of Derby, the then Foreign Secretary, ordered the English consuls and naval officers to leave off the good work which they had begun of saving Cretan women and children from Turkish cruelty. This was

condoned. Parliamentary History teems with instances of bribery at elections; yet it is free from penalty of any kind. The fact is, public opinion judges public acts by a lighter standard than that by which it judges private acts. In some instances there is an actual offence against the State itself. In others, under pretence of the interests of the State, its laws are broken, and justice and government are dishonoured. At any rate, actions are applauded or condoned in public life which would certainly be condemned in private life.

Coming to the question of taxation which is the most important of all questions that commend themselves to public attention, it remains to be seen how far Public Morality can be vindicated by enforcing it as a matter of necessity and right. Strictly speaking, the contribution of a loyal subject to the Government is as much befitting and proper, as it is for the Government to accept it. Yet it is certain that to any one who has a real conviction of what the proper duty of the Government is, or ought to be, to each and every subject over which it rules, there is a greater impropriety in enforcing a direct taxation than in withholding it. Take the income tax. In England, incomes of £150 a year and under, are wholly excepted from payment of income tax, while incomes of from £151 to £400 a year are exempted to the extent of £120. In India, the exemption limit is only Rs. 500, or say £35 per annum. In England a man with an income of £150 a year can afford no luxuries, and therefore his income should not be directly taxed. In India, it is believed that one with an income of over Rs. 42 per month and £35 per annum, is sufficiently affluent both to buy luxuries and to pay income tax. This is a dark side of the picture regarding Europeans and Eurasians living in India. Speaking of the Natives, the picture is more dismal. An average native clerk employed in a Government or merchant's office in Calcutta and drawing Rs. 50 to Rs. 160 per month with a large family depending upon him, has scarcely one rupee to rub against another, much less to spend on luxury. Pressed by poverty, working in the down-cast attitude of servile toil all day, the pressure of the Income tax is to him as killing as the guillotine. Yet he would not only scrupulously pay his tax, just as he would discharge any real debt but would be fantastically exact about paying his share, because he must feed the public revenue, the elasticity of which is the most wonderful thing about it. In such a case therefore public interest proves superior to private interest.

The history of the past five years, the route upon which our country has been led by its leaders, have convinced me that the

theory of progress is much better appreciated than before. The formula of national life, has been laid before us and we are rising to collective existence not with the reconciliation of the old and new but with those signs that proclaim the coming of an order of things founded upon principles radically different from those which presided over the epoch that has passed away. The old order is changed; and that which is sanctioned by the educated minority has been the accepted ideal of modern Indian civilization and Indian refinement. The guiding rule is, never to yield to public opinion, until it threatens to burst forth in open and overpowering conflict; or to put it more intelligibly, private interest must be advanced at the sacrifice of public interest. I have already said that it is very hard to maintain a healthy relation between these two interests, and this has apparently led me to designate the subject in the way I have done. In some instances as I have shown, public morality has the upper hand of private morality and *vice versa*. In a question of reform, there ought to be a distinction between social and political reform, just as there is a distinction between private and public morality or between private and public interest. Admitting there is an inter dependent relation between the two, the two cannot be identified into one. Theoretically, the governing conception by which the nation is ruled, is based upon good; but practically this conception is not elaborated, modified or sanctioned by the free examination of all the citizens. Theoretically, this conception is administered and applied by the best and wisest of the nation; but practically, they are not chosen by the people, but selected, the majority of them at least, by the few previously styled best and wisest. The result is that in politics or in religion, association is prescribed or ordained but sometimes decreed upon isolated indeterminate conditions. An association founded upon pseudo-patriotism cannot inspire the life it does not possess; it either impels the country upon a path of wrong and error (consciously or not, no matter) or destroying the moral unity of the nation, by creating a condition of constant internal antagonism injurious to progress, finally reduces it to the brink of ruin. To a people like us whose prestige is of the most ancient date but who have been toiling on for ages and ages together, in the face of political interruptions and turmoils, the process is simply fatal. The basis of national existence for all who regard a nation as something more than an aggregate of individuals born to grow corn and to consume it, are sincerity of faith, consciousness of a common aim and association of all the national faculties and forces

in harmonious endeavour towards its realization. You cannot accustom a people to believe what their religious convictions will not accept, because that will falsify the moral sense, energy and intelligence of the nation and reduce it to a condition of doubt, discouragement and indifference. Yet India has to bear the brunt of this blow. The *first* condition of modern refinement and modern culture is solemnly to declare by the friendly voice of Conservatism and Liberalism that India, convinced that her hour of trial has come, arises spontaneously and unanimously in the name of her duty and the living right of the peoples, to constitute herself a nation of true and loyal brothers and claim her rank in the scale of nations. The *second*, to ascertain and sum up the religious, moral, social and political principles in which we believe; the aim towards which they end; the special mission by which they are distinguished and to which they intend to consecrate themselves, for our own progress and that of humanity and finally, to determine to what men the country shall delegate the duty of developing and practically applying, the national idea to the various branches of social activity. Until this is done, it will be the hardest of all problems to define and limit the respective spheres of Public and Private Morality and the country, in fact, will drag on from effort to effort in continual forces not of evolution but of revolution. The simplification of a higher life in the bosom of humanity needs something more than a suffrage that is always made the sport of temporary passion or the tool of false and ambitious agitators. The blind spirit of imitation rooted amongst us by the glories of modern innovations, chaining us down to unique formulas and unique theories of individual rights, inaugurate a new era. The exaggerated disposition to confound in unjust blame and suspicion many who love our country as honestly as our country's patriots with those intriguers who consciously and corruptly betray the sacred interests of the country, is a singular phenomenon in the history of modern thought. The narrow habit of mind which, in reverence for the glorious present, cries anathema on a great and fruitful past, falsifying history, robbing India of her old glories and denying tradition which is the life of humanity, instils the seeds of error in our own camp which calls for earnest examination and condemnation from us. They lead the intellect of India astray. It is time to recall it from sterile analysis to the synthetic, unifying habit of our religious philosophic school, from the materialism which assumes to comprehend, explain and determine motion, while cancelling the motive power, to

the old perennial doctrine of the spirit, which unites motion and mover.

Upon strictly examining the magnificent word *religion*, the golden mean, so to speak, between Public and Private Morality, rich with the association of all that is great, pure and lovely in human nature, I detect the logician's artifice in introducing the *reductio ad absurdum* of relegating it to the unknowable which is only the last step in the process which has gradually reduced religion to an incomprehensible *minimum*. And this has been the work of Indian theologians obstinately fighting a losing battle and withdrawing at every defeat into a more impregnable and narrower fastness. They are so hopeless of continuing the contest on the open field of the known that they more and more seek to withdraw into the cloud world of the transcendental. They are so terribly afraid of an anthropomorphic God that they have sublimated him into a metaphorical expression—'defecated the idea to a pure transparency' as one of the most eminent men of them puts it. They are pushed by evolution into the abyss and are solemnly convinced that the reconciliation of Religion and Science is effected by this religion of the Unknowable—this *chimaera bombinans in vacuo*. Their Infinites and their Incomprehensibles have brought them to this. They preach doctrines of morality, without defining the respective spheres which form the subject under discussion. If the vague and the undefined is the foundation of a unique doctrine, if it gives liberty to thought winged by some emotion to follow out airy tracks of its own, it is just as much as to realize the position of the artist when he introduces into his picture the path or the brook winding away into the wood, or the hazy expanse of distant air and mountain. The criterion has been laid down making a strong plank in the religious, moral and social platform of India. It is ours to accept or reject the fitness, measure or adjustment of such a criterion in our individual character.

Lastly, it behoves me to allude to the popular notion of loyalty from the feeble hold which the idea of the Government and of the duty of the citizen towards that Government, has on most men's minds. Loyalty, in its strictest sense, is obedience to the law. From this the transition is easy to the idea of attachment to the Government, to the idea of duty and respect to the officers of the Government, according to their several degrees, in the lawful exercise of the power which the law gives them. In India, which is governed by the Viceroy, the Viceroy, as he wisely rules according to law, will, as the head and repre-

sentative of Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, rightly be the object of a feeling of loyalty second only to that which is due to the Queen-mother herself. Queen Victoria will hold a high place in the history of the world, since she has ruled the destiny of nations with the appreciation of the highest theory of a sound and judicial administration. Our expressions and ceremonies of loyalty and devotion are due to her and to her highest representative in India. That would be our *summum bonum*, the outcome of all morality.

JUGGODISHUR MOOKERJEE.

LINES.

When the morn with rosy fingers,
Gently opes the gates of light,
And mild Hesperus yet lingers,
On the threshold of the night ;
When the breeze with low vibrations,
Soft salutes each flower-gemm'd tree,
Then my heart's fond aspirations,
O, my darling, turn to thee.

When at noon the earth lies panting.
'Neath the fervid solar ray,
And, in bower and glade, the chanting
Of sweet birds has died away ;
Then amidst this languid silence,
Yearnings vague within me rise,
For the magic of thy presence,
And the glamour of thine eyes.

When the sun to fruits and flowerets
Smiles a farewell from the west,
And the gold-tiara'd cloudlets
Bear him slowly to his rest ;
When the cool south wind is flying
Landwards, o'er the darkening sea,
Know, sweet-heart, I'm sorely sighing,
Sighing at thy feet to be.

Fairer art thou than Aurora,
Purer than white snow-drops are,
Sweeter than the breath of Flora,
Brighter than the evening star ;
Beauty's wealth and youth's elation,
Love and worship—all are thine ;
See me bend in adoration,
O, my goddess, at thy shrine !

J. C. D.

REVIEWS.

Life of David Hare—By Dr. Jogendra Nath Ghosh, Chorebagan, Calcutta.

This little book containing a full and detailed account of the life of David Hare is very nicely got up. The opening paragraph is very interesting and strikes the key-note of the work. The author very rightly observes that we, of the present age, and the generations to come ought to be indebted to him as the pioneer of western culture in Bengal. His disinterested self-sacrifice and solicitous interest for the educational amelioration of Bengal have been very graphically described with a studied simplicity of diction. In conclusion the author laments that David Hare has left no successor.

We would gladly commend this little book to the public as it will, in some measure, supply a desideratum long felt by our young men and girls. Dr. Jogendra Nath Ghosh has been at some pains to render the book readable and has done his work faithfully and well. We have no doubt that this book will have a large sale, as its price is only annas 2. The Text-book Committee, we learn, has included it in their list. We wish the author every success.

An Ode on the National Congress for 1890—By Shanukul Chandra Chatterjee, Full Moon Printing Works, Beadon Street.

This is an ode the plot of which is based on the Sixth National Congress recently held in Calcutta. The poet is successful in the vivid portraiture of the subject he dwells upon. His verse is often sweet and melodious. We wish the young writer every success.

Mahāpujā—A National Mask—By Girish Chandra Ghose : Star Agency, Calcutta, 1891. •

It can fairly be called a dramatical synopsis of the Indian National Congress (1890). The poet tries to portrait the merits and defects of the national assembly, and offers suggestions as to its future scope with great practical wisdom. The production—novel in its kind—is highly thoughtful, and no less poetical. We are glad to say that this attempt in a new line has been successful.

"Hari Maitism and how to prevent it"—By Rajah Murli Manohar Bahadur Asaf Jahi, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1890.

This is undoubtedly an able pamphlet and contains nearly all the arguments that can be urged against child-marriage. It indicates

nearly all the ancient Hindu authorities that can be cited in favor of the propositions it lays down. It appeals to Government for coercive legislation for raising the age of consent to *fourteen* "which will be," it says, "more in accordance with Vedic and Shastric texts, and in conformity with reason, morality, and physiologic science." The printer has done his part of the work very well.

We, of course, agree with the author as regards his estimate of some of the evils pointed out by him; but we refrain to accept the catalogue in its entirety. Again, our view with regard to legislation on the subject is entirely different. We object to a few passages that seem to us to be very much in the strain of school-boy essayists declaiming against Hindu social customs. We do not certainly mean to say that the style and reasoning are not vigorous and practical. All that we say is that the pamphlet would have been much better if such passages had been softened down a little. Amongst others we would cite,—"Thus it will be evident that by suppressing the pernicious custom of infant marriages, the number of child-widows will greatly fall off, and in the course of a generation such widows will cease to be an eye-sore and a *scandal* to society." (P. 2, lines 7-10). We cannot understand what has made the poor sufferers deserve such language from the learned author. Is the insinuation just?

Report of the Darjeeling Temperance Fete, 21st October 1890.

This Temperance Fete was held under the auspices of the Darjeeling Temperance Society, and was attended by upwards of 600 persons. The principal of local option in connection with the Excise Administration of the country was considered, and there were other discourses on Temperance. Such Festivals in honour of sobriety give much credit to their supporters. We wish the institution a long life of success.

We have been favoured with a copy of a pamphlet just out from Messrs. C. Ringers & Co., Homœopathic Druggists, Chemists, Booksellers, No. 10, Hare Street, containing plain directions for the treatment of common complaints together with a Price List, Catalogue of Homœopathic medicines, Books, and other requisites for sale at their establishment. The book is nicely and neatly put up and contains useful directions and instructions in certain maladies under this system of medication. Messrs. Ringer & Co., we are glad to hear, have just received from the celebrated firm of Messrs. Borricke and Tagel a splendid shipment of Homœopathic books, drugs, medicines. Messrs. Ringer & Co. own a stock that is undoubtedly varied and fresh.



1891.

BIRTHDAY BREATHINGS.

appeared to me at Jamalpore about 4 A.M. on the 14th August last, the anniversary of your birthday. The opening lines of the Vision of the B. V. M. are of course from the Revelation of St. John the Divine, while the earthly prototype is one of my Inspirational media. Faith, miracles and answers to prayer—I could quote hundreds of my own experiences. Here is *one*. About 11 years ago, my second daughter, Agnes, was given up by Dr. Clarke at Jamalpore, in fact *she was as good as dead*, when I begged her life of God in the presence of several friends, and she was immediately restored! For "the *true* NEW CHURCH," I have *only just read* Lectures by the Revd. Chauncey Giles on "The nature of spirit and man as a Spiritual Being," London 1883, though holding *all these truths from boyhood!* For "lactation and transfusion of blood," please see Dr. Campbell's Midwifery, 1844 I think, or consult any experienced medical gentleman. "Baby's fall"—Guard Power's boy, aged 5 years, fell *22 feet* head-foremost, on to solid brick-on-edge pavement, at Jamalpur, about 12 years ago, escaping with a slight abrasion on his forehead—many witnesses—his Guardian Angel saved him! I saw the boy an hour after quite sound every way! Time and space fail me to adduce scores of proofs of the Truth of all I have written. Any one can have the music of "*Baby's Song*" by applying to me. It is a pretty German air in Valse time.

Ever sincerely yours,

Monghyr.

CHARLES L. ALEXANDER.





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